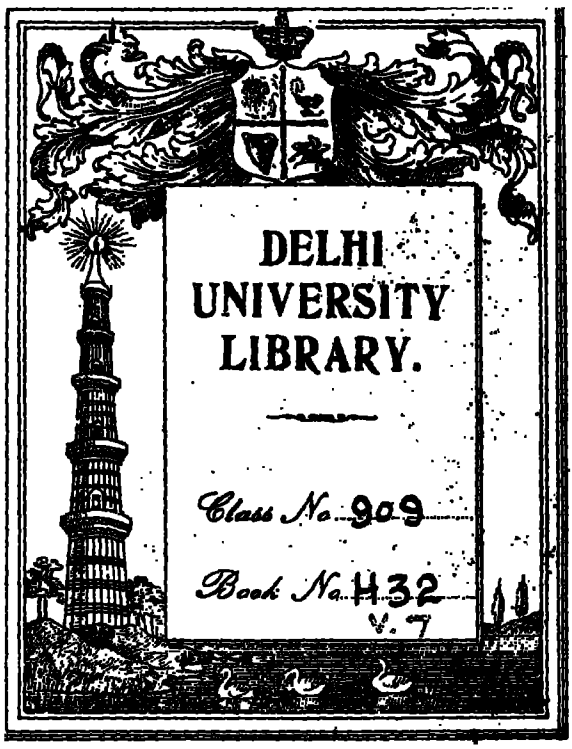

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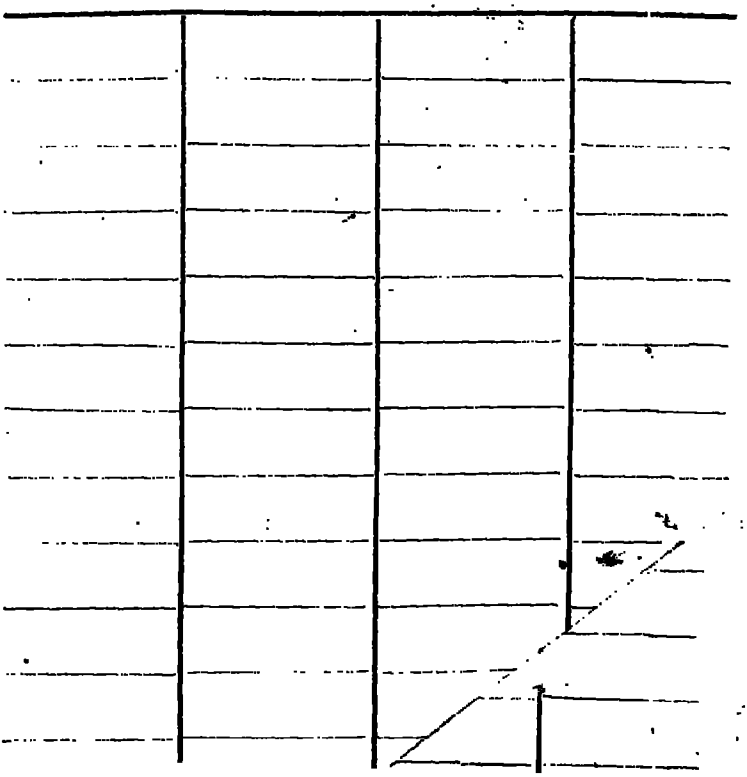
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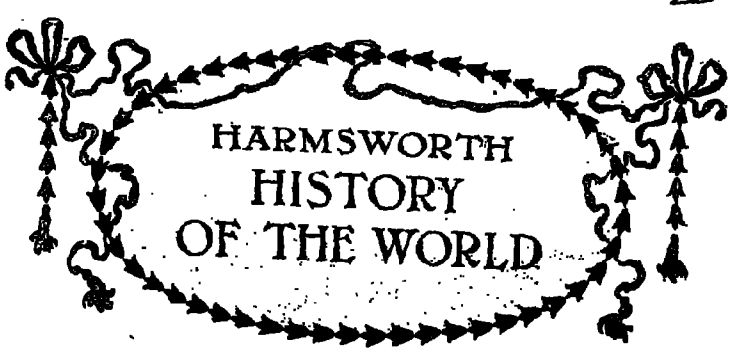
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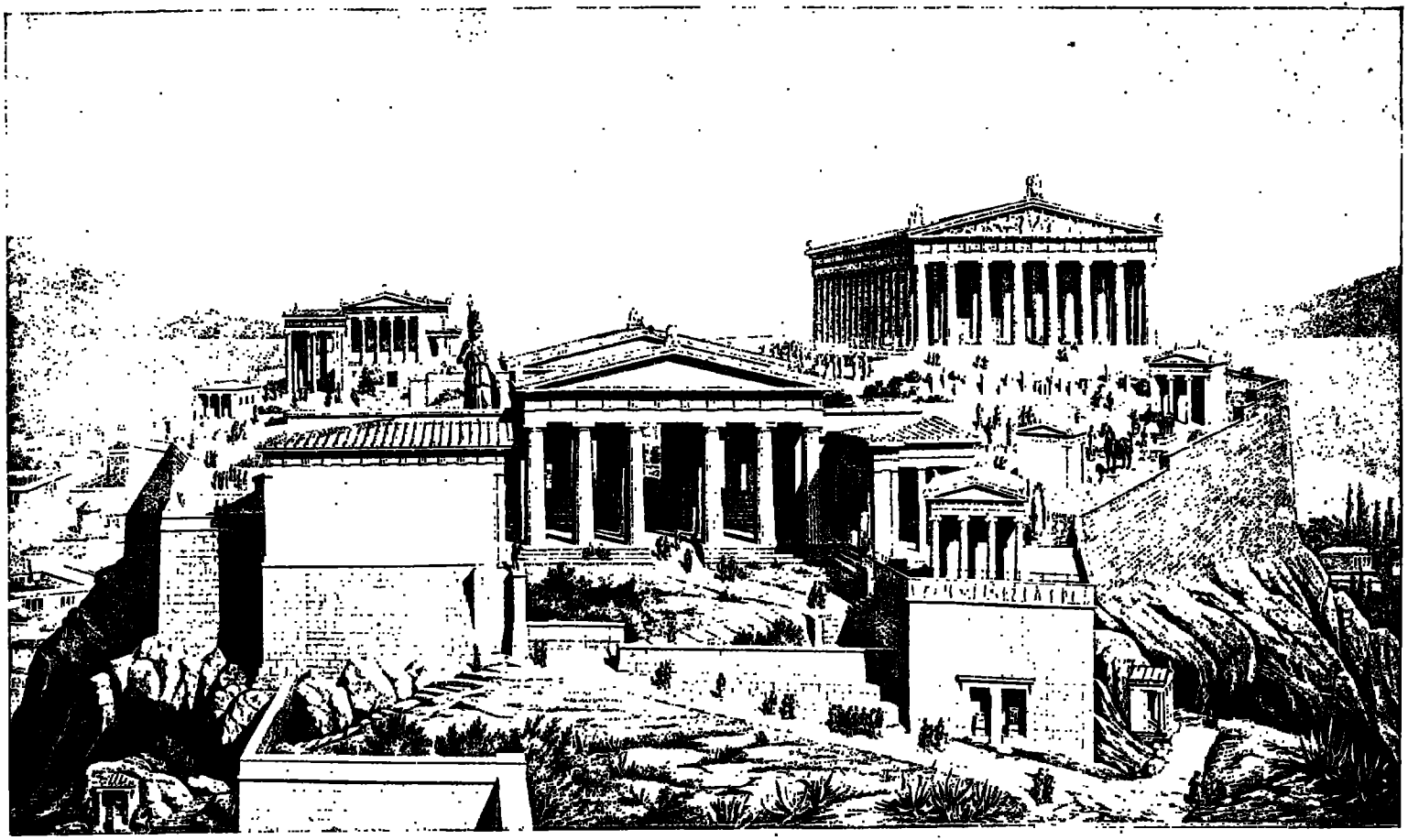
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FRONTISPIECE, VOL. VII.

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

WRITTEN BY THE FOREMOST HISTORIANS OF OUR TIME AND ILLUSTRATED WITH UPWARDS OF 8,000 PICTURES

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VOLUME VII.

EUROPE TO THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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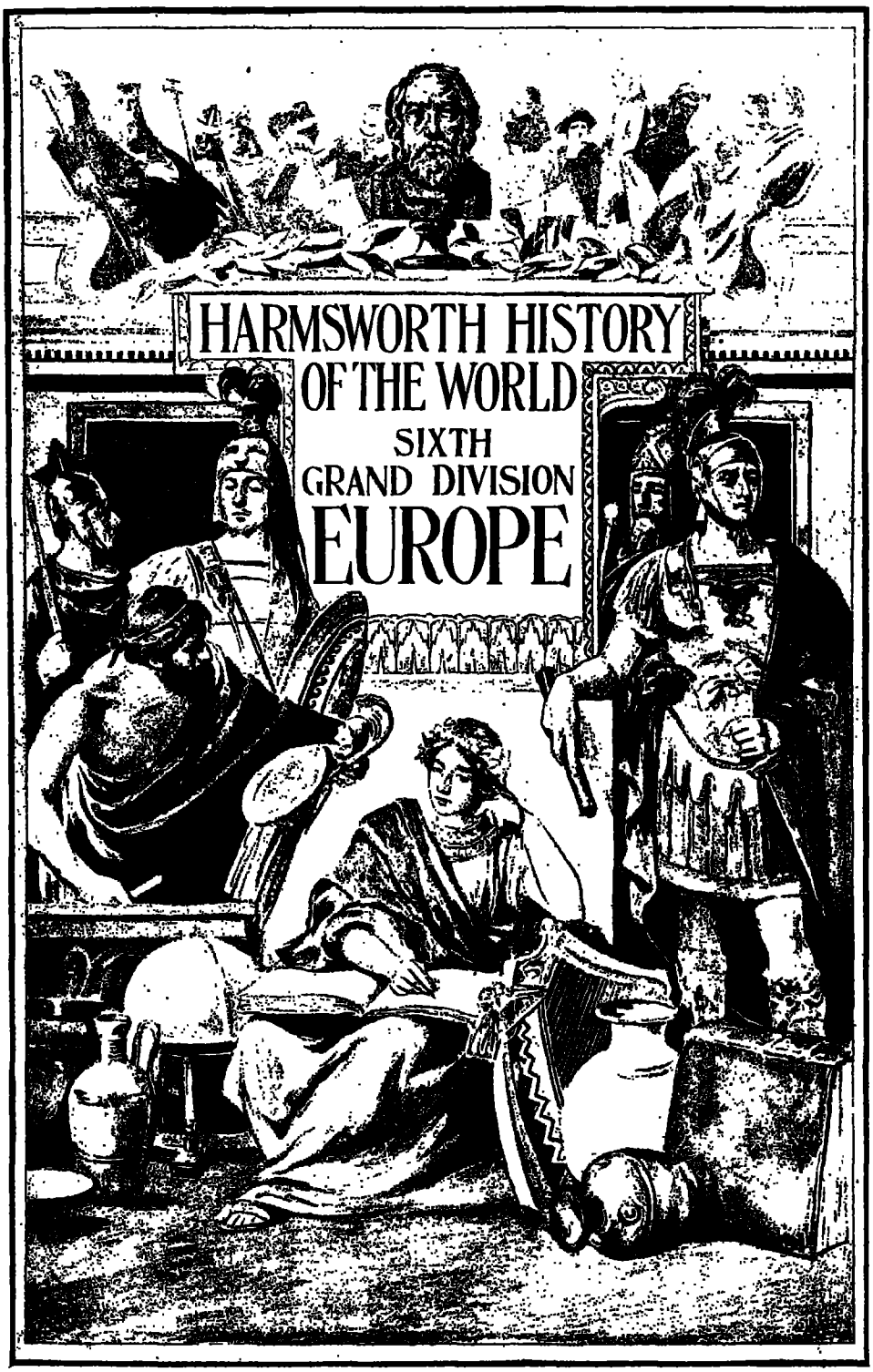
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SIXTH GRAND DIVISION

EUROPE

Following the geographical scheme on which this history is based, we now reach the Grand Division of Europe. But here a difficulty arises. The history of Europe must itself occupy one-half of the entire work: so that it requires a separate scheme of subdivision for itself, while the nature of international relations precludes this from following simple geographical lines; the attempt would produce not lucidity but confusion.

Nevertheless, it is possible to discover certain main lines, a scheme of historical grouping, which will help to give us clear pictures: a grouping which corresponds to historical fact.

First, then, we observe that, in strong distinction from the East, the recorded history of organised communities in Europe does not begin till well within the last thousand years B.C. Even tradition carries us little further back; we have to rely only upon conjectural reconstructions of earlier communities based upon comparative archæology. But from the moment that we find organised communities leading a settled existence in Greece development is rapid. Italy appears and takes definite shape while Greece is at its zenith; Rome gathers both the barbarian West and the Hellenised East under her shadow; Western Europe becomes historical precisely as it is brought into contact with the expansion of Rome; Europe is the Europe of the Roman Empire.

What lies outside is unknown: big with the future, but as yet formless. Then that outside world batters on the Roman ramparts, bursts through, rends it in twain, and deluges the western half. Thenceforth East and West work out each their own career in only partial contact. Here, then, we get our first dividing line. European history forms a unity till the time when the Roman Empire was sundered.

But here the river divides; the eastern and western streams flow separately for thirteen hundred years, when the forces which drive them towards unity receive an additional impulse from the Napoleonic struggles. In the east the Byzantine Empire carries on that of Rome, till its overthrow by the Turk; in the outer region the Naomic nationalities develop, and the Ugrian Magyars construct a state in Hungary.

Our second division, then, must be the history of Eastern Europe down to the Revolution epoch; meantime, the complexity of Western Europe history compels us to give it two divisions—the third and fourth, covering the same period—chronologically distinguished, but not otherwise, as Mediæval and post-Reformation. Here the Keltic, Teutonic, and Latin elements blend or are differentiated anew into the western nations of modern Europe, developing into sharply defined states.

At this epoch European history again becomes a unity, treated in the fifth division, which brings us down to our own day; while the survey of Europe in our own time forms the sixth division. For the convenience of our readers we shall provide for each of these divisions a conspectus such as we have hitherto given only for the Grand Divisions.



EUROPE

FIRST DIVISION

TO THE SUNDERING OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Until about the close of the fifth century of the Christian Era the history of Europe means in effect the history of just so much as fell within the ken of the Greeks and Romans. In other words, it is first the history of the development of the states of Greece, of that Hellenism which still remains the source of all intellectual life; secondly, the history of the rise and expansion of the Roman dominion which taught the world the meaning of Public Law; and, thirdly, the rise of the Christian Church as an organic body. Yet to follow the evolution of the Greeks and Romans we must first examine the ethnological and geographical conditions under which they developed—that is, the Early Peoples of South and West Europe. Thus our division falls into four clearly marked sections, to which are prefixed two essays: on the relation between European and other civilisations, and on characteristics of the Mediterranean Sea. Thus we shall see how the most brilliant of all civilisations—that of the Greeks—came into being, and how and why it failed to maintain—hardly, indeed, acquired—a real political predominance, though it remained a supreme intellectual influence. And next we shall see how an Italian city acquired first local leadership, then territorial dominion, and finally the lordship of the known world. Lastly, we shall see new barbaric forces crushing in upon it, and destroying its fabric; while another fabric of a new order—the Church—comes into being.





THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION
By Professor Flinders Petrie

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
By Count Wilczek and Dr. H. F. Helmolt

EARLY PEOPLES OF SOUTH AND WEST EUROPE
By Dr. Karl G. Brandis, Professor C. Pauli, and Dr. Heinrich Schurtz

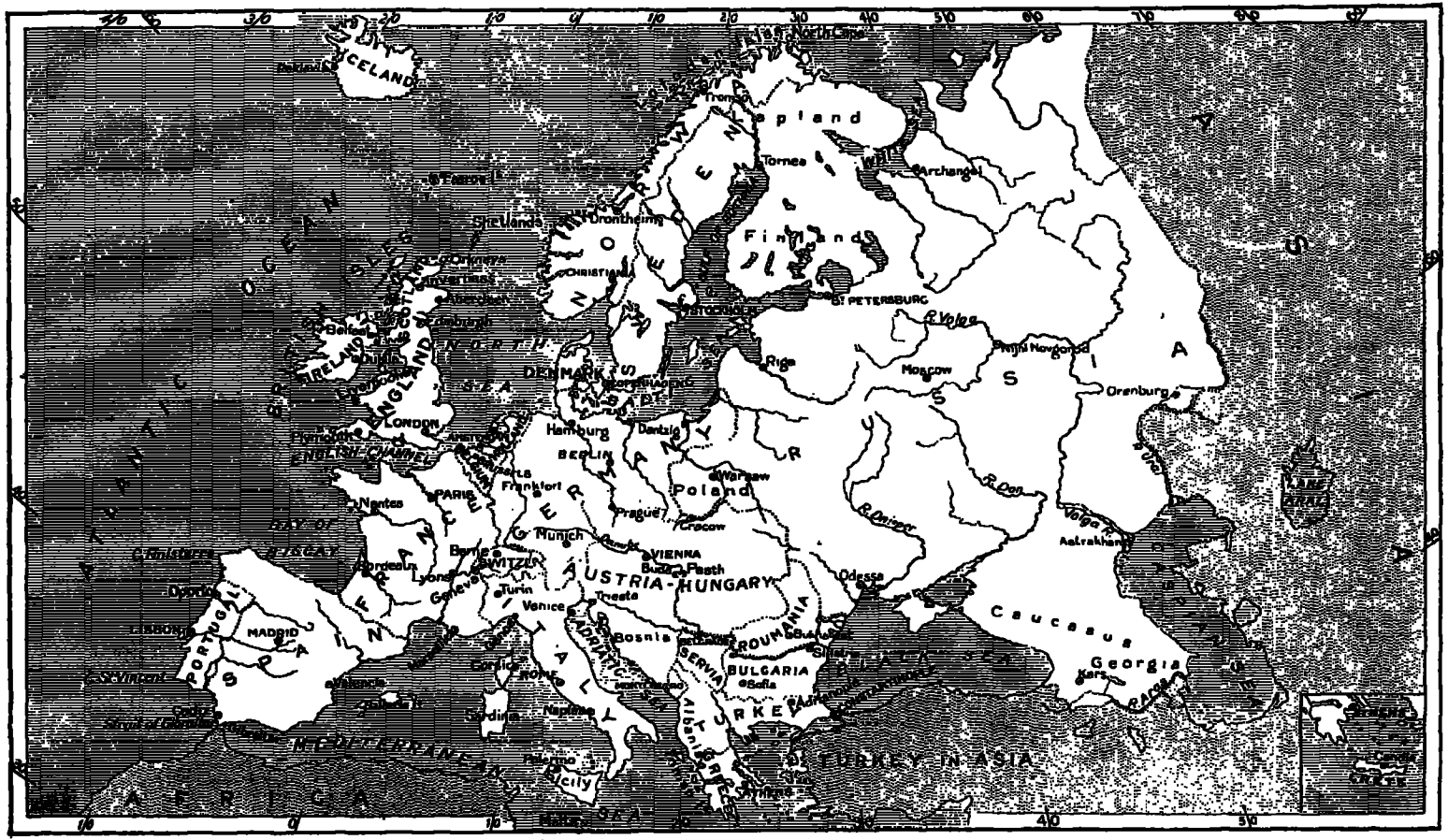
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ROME
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By Professor W. Walther

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE ANCIENT WORLD
By W. Romaine Paterson





GENERAL MAP OF EUROPE, ILLUSTRATING THE SIXTH GRAND DIVISION OF THE HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

The geographical scheme on which this history is based now brings us to the Grand Division of Europe, which must occupy one-half of the entire work, so that a separate scheme of subdivision is required. This cannot follow simple geographical lines as in previous Grand Divisions, in consequence of the complexity of international relations; but a scheme of historical groupings combining geographical features with historical fact has been devised. This plan of treatment, embracing six subdivisions for Europe, is elaborated on page 2354.

EUROPE'S DEBT TO THE PAST

A STUDY OF THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION

BY PROFESSOR FLINDERS PETRIE

IN recent times the primitive instinct of the corporate life of the nation has begun to regain its proper position. In primitive states of society men will cling together to the death as a tribe, and will endure much to keep up the traditions and possessions that they have inherited from their ancestors.

The ascetic life imported from India to the west undoubtedly did much to break up this corporate feeling. Preparation for a future life became an obsession, which extinguished every interest in maintaining continuity with the life of this world. And the monastic corporations when they arose formed a new world in themselves which had little to do with surrounding life. Later than this influence the large increase in knowledge during the last three centuries has not only regained much that had slipped away, but has pushed forward until it seems as if it had lost contact with the simpler conditions of the past. The bald utilitarianism of a century ago was but another name for ignorance and lack of sympathy. It would deny any value to aught but the purely material conditions of an animal existence. Every interest outside of those which are common to all countries and all planets alike was condemned as sentimental. Bentham and Mill led a school to live in the icy air of pure reason; and akin to this feeling was that of the French Revolution, denying all continuity, and uprooting everything for the pleasure of starting as if dropped from another planet.

The View of Things a Century ago

The last two generations have seen an enormous change in the vision of life, wider and deeper than it has ever been comprehended before. And as our knowledge has grown, the narrow utilitarianism has shrivelled off us, and we see the use and value and nobility of lands and ages far outside of the scope of our forefathers. There are three causes which have led to this truer appreciation of the world, and to the revival of the sense of continuity. First, we have learned far more about other existing civilisations. We do not look on them as wrong in differing from ourselves; we begin to understand that they are each adapted to the country and people to which they belong, and we are not so certain that we can improve everybody by trying to make them imitate us. This has given us more insight to understand the differing civilisations of the past. Then, secondly, we have learned far more about what has gone before us; we no longer trifle with the few scraps of early history that have come down to us, and try to make some new sense of them, but we go direct to the remains and records of the time and read the history of Egypt and Babylonia, and Crete and Asia Minor, from the very things that were made and used in past ages. Lastly, another great influence has been that of unifying our ideas of living Nature, and regarding it as a whole, developing, growing into new forms and interacting in all its parts.

The Enormous Change in the Vision of Life

The modern view of life leads directly to a truer view of the past. We now realise the immense unity of all life, wrought into infinite diversity by the conditions and opportunities which surround it. Ever thrusting forward with a pressure of potential variety, life in one form or another finds its lodgment in every cranny of the world. The lichen, the flower, the bacillus, the fish, the reptile, the bird, the quadruped, each fill some possible scope, each has a power of adaptability and of variation that fits it to accept every variety of the openings for life that surround it. And every one of the countless varieties that we see has been led up to by an ancestry fitting itself to every chance, growing forward to every opportunity.

The Immense Unity of all Life

The realisation of this penetrating view of the unity and continuous development of Nature makes it impossible for any

reasoning man to dream of sweeping away the present basis of civilisation and starting afresh. He might as soon try to kill off all existing life and create a new set of organisms. All that can ever be done with success is to direct the growth of civilisation as a gardener directs the growth of new and improved varieties of fruit. He gives the best specimens the opportunity, and rejects the others. That is what Nature is constantly doing with mankind, and all we can do is, like the highest function of a physician, "to help Nature." When Nature lets a stock degenerate by bad living—high or low—let it disappear. And whenever a promising variety appears let it have every chance.

How We May Help Nature

Just as the most real knowledge of Nature is gained by following out the variations of life, and tracing its changes, so the truest knowledge of man is in tracing how every variety of civilisation has grown from what it started as, and where it has paused, fallen back, or made fresh strides. There is no death, no legacy of a past; but an ever-flowing amount of life, handed on without break, without hesitation, ever changing and flowing in fresh channels. And at no point can be made a division that would not seem monstrous when we look at the age itself; whether it is the longer scale of the Saurians, the coal forests, and the silent seas of shell-fish and corals, or in the shorter scale of the stone-worker, the bronze-smelter, or the ironsmith, the chain of life knows no break in its ceaseless dependence on the past and production of the future. It is ever the result and the cause. Each age is but the trustee for the accumulated knowledge, powers, and facilities of life—called wealth—which are to be passed on—improved, if possible—to the future.

This continuity is not only in the important and great affairs, but also in the most trivial matters; not only in whole phases and styles, but in every little detail. The smallest point of character or of invention will continue to affect the detail of future things which may be quite different in nature and extent.

Why We Use Guineas

Two extreme instances of this may be given. The English gold coin was worth twenty shillings down to the Commonwealth. But as silver was the standard of value the pound-piece used to fluctuate from Charles II. to Anne's reign at any value between twenty and thirty shillings, but was generally at twenty-two. George I. fixed the exchange at twenty-one shillings, a mere accident of the time; and for a hundred years it continued at this value, until in 1817 the weight was reduced to fit the old value of twenty shillings. Here, an accident of exchange, and the inertia against changing the weight of the coin, has led to a guinea becoming fixed as the unit for all professional fees—except lawyers, who stick to the older "mark" of 13s. 4d.—all prices of articles of luxury—paintings, plate, carriages, jewellery—and all subscriptions.

Again, in the beginning of railways a carriage was built to hold so many people, the wheels were set on in the most convenient way, and there happened to be 4 ft. 8½ in. between them. The rails had to be laid down to fit them. More carriages and more rails were made, until now all Britain and much of the world elsewhere is tied to this mere accidental size of the experimental gauge. The strong attempt to get a 7 ft. gauge almost succeeded, but it could not overcome the original accident of size made by a man who never thought that he was controlling so much of the future.

Decisive Effect of the Trivial

How important these gauges are is little supposed. Two neighbouring Powers on the Continent had different gauges; A changed to the same as B. B in fright changed to another gauge, so that A could not overrun its lines. Then A made axles with sliding wheels to fit both gauges. The uniformity of a gauge may make or ruin the whole future of a nation. As the Japanese advanced into Manchuria with a narrower gauge than the Russians, they shifted the lines, and cut off the ends of all the sleepers, so that no Russian truck could run without entire renewal of the line.

It is impossible in private affairs to trace such distant causes of mere accidental events, of no apparent importance at the time; but in these great public results we see how continuous is the cause and its effects, and how impossible it is to get away from the results of acts which do not even depend on great or conscious decisions.

The fact that most marriages depend on very casual conditions of acquaintance

in their origin shows how the future of most people is conditioned by even small events. This view may seem to be somewhat fatalistic, as if all was hopelessly conditioned by the past. And so it is if we do not exercise foresight and judgment. With more foresight we should never have been troubled with guinea accounts and with irregular railway gauges. But just as circumstances offer infinite opportunities for favourable variations in organisms to succeed, so circumstances also offer full scope to will, exercised in foresight and judgment, to select the best, and by selection to rule and advance.

The wider and more intelligent view of the past has brought us to realise that we should not look at earlier forms of civilisation as blundering attempts to reach our present position and failures by just so much as they differ from our standards, but that we should look on each great institution as being the best solution that could be devised to meet the difficulties of its day. Each age has its own troubles and dangers to be met, just as we have; and each age is responsible for meeting those difficulties by applying and developing the various means that are at its hand. There is nothing in our conditions at present different in character from those of past times, and probably future times will look back on us as merely an indistinguishable stage of affairs.

Ours is But A Stage In Progress

When we look at the various institutions in our own history in England we can see how each of them was conditioned by the surrounding facts of life, and how each was the best solution which could be fitted to those facts. Given a very scattered population, living largely by hunting, with no central power, and continually in tribal wars, the conquered were mercifully treated by being made slaves instead of being killed off; slavery was in that stage the best solution, and in one stage of society it is almost essential to progress. Given a scattered population settled in pastoral life, in carefully reckoned families and clans; in order to check the habits of violence and to keep the peace, every injury up to murder was assessed at a given fine in cattle, and this fine was to be charged on all the guilty man's relations, out to minute fractions on fifth cousins. Thus, everybody was his brother's and his cousin's keeper, and it was the business of everybody for his own sake to see that no violence occurred. Blood-money was the best solution for law in that stage.

When the headstrong northern nations came into touch with Roman civilisation and the Church, long discipline was needed to develop self-restraint. Here the severe penitential system and the strong legal power of the Church were of the highest service, and proved to be the right solution of the difficulty by appealing to what was best in the wild natures they had to bring into order. What that nature was—raiding, plundering, burning, and slaying, with very light hearts—is, perhaps, best seen in a tale of a party of Norsemen who had taken a batch of captives, and ordered them to sit in a row along a fallen tree while one went along with a sword to lop off their heads. One head fell, and another, and another, till one dropped off so absurdly that they all burst out laughing, and both sides enjoyed the joke so heartily that they really did not see why any more heads should be cut off, and so the survivors were let off and probably remained as serfs.

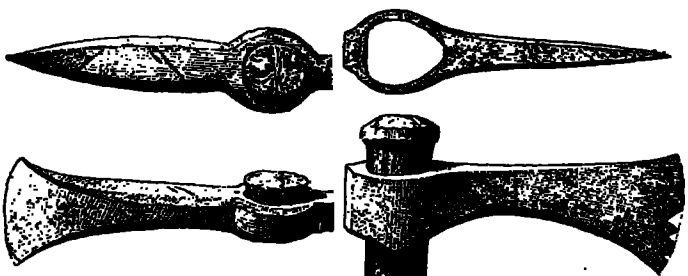
Civilisation and the Wild Norsemen

Without any general police force, and with a large number of strangers and "broken men" in the country, from both Welsh and Danish sources, it was essential that everyone should be answerable to a higher authority, just as now in the East every man must be under the authority of some head-man or sheikh. Hence, the stranger who could not produce any credentials was treated more severely than we now treat an actual thief. For a population living in scattered homesteads in the woods such law was the best solution. Not only had the stray outlaw to be dealt with, but the great danger from the immense hordes from the whole of Scandinavia and the Baltic had to be met. The old system, good enough against Welsh enemies, was entirely useless against the Danish host of ten thousand men well armed, who could break through Saxon England from side to side in great raiding marches at their pleasure.

Civilisation Saved By Castles

The system of great castles was the only salvation of the land, centres so strong that only a long and regular siege could subdue them. A strong baronage and great castles were the best solution of

the Norse affliction. These, however, in their turn, became a means of oppression, and required a check. and the greatest service of our Norman kings was in their control of the baronage. An unexampled line of strong men held the English throne, many wrong, but all strong—only one weak man in nine during more than two and a half centuries. This made England far more prosperous than any other land, and a powerful sovereign was a counterpoise to the baronage, while these two forms of authority formed the best government, in the absence of sufficient education in other classes to enable them to take part in affairs.



THE SPLENDID WEAPONS OF THE SAVAGE SAXON

Every race has cried out on the ways of newcomers as barbarous, and the Saxon conquering Britain was looked on as a savage overcoming civilisation; yet, he was better armed than the Briton, and his weapons were really splendid, as may be seen from these fine battle-axes which were found in the peat-moss of Nydam in Sleswig.

Coming later, the strength of the Church and of the baronage was injurious, and a strong king was needed to reduce them. The hosts of armed retainers which had been needed when the land was disturbed were a waste and a danger under a firm government, and Henry VII. abolished them by merciless fines. The absorption of men and money in monasticism was a waste and a moral injury, and for a century not a single endowment had been given for such purposes in London; Henry VIII. abolished the system, which had ceased to be useful. The strong Tudors were essential to England. But kingship of such a strength, having done its work, needed a counterpoise. The same power of compulsory rule was tried by a democracy under the Commonwealth, but proved an entire failure in government. A pause followed, and then a new solution was found and applied under William III., of toleration, bounded only by political necessity.

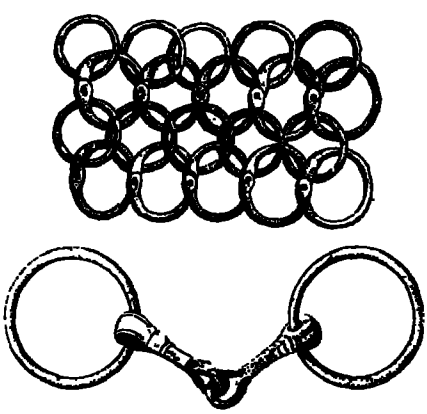
Barons and Monks Reduced

To come nearer would lead us to questions of present politics and debate; but the principle that in each age the institutions have been the best working solution of the difficulties and conditions of the time is clearly seen in these examples. There has been a continuous adaptation of means, without break or rest. The difficulties have been new, depending on changes in knowledge and in movements of races, but there has been a continual course of meeting them out of existing resources, step by step. We, too, have to deal with changes in transmission, both of persons and of news, and in the using of natural forces, which must result in immense remodelling of all the systems of life. We have faced much of it, and have even more yet to deal with. But the only road is that of continuous change, just as past times have met their new conditions. The one general lesson is that successful adaptation depends on incessant gradual movement, and that a jerky progress by fits and starts is the most damaging to the social machine.

The continuity of civilisation has been much obscured by the changes that it has undergone. What we have in general are very one-sided accounts, and naturally each race has cried out on the ways of newcomers. as hateful, oppressive, and barbarous. It is difficult to realise at first that the people who are objected to as savages may be really on a higher plane in abilities, in knowledge, or in morals. Yet such has been the case. The Saxon conquered Britain, and is looked on as a savage overcoming civilisation. Yet he was better armed than the Briton, with beautifully made chain mail, and splendid weapons, while his handiwork in shipbuilding was of the best. Gildas, the British historian, calls the Saxon "fierce and

impious," yet he calls his own people cruel, false, luxurious, and licentious, laity and clergy alike. The fierce and impious Saxon was the better man in every way, as well as the more skilful and able. In spite of the high culture which the Saxon quickly d veloped, as we see in the great historian Bede, he soon corrupted, so that Alfred wrote: "So clean was learning fallen off among English folk, tha few there were on this side Humber that could understand the Service in English . . . so few that I cannot bethink me of one south of the Thames." The Dane was the remedy, another wave of the same s ock and civilisation which had overflowed the Briton. He had far better organisation and governing power than the Saxon. The great Canute gave England a time of strong and good government, trusting entirely to English support, better than the country had ever known before.

Lastly came the finest race of all — the indomitable Northman, educated by the Roman civilisation of France, the Nor hman who in Sicily founded the most splendid civilisation of tolerance and ability that had ever been seen in the world. In England, he made England what it is; and in no other two centuries has this land changed so much as between Edward the Confessor and Edward I. Thus, harsh as these great changes were, and however much our sympathy may be with the conquered in each case, it was the better man that won, and there was more throw-back by the degeneration in peace than there was by loss in war.



BEAUTIFUL SAXON CHAIN-WORK
A specimen of the beautifully-made iron chain-mail of the conquering Saxon, from Denmark; the same excellence of workmanship is seen in the horse-bit.

But a great lesson from this view is that no race or class can long continue that is not of the best ability and usefulness in the world. Without striving, there is stagnation, and stagnation inevitably means decay and disappearance. If man will not strive with Nature, he must strive with his fellow-man or pass away.

No Thriving Except by Striving

We must not look merely on only one idea of civilisation — there are many different lines. Each is a form of civilisation, but no people ever united them all together, and few have even been great in more than a single line. There is moral civilisation with a strong ethical sense, developing generally as a religious spirit. There is artistic civilisation, splendid and attractive to all future ages. There is scientific civilisation, the knowledge of Nature and the power over it. And there is the civilisation of luxury, display, and wealth. Each conduces to the ability for the communal life of man, the power of the *civis*, or citizen, which leads to being citizenised or civilised.

Different Kinds of Civilisation

To make this more clear, let us notice a great and exclusive instance of each of these forms of civilisation. There was the moral force of the Puritan, who hated art, who despised science, and who ignored wealth; yet he gave the force of character which made the Englishman's word trusted, and which moved most of the humanitarian improvements of modern times. There was the ancient Greek, supreme in the sense of the beautiful, who was grossly immoral, who knew very little of science, and who was a poor dweller in a barren land. There was the Jesuit, great in scientific skill and the advancement of knowledge, whose moral sense is a byword, who had no feeling for art, and who was vowed to poverty and self-denial. For wealth and luxury none could excel the later Imperial Roman; yet his morals were infamous, his science trivial, and his art detestable. Each of these peoples were truly and highly civilised, but each in only one direction.

We now turn to actual examples of continuity in various pursuits of life. In art there are many striking instances; indeed, it appears that each land has an artistic style which belongs to it through all ages and changes. In France there is a spray carved on bone by Palæolithic Man which might belong to an ivory carving of the Middle Ages [see page 151]. The style of the earliest Iron Age, as found at La Téne, is closely like the ironwork

designs on the church doors of the fourteenth century.

The lumpy curves in high relief of the late Keltic bronzework revived again in the Louis Quinze style, especially furniture. In Germany the bronze decoration of Roman times found on the Rhine might well be a piece of modern German work in its fulsome style; and the crowded design of the embossed gold plates of the great altar of Milan, made by a German a thousand years ago, recall the close packing of a Dürer wood engraving. In Italy, the old Etruscan style of figures, with staring eyes and coarse straight hair, was suppressed for four centuries by Greek influence, but revived in the age of Constantine. And the long, straight legs and stiff posture of the figures on Roman sarcophagi in North Italy reappear in the paintings of a thousand years later. The continuity of art and feeling appears to belong to the land itself, and to revive in each race that comes in and after each eclipse by an alien influence.



GERMAN ART 1,000 YEARS AGO



THE ART OF DÜRER, 500 YEARS LATER

Each land has an artistic style which belongs to it through all ages. Thus the crowded design of the gold plates of the great altar of Milan, made by a German 1,000 years ago, recalls the close packing of a Dürer engraving.

But this does not at all account for style as a whole. There is a strong influence of each age, widespread in all lands that are in touch with each other. Beside the direct influence due to actual immigration, such as the Roman work all round the Mediterranean Sea, or the modern European style which is spreading over all the world now, there is also a fashion of each age—as, for instance, the mediæval Arabic illuminations closely like French work of the same age.

The history of art, then, may be likened to a piece of woven stuff. The long lines of warp represent the continuing styles of each country, always reappearing; while the cross threads of woof are the fashion of each age, being threaded through the permanent warp and binding it all together. This analogy is not only true of art, but also of political thought, and perhaps of all branches of civilisation. History is the fabric woven of space and time, the abiding threads of each country being chequered by the times, now bright, now gloomy, which affect all countries alike. And the patterns that are woven in the loom of history depend upon whether the thread of time or the thread of place is uppermost. We can see the threads of warp stretching into the future, and know that they will not change; the woof of the times shot across them is the only thing in man's power, and is what we cannot foresee, but can direct.

Religion is, perhaps, of all forms of thought that which shows most continuity; this is partly owing to a sense of sanctity, preventing change, and to its being not often challenged by ethics, and still more seldom by facts. We may take one example—the worship of the Great Mother goddess, supreme in Mediterranean lands, "whom all Asia and the world worshippeth." After the cruder early worships had died down, being withered by the theology of gods which came down into Greece from the north, then the spread from Egypt of

the worship of Isis as the Great Mother covered all civilised lands. In York, in Germany, all through France, Switzerland, and Italy, in Africa and in Syria, Isis was the Queen of Heaven, the mother to whom all appealed.

Her service of tonsured priests in white, with litany and sacrifice, resounded in all lands. Isis and her son Horus had won the worship given to the Great Mother around the Mediterranean. And then a compromise with Christianity became inevitable. With an easy compliance the Syrian Maid Miriam, or Mary, became called the Queen of Heaven; and the Divine Teacher, the Man of Sorrows, was, with bold transformation, viewed as the infant Horus, a type new to Christianity. The substance of the old worship remained under altered names, and the Great Mother and her Infant are still the adored of Mediterranean lands. Again, Dr. Evans has found that in Crete some one or two thousand years before Christianity, the Greek cross was the object of worship in the form which still distinguishes the Greek Church. It is familiar how the so-called festivals of the Church were far older religious ceremonies which were adapted to the new doctrine. The celebrated letter of Pope Gregory in 601 A.D. gives the change in detail: "The temples of the idols of the English ought not to be destroyed . . . let altars be erected and relics placed . . . and because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices to devils, some solemnity must be exchanged . . . as that on the day of dedication on the nativities of the holy martyrs . . . for it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds."

A Wonderful Continuity in Religion





ART'S CONTINUITY IN ITALY
The continuity of art was strikingly illustrated in Italy, where the old Etruscan style of figures with staring eyes and coarse hair was revived four centuries later in the age of Constantine, seen in the head from a medallion on the right.



CROSS BEFORE CHRISTIANITY
Continuity in religion is well illustrated by the marble cross, found in Crete, used some thousand years before Christianity.

In short, no beliefs can be expelled from a whole people; they can only be overlaid by other ideas, transformed and modified. What men now believe in England is not only some formula of church or chapel, but a host of far older ideas of luck, of places and things and numbers, which have come down from untold ages.

How much has passed from very early times to our own common use is seldom understood. The ancient Babylonian chanted in sorrow:

"O my Lord! my sins are many, my trespasses are great;
And the wrath of the gods has plagued me with disease and with sickness and sorrow.
I fainted but no one stretched out his hand;
I groaned, but no one drew nigh.
I cried aloud, but no one heard.
O Lord, do not abandon Thy servant.
In the waters of the great storm hold Thou his hand.
The sins which he has committed, turn Thou to righteousness."

So sang the penitent Jew long after him, so wept the Church all through the Middle Ages, and so echoes the chant in every cathedral to-day. The Book of Psalms is but little changed from the religious songs which rose from the Euphrates long before Moses; yet it formed the most important and all-present book of the Church for many centuries, recited through entirely every day by millions of men. Such is religious continuity.

In government there is not only continuity but continual repetition of the same idea age after age. The world gets no older. The steady growth of institutions, transformed in each age without a breach, is a ground-principle of English life.

In Rome we see the same idea, for, immense as was the change from the Republic to the Cæsars, and from the Cæsars to the later Empire, yet each change was grafted on what preceded it. Each emperor was a consul and a tribune; and the solemn farce of votes of power, as Tribune and

Pontiff for ten years at a time, which was begun in the second century, became most prominent in the fifth century, when it was farthest from any real meaning. Thus do forms of government survive by the clinging of man to continuity.

Continuity in Systems of Government

The various types of government have all been in use in different ages. Constitutions flourished in Greece as a political epidemic, so that the description of their varieties was a main part of political literature. Every obscure city was changing continually through the range of democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies.

It may be thought that the latest phase of our own time is something new. Yet read this: "All ought to enjoy all things in common, and live upon the same amount of property; and not for one to be rich and another miserably poor, nor one to cultivate much land and another to have not even enough to be buried in. . . . I will make one common subsistence for all, and that, too, equal." "But how then if any of us do not possess land, but silver and gold, personal property?" "He shall pay it in for public use . . . for it will be of no use to him at all." "Pray why?" "No one will do any wickedness through poverty, for all will be possessed of all things." "But if one lose a lawsuit, how will he pay damages?" "But there will not be any lawsuits." "Not if a man disputes his debts?" "No; for there could not be a lender unless he had stolen the money." "But in case of assault, where are the damages?" "Out of the man's food rations." "But will there be no thieves?" "No; for all shall have subsistence; and if anyone tries to steal a cloak it will be given up readily, because there is always another better to be had from the common stock." "But what sort of life shall we lead?" "Common to all. For I say I will make the city one single house, having broken up all into one, also that they may go into each other's houses."

Socialism at Work in Greece

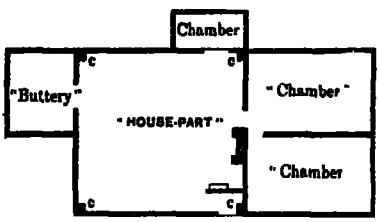
Is this Mr. H. G. Wells? No; it is Aristophanes, with his tongue in his cheek at the visionaries of his day. And, seriously, much such a frame of life existed and was actually worked in a Greek state, which is more than can be said of any modern country. The production and training of children was a matter of the state, not left to any individual notions. Incessant inspection and supervision left not a moment outside of state control, and training was incessant. Men dined together on precisely the same fare; and all servants, dogs, and horses were public property. Houses were of the plainest and simplest materials. Agriculture was the main industry, and commerce was prevented. Capital was so hardly dealt with that if any were acquired it was stored abroad in other states. Such was Sparta, the best and most successful example of a socialist state, where the public power was supreme, and no shirking of burdens was allowed. This was a more complete experiment than any that have been carried out since to such an end. The result was that advance was impossible, and not a single benefit, or improvement, or addition to knowledge, was made by the whole people. Later ages would never have missed them, and their neighbours would have been much happier without them. The past has sufficed to try the varieties of government, and we need only to look through what mankind has already found out if we wish to know how various systems and checks practically work. The success of any particular type of government entirely depends on the character and abilities of the rulers and the ruled.

The Far-back Basis of our Laws

In laws there is the same continuity of civilisation. Much of the world is governed by Roman law, of which the changes may be followed in history from the primitive twelve tables of the Republic, gradually expanded to the Code of Justinian. That Code, fortified by a digest of illustrative decisions, has formed the legal groundwork of all Latin Europe for 1,300 years. England and the northern peoples, on the other hand, cling mainly to developments from the tribal laws of prehistoric ages. And all countries have been influenced, more or less, by the Canon Law of the Church, which is Semitic Hebrew law in its foundation, changed by western associations.

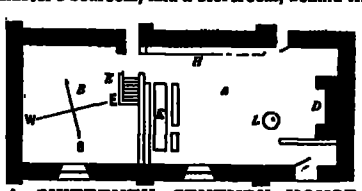
In all ages and countries some means have been found for adapting laws to new conditions without violating their continuity. It is easier to add a patch rather than make a new article—it does not clash with the feelings of people, and it avoids touching laws which often have acquired a religious sanctity. The easiest way of adapting a law is by a legal fiction,

by which difficulties are overcome without actually altering a law. For instance, a common transfer of shares at the present day requires the amount paid on the other side of the bargain to be stated, but as it is often a bequest or a gift, the amount could hardly be named; so a convenient custom of saying that five shillings has been given for perhaps thousands of pounds' worth of property, is a legal fiction to save trouble. The same document calls to witness the signatures and seals of the sellers and buyers, but their seals — which were so essential in the Middle Ages, as now in the East —are, by a legal fiction, represented by a row of little embossed red stamps exactly alike. And, further, the date of signing is supposed to be written before the signature, but is always left blank, so that no difficulty may arise about the document being handed in too long after signing. Here a form used thousands of times daily entirely rests in the most important particulars upon a series of fictions, in order to save trouble in altering the laws.



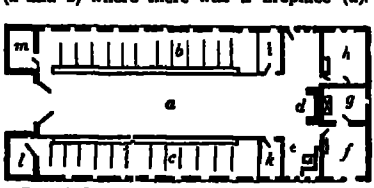
PLAN OF A MEDIÆVAL HOUSE

The mediæval house was a large hall with a fireplace at one end and two chambers, the master's bedroom, and a storeroom, behind it.



A SIXTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE

The 16th century house had two floors connected by a stair (e) from the general house (a and b) where there was a fireplace (d).



SAXON HOUSE ARRANGEMENT

In domestic architecture there has been entire continuity from the old style of Saxon house, with its cattle stalls (b, c) on both sides of a long hall (a), through its mediæval modifications to the two-floor 16th century building. From Addy's "Evolution of the English House."

Another way out of the difficulty of continuity is by altering the law to meet the hardship of the individual case where it might work unjustly, a power reserved to the Crown through its high officials, under the name of Equity. The appeal for evading the consequences of the ordinary law may be made to the principles of the law, where the practical working of it is against those principles; or sometimes an appeal has been made to a so-called "Law of Nature," which merely means the average conscience of man, or those conditions which are necessary for any social life.

The Law Saving its Character

The continuity requires to be entirely broken in some cases, and a new law set up, and this is done by us in an Act of Parliament; but this is very rarely the case, as most Acts deal only with the relative power of various parties already acting, and are but slight modifications of the conditions. In geography and astronomy our knowledge has been built up continuously on that of thousands of years ago. How far the Babylonian and Egyptian astronomers had gone we have not enough records to show. Certainly by 4,700 B.C. the Egyptian could fix the north point, or meridian, to within a minute of angle or less. We reach the complete treatise on geography and the positions of the stars in the grand work of Ptolemy, the astronomer of Alexandria about 150 A.D. When we consider that he had to build up his map out of all kinds of irregular material, we may be surprised that it is, on the whole, so true. There were no surveys of any extent, but he had only distances along a network of roads, records of voyages, and a few notes of the number of the hours in the day in summer or winter; and where these materials did not check each other, as in the scanty accounts of distant lands, it was no wonder that prominences —such as the Kentish foreland, the Egyptian Delta and India — were not understood. And it is not till within the lifetime of present people that we have exceeded the accuracy of Ptolemy in every respect, as his map of Central Africa was not bettered till the days of Speke. His astronomy, giving the places of over a thousand stars, all registered by latitudes and longitudes, was a grand work, which is still of value in some inquiries. Altogether, Ptolemy, by rescuing the earlier work of Hipparchus, and improving and extending it, made one of the greatest steps in the systematic knowledge of Nature. He did for geography and astronomy what

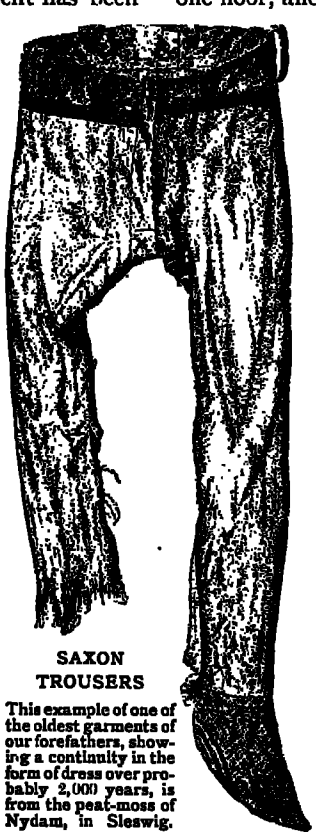
How Geography Grew Up

Linnæus did for botany, and Buffon for zoology. When we turn to the arts of life, the chief of them, architecture, seems so peculiar to each country that the continuous descent of it is not obvious over long periods. But one of the best fields for studying the growth of variation is in English buildings. Over some six centuries, 1000–1600 A.D., the unbroken descent of one form from another is beautifully continuous. And if the last three centuries have stopped the evolution, yet the other forms used have been entirely intentional copies of older works, stepping back to pick up various designs which were the best of their times. And though in formal architecture on a large scale the chain of continuous descent has been dropped, yet in domestic building it has continued down to recent times.



THE BLOUSE OF THE SAXONS
Which lasted down to our own days in the English smock-frock and the French blouse.

The mediæval house was a a large room or hall, with a fireplace at the upper end; and later it had two chambers behind this fire, with a door on each side of the fire. These were used for the master's bedroom and a store-room, while the servants slept on straw in the hall. Where cattle were kept for a farm, the old style of Saxon house had stalls down both sides of a long hall. The next type was formed by putting boards up on the tie-beams of the open roof to form a platform to sleep upon. Thus an upper floor was begun. Then the hall was encroached upon by more chambers being cut off around it, the ladder or stair still going up out of the hall, as before. The idea of a passage giving entrance to several rooms did not come into use till the eighteenth century; till then the rooms merely led one out of the other even in palaces, as Hampton Court or the Louvre. Then a lengthening out of the hall took place, so as to give access to all the rooms separately, and our modern passages appear. The master's meals and living retreated from the hall to his own private room, and then the "servants' hall" remained. Lastly, the hall has shrunk to the modern entrance passage, only just wide enough to pass in, and we have the idea of the house as a group of chambers fitted together, with the least possible space wasted on passages for access. Thus in domestic architecture there has been entire continuity. Now the movement is to limit each family to one floor, and to construct flats. The next stage may be to have kitchens in common, and order all food from a central supply; and the use of large reception-rooms, which are seldom wanted, may be enjoyed in rotation, as required.



SAXON TROUSERS
This example of one of the oldest garments of our forefathers, showing a continuity in the form of dress over probably 2,000 years, is from the peat-moss of Nydam, in Sleswig.

When we look at earlier architecture, we see how very strong is the continuity of forms. In Egypt, where colossal stonework was built during thousands of years, the essential features were the slope of outer sides copied from brickwork, the roll extending down the corners copied from houses of palm-stick or maize stalk, and the overhanging cornice copied from the heads of the palm-sticks nodding over. In Greece, all the features of the marble architecture were copied from woodwork; the beams, the roofing boards, the nail-heads were all elaborately made in stone, like the modern cast-iron imitations of stonework. In Rome the system of coffered ceilings, which was entirely of

woodwork design, was not only made in marble, but was copied in immense concrete castings. In every country and age we can see the strong effect of continuity in architecture after the real causes of form have passed away, and it has ceased to have a structural meaning.

When we turn to the more personal protection of man in clothing, we see the same continuity. The oldest garments of our forefathers that we can show are the smock or blouse and the trousers, found in the peat moss of Sleswig, and made two or three centuries before the Saxons moved from those parts. Similar garments were used further east, in what is now Roumania; but there the blouse was rather longer, and tied with a girdle round the waist, while the trousers had no foot-piece, but were tucked into a leather shoe laced up the front. This type of dress lasted down to our own days, in the English smock-frock and the French blouse. It is the dress of Northern Europe, in contrast to the dress of the Mediterranean, which is more akin to the Eastern robe. The jacket is an entirely different garment, probably belonging to Central and Eastern Europe. The trousers in the Sleswig example have a foot covering attached, like the hose of pages in the fifteenth century. They were held up by a girdle passing through loops round the top edge, a better form than the modern workman's loose sash round the waist. Thus there is a continuity in dress over probably a couple of thousand years. Though fashions are always changing, yet the variations are only in the details of form, while the general shape remains much the same. The waistcoat has lengthened in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and then shortened again to its present size. The coat is sometimes fuller, sometimes plainer, but the forms practically continue.

Woman's dress has varied greatly in detail, but in its essential forms it has continued with hardly any alteration. The flounced skirts of the Cretans, over 3,000 years ago, might well be a modern fashion. The bodice, though so open, was almost rivalled by some a couple of centuries ago, and is, in principle, a modern form. The ornamental additions are akin to those of modern days, and there has not been any new type permanently added to woman's dress since the prehistoric times. In the various crafts, different styles, when once started, are continued for ages as a basis for growth and variations. The characteristic clay and colouring of Greek pottery begins to be used as early as 5400 B.C., being found in the tombs of kings of the first Egyptian dynasty; and the patterns and forms begun then continue to develop onwards for 4,000 years. New ideas and types then came in; but yet the old colouring and clay, and family of forms went on down to the Roman Age, without any great break.


DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,

MODERN FASHIONS 3,000 YEARS AGO

Woman's dress, in its essential forms, has continued with hardly alteration, as may be seen in the flounced skirts of these Cretan priestesses which, over 3,000 years old, might well be a modern fashion. From Dr. Evans' report on the excavations at Cnossos.

In shipbuilding the advance was great in the prehistoric ages. The large size of the vessels as far back as 6000–7000 B.C. proves the skill of the builders. The ships were at least 50 ft. long, or more probably over 100 ft., by the

proportion of the cabins built upon them. And the structure of a wooden vessel of this size must be fairly good to be seaworthy at all.

Earliest Ship in Existence

The first actual example of shipping that is preserved is that found at Nydam, in Sleswig, belonging to about 200 A.D., two or three centuries before our Saxon ancestors left that land. This is a clincher-built boat, each plank being attached to the next with iron nails. The framing is elaborately made to give elasticity and play, useful both in strains of position and in changes of w tting and drying, as the vessels were hauled up in winter. In place of nailing the boards on to the ribs of bent timber, each board was worked down, leaving projecting lugs of wood to come on both sides of each rib. These pierced lugs were then lashed to the ribs by raw hide strips, leaving necessarily a good deal of play. Thus the boat was really an elastic shell of joined planks, which was kept from being crushed out of shape by lashing to a stiff frame inside. This, and other boats of the same class, are considered to be thoroughly adapted to the ocean-raiding work for which they were built. The design has not altered for nearly 2,000 years, and perhaps much longer, and continuity in boat-building has be n unchanged, except in adaptation to larger fo ms and iron construction. Beside the c ntinuity in works there is a similar continuity in the forms of tools. The very nam s cling to them long after they have been changed; the flint cutter used by the Saxons before the use of copper, perhaps 4,000 years ago, the *ceosel*, or flint stone, passed through the mediæval *cisel* to the Middle English chisel; the Saxon *hamor* is supposed to mean originally the "stone," and this gave all the northern nations the word hammer.

The forms of modern tools have been almost unchanged for 2,000 or 3,000 years. From the Bronze Age in Italy at about 800 B.C. descend the various forms of chisel—the round stem with wide shoulder and square tang, the square stem, the octagonal stem, the wide smoothing chisel, the socket chisel, and the mortise chisel. These are all thoroughly well designed, with wide shoulders to prevent their being driven up into the wooden handle, and rings of thickening on the sockets to prevent their splitting. Gouges are also found of the same age, as well as curved knives with a socket handle.



THE EARLIEST SHIP NOW IN EXISTENCE: A SAXON BOAT OF 200 A.D.
A remarkable boat, preserved in the peat-moss of Nydam, elaborately built to give elasticity against great strains. Continuity in boat-building has been unbroken, and this design has not been departed from for 2,000 years.

Other modern forms are found in the earliest steel tools known, of about 670 B.C. made by the Assyrians. The chisels have not the wide, thin shoulder all round, but a stout projection on the under and upper surfaces, and none at the sides. There are very strong iron ferrules for the handles, showing that they were beaten. The forms are the stout cutting chisel, the mortise chisel and the smoothing chisel. A brace was also used, as some bits with square shanks show; the centre-bit has a middle pin, but scraped the way on both sides, instead of one side cutting the edge; the scoop bit

The First Tools Made of Steel

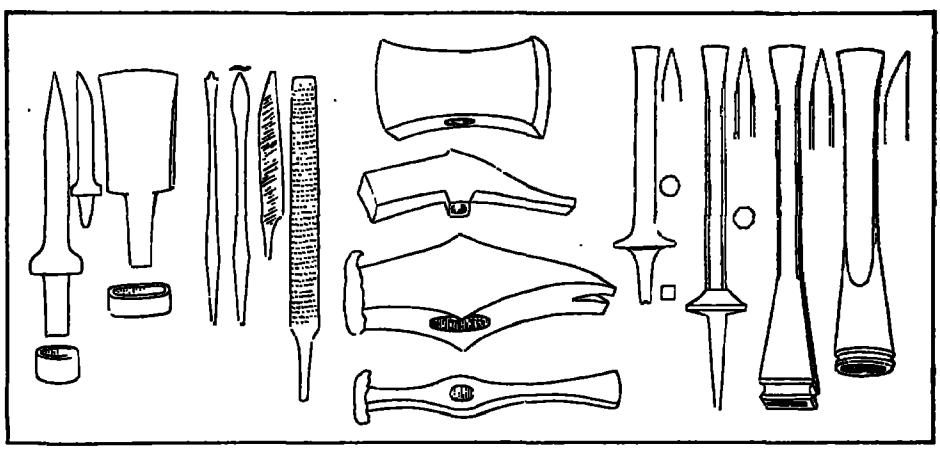
is an excellent form for hard wood. Two pieces of iron, which are probably parts of the brace, were found with these. An elementary file is formed like a very thick knife, hatched by chisel cuts on both sides and back; it is the original of the modern sawfish. The long rasp is exactly of the modern pattern, with points raised by punching.

Thus the main tools were well known 2,500 years ago; they have been improved in some cases, but others continue exactly as then used in the days of the Jewish kingdom.

When we come to Roman times, the rest of the modern tools appear. The grand quantity of tools from Pompeii, which were made about 70 A.D., are supplemented by various discoveries in Britain and other lands. The

Our Time is From Babylon

ators all unity; so that $\frac{7}{8}$ was written $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$, or, $\frac{5}{6} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$, or, $\frac{10}{11} = \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{22}$. The Babylonian took a more complex, but in some ways a more convenient, system of 60 as a base, thus divisible by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 20, 30; and he dealt with fractions as multiples of smaller and smaller units. The hour was the time unit, and the degree was the angle unit, both being divided into minutes and seconds. And this system seems now to have been stamped on the whole world for ever. We have seen how the alphabet of Europe has continuously developed from ownership marks, during about 8,000 or 9,000 years, until it has now spread over the world, and may perhaps drive out some of the other systems of Arabia, India, and China. A



TOOLS IN MODERN USE, DESIGNED FROM 2,000 TO 3,000 YEARS AGO

The forms of modern tools have remained almost unchanged for 2,000 or 3,000 years. The group of bronze chisels on the right, made in Italy about 800 B.C., hardly differ from chisels now in use, and many modern tools—cutting and mortise chisels, centre-bits, file, and rasp—are seen in the group at the left of the earliest steel tools known, made by Assyrians about 670 B.C. The Romans produced the hammer, specimens made about 70 A.D., being seen in the centre.

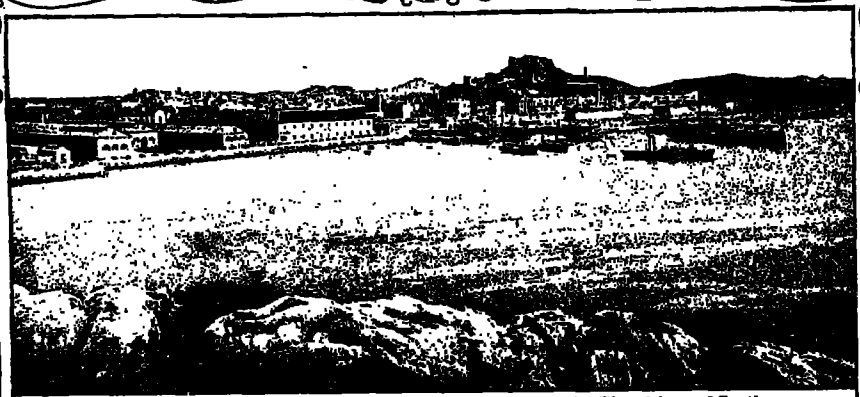
hammers are of several types—the heavy smoothing hammer for beating metal, the caulking hammer, with a square edge, the clawhammer, and various others. The axes are of many forms, most of which may be seen now in Italy. Picks for breaking stone and for picking up the ground, are usual. Knives are very varied, usually with a curve, like modern Italian forms. Lastly, we may look at the mode of record and notation. The Egyptian had developed a pure decimal system, with a different sign for each place of figures up to millions [see page 246], and this has lasted for over 8,000 years. He also invented a system of fractions with numer-

Decimals are Egyptian

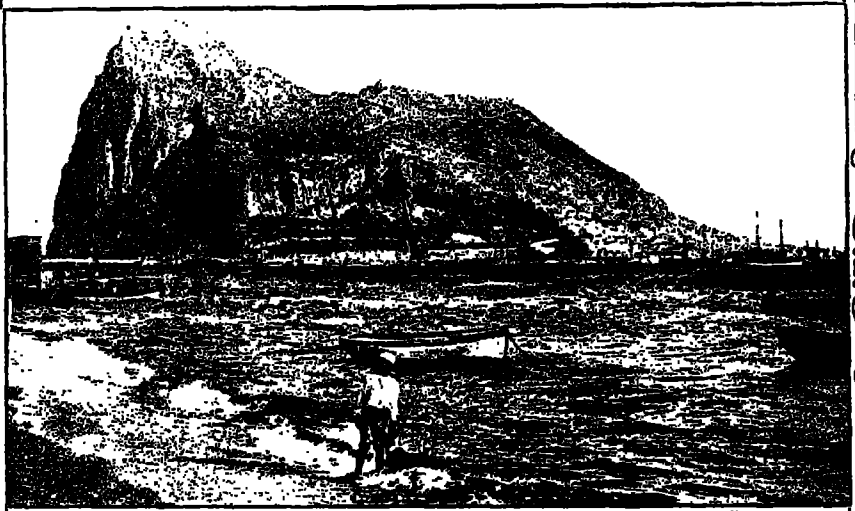
similar growth is now going on in the use of mathematical and chemical notations, which are continually receiving fresh signs and conventions. These will last, with perhaps some simplifications, and be the vehicles of knowledge for future ages.

In every department of man's activities we see then the same continuity that belongs to life itself. A really new thought or invention is very rare; each step is conditioned by the past, and could not have been reached without the previous movements that led up to it. In every respect—physically, intellectually, and spiritually—man is "the heir of all the ages," and his future welfare lies in giving the fullest effect and expansion to his glorious inheritance.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE



Cartagena, a port of the Western Mediterranean, founded by the Phœnicians of Carthage.



The Rock of Gibraltar, one of the Pillars of Hercules, guarding the entrance to the Mediterranean.



The harbour of Corfu, an island gem of the Ionian Mediterranean.

TYPICAL SCENES ON THE SUNNY MEDITERRANEAN

EUROPE TO THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE



THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN WORLD HISTORY

By Count Wilczek and Dr. H. F. Helmolt

THE importance of the Mediterranean in the history of the world rests, in the first place, on its geographical position. Although of comparatively limited extent, it is enclosed by three parts of the earth which differ completely in their physical, geographical, and ethnological character. If we picture to ourselves the "Pillars of Hercules," through which the Atlantic Ocean penetrates deep into the heart of the various countries, as closed, and the whole basin of the Mediterranean, together with its extensions—the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov—as dried up, then the continent of the Old World would appear a connected whole. Without any visible divisions, the lands would blend and form a terrestrial unit, which, in consequence of its enormous expanse, would exhibit climatic and meteorological conditions as unfavourable as Central Asia. But owing to this inflowing of the ocean, certain sharply defined parts have been formed, each of which is in itself large enough to constitute a clearly marked continent.

The contours of Europe, Asia, and Africa are therefore really formed and individualised by the Mediterranean, though the sharpness of the demarcation is accentuated by an arm of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea. The eastern boundary between Europe and Asia alone remains undefined, since it lies beyond the formative and modifying influence of the Mediterranean. As a result of the sharp separation between the three continents, these physical peculiarities, together with the whole attendant train of local phenomena, come far more prominently forward than could have been the case had there been only a gradual transition from land to land without the severing expanse of sea. The eastern border of Europe offers another striking proof of this. The Mediterranean determines not merely the external outline of the continents at their points of contact, but preserves for them in a most remarkable manner the peculiar stamp of their characteristics.

The effect, however, of this expanse of water is not only to separate and distinguish, but also to unify and assimilate. Above all else it extends the meteorological and climatic benefits of the ocean to the very heart of the land and gives it a share in those blessings which are denied to entirely enclosed continental tracts. Owing to the Mediterranean, the south of Europe and the west of Asia enjoy a climate as favourable, both for the development of useful forms of organic life and the conditions of human existence, as is to be found in any other spot on the earth's surface, even though the present state of the north coast of Africa seems a contradiction. The present sterility of the coast of the Syrtes, or even of Syria, does not alter the fact that the Mediterranean basin

shows all gradations of the typical peculiarities of the temperate zone, which is the most suitable and most beneficial to the nature of man. Notwithstanding the extraordinary difference of its separate branches, the Mediterranean basin must be regarded as a geographical whole. A sharply defined sea necessarily establishes an intimate geographical connection between the coasts it washes. Every organism is most deeply influenced by the soil from which it sprang or into which it was transplanted, and from which it derives all the essential elements of its existence. There can be no doubt that where natural conditions are favourable, the effect on life of every kind will also be favourable, and vice versa. This favourable influence has, in point of fact, been found in the basin of the Mediterranean from the earliest times. The result is that this basin appears not merely as a geographical, but more as a historical whole, as a focus in which are concentrated the common efforts, conscious and unconscious, of a considerable fraction of mankind. Thus the Mediterranean supplies an excellent argument in favour of the fellowship of the entire human race.

The Historical Focus of the Mediterranean

When the first rays of Clio's torch began to illuminate the Mediterranean countries nations were already to be found differing in external appearance, mode of life, and social customs; the race character was clearly stamped on the separate groups. The coasts of the Mediterranean were, as we find in quite early times, inhabited by three distinct races, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Berber. Roughly speaking, these three groups of peoples coincide with the three continents, since the European coasts were mostly inhabited by Aryans (Indo-Europeans), the Asiatic coasts mostly by Semites, and the African coasts mostly by Berbers. There were exceptions. In Asia Minor, for example, there was an Aryan and a pre-Aryan (Hittite) population, as well as the Semitic; Egypt was inhabited by people, possibly of mixed origin, which cannot with certainty be assigned to any one of the three ethnological groups; and there were indubitably pre-Aryan populations still holding their ground in Europe. There is no more difficult date to fix than that of the first appearance of the Aryan tribes, who inhabit the northern border of the Mediterranean basin—that is, South Europe, the countries on the Black Sea, and Asia Minor. They have as rich a store of legendary gods and heroes as the inhabitants of India, originating probably in events which impressed themselves ineffaceably on the memory of later generations; yet these legends can only seldom be traced to facts and are still more seldom reconcilable with chronology.

First Light of History on These Nations

At the dawn of history the Aryans of the Mediterranean appear as already having attained a comparatively high degree of civilisation; they have become settled peoples, dwelling in towns and carrying on agriculture. To some extent they already possess art and the skilled trades; the metal-working of the Etruscans in Upper Italy seems very old. The Pelasgians are the first to be named; yet this name does not designate a distinct people so much as the earliest stage of civilisation in that Aryan stock which afterwards divided into Italic and Hellenic, and, besides that, left minor branches in the Thracians and Illyrians, which, like detached boulders of ethnography, are still distinguishable as Albanians. The Pelasgians had fixed abodes from the earliest known times. Remains of their buildings are preserved in the Cyclopean walls at Tiryns and Mycenæ; they founded many towns, among which the name Larissa frequently recurs. Some slight aid to chronology is given by the mythical founding of a state on the island of Crete by Minos, perhaps about 1400 B.C.

Oldest Seats of Aryan Civilisation

With the name of Minos is connected a series of laws and institutions of public utility, marking the island of Crete as one of the oldest seats of a higher civilisation. Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, founded, so the legend runs, on the southern coast of Asia Minor the kingdom of the Lycians, who early distinguished themselves by their works of art. West of these lay the pirate-state of the Carians. About the same time Teucer is said to have founded the kingdom of the Dardani on the west coast of Asia Minor, whose capital became the famous Ilium, or Troy.

The heroic legends of the Greeks have great historical value when stripped of their poetical dress; thus, in the legend of Jason's voyage to Colchis, the expedition of the Argonauts, the record is preserved of the first naval undertakings of Greek tribes; and the exploits of

Hercules, Theseus, Perseus, and other heroes point to the effective work of powerful rulers in the cause of civilisation.

The western shores of the Mediterranean remained the longest shrouded in darkness. The dates at which the half-mythical aborigines, after long wars, blended with the Kelts, who had immigrated in prehistoric times, and formed new nations cannot be approximately determined. The first historical light is thrown on the subject by the oldest settlements of the seafaring Phœnicians on the Spanish coasts, and the founding of Gades, or Cadiz, about 1100 B.C. About the same time the Phœnicians founded the colony of Utica on the north coast of Africa and thereby first revealed the southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The subsequent

points of contact between the three chief stocks of the basin of the Mediterranean—namely, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Berber, and furthered their fusion into a Mediterranean race.

This Mediterranean race played a predominant part in the history of civilisation and influenced decisively the development of the human race. This is one result of the influence of the Mediterranean. We find the inhabitants of most of the countries on the Mediterranean—with the exception of the Egyptians—in a state of movement which extended both over the mainland and over the wide sea. When and from what centre the impulse was given which set nation after nation in motion, and what the im-

Unceasing March of the Nations



MAP SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONNECTION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN COASTS

Were it not for the Mediterranean Sea the continent of the Old World would appear a connected whole, of such enormous expanse that its climatic conditions would be as unfavourable as those of Central Asia. Owing, however, to this inflowing of the Atlantic the climate is as favourable to human existence as is to be found in any spot on the earth's surface.

founding of Carthage, about 814 B.C., makes known incidentally the first step towards civilisation made by the autochthonous Berber states. Eventually Carthage shook herself free from the Phœnician mother country. The seafaring Phœnicians were followed by seafaring Greeks of various stocks, who also planted settlements first in South Italy and Sicily, then, continually pressing further westward, in Spain (Saguntum), in Africa (Cyrene, 631 B.C.), in Aquitania (Massilia, or Marseilles, 600 B.C.). These in turn became the centres of flourishing colonies, and in combination with the Phœnician settlements played an important part in the establishment of numerous

Light on the Western Shores

pelling cause of it was—these are questions which only the primitive history of the nations can, and some day will, answer. It is enough for us to know that the stream of nations kept on moving throughout prehistoric times, and to notice how the waves rolled unceasingly from east to west, and only now and again took a backward course. We recognise further in the universal advance of the tide of nations from east to west that, as soon as it reaches the Mediterranean and splits into a northern and southern current, Aryans are predominant in the former and Semites in the latter; while over the surface of the sea itself both press on side by side. On the northern coasts of the Mediterranean the trace of ancient

migration is shown as if in geological layers, whence we can see that the intervals between the changes in the ownership of the soil were long enough for separate layers to be deposited. Over the Iberians, Armoricans, and Aquitanians is imposed a stratum of Kelts, and later, in consequence of their assimilation, one of Keltiberians and Gauls. Over the Pelasgians are superimposed strata of Italians and Hellenes, and over the old peoples of the Black Sea, Scythians and Sarmatians, a stratum of Armenians, etc. Already there loom up in the distance, continually pressing forward from the east, the indistinct outlines of new families of the great Aryan race, the Teutons and the Slavs, destined to play so important a part in transforming the world. We have already noticed on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Semitic peoples pushing towards the west, and at the same time we recognise in the return of the Hyksos and the Israelites to Asia an example of a returning national movement.

Fusion of the Races

The importance of these movements fades into the background in comparison with the migration of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians to the very easterly end of the Mediterranean; after them press onward the Aryan Bactrians, Medes and Persians. In consequence of these events, which culminated in the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, Aryan life finally found a home on the eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The Semitic race, continually pressing westward, attained fresh vigour among the Carthaginians, and by conquest of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain encroached on Europe itself.

However varied may be the character of the different national movements as typified in these separate instances, one common feature marked them all. They always reached their goal on the Mediterranean. This singular fact can be quite naturally explained. The van of the great migrations which continued for thousands of years from east to west was bound to strike the Atlantic, which forbade all further advance. Since, however, the pressure of the rearguard never ceased, the vanguard, not to be driven into the ocean, had to give way laterally, and in part reached the shores of the Mediterranean. Here all further progress was barred, and with what result? It was impossible to force the way back against the stream of onward-pressing nations, and the knowledge of their original home had meanwhile sunk into partial or complete oblivion. They had no alternative but to establish themselves permanently, and to resist as far as possible those who still pressed on. The determination to do this was strengthened by the smiling blue skies which arch the basin of the Mediterranean, by the pleasant climate, by the natural beauty of the sea-framed landscape, its luxuriant flora, its rich fauna, its bountiful store of every necessity of life.

The Common Goal of the Nations

All these combined to make the shores of the Mediterranean, especially the European shores, appear to the newcomer a desirable home, for the perpetual possession of which it was worth while to fight. Besides this, the unparalleled irregularity of the coast-line in the northern and eastern parts, with its great number of neighbouring and easily accessible islands, offered sufficient space in the future for expansion and the foundation of cities; and the sea itself afforded in its wide limits the never-failing assurance of an easy livelihood. It is surprising what mighty strides forward in civilisation are made by almost every people after the shores of the Mediterranean become its home.

The Home of Great Civilisations

Civilisation is in itself admittedly no special product of the Mediterranean alone. It had famous homes of vast antiquity in the Far East, in Chaldæa, in the highlands of Iran, in India and China; and certainly germs of Chaldæan and Iranian civilisation accompanied the Semitic and Aryan stocks on their wanderings and were not developed until they reached the Mediterranean shores. But even the development of these germs of civilisation assumes under the local influences of the Mediterranean (again excluding Egypt) a form quite different from that which they have in their eastern homes. In this typical peculiarity of intellectual development lies the bond of union which encircles the groups of nations in the basin of the Mediterranean and brings them into a firm and close connection, which is best expressed by designating them all as the "Mediterranean Race." We must emphasise the fact that this designation is to be understood in the historical and not in the

ethnographical sense. The settlement in close succession of variously divergent, but kindred peoples allows them to be easily amalgamated, and by repeated accessions promotes within these groups a more frequent change of language and nationality.

If we take Italy as an example, we perceive in the course of centuries a gradual transformation of the inhabitants without their complete expulsion or extermination. Without any violence the original settlers became differentiated into the numerous peoples of the Italian peninsula; these were united to the Romans, and from these eventually, by mixture with Lombards, Goths, Franks, Greeks, Normans, and Arabs, were formed the Italians. Similar changes occurred in Spain and France, and still greater variations in the east of the Mediterranean. This readiness to transmute their nationality forms a striking contrast to the stiff and almost unalterable customs of the East Asiatic peoples, whose development is cramped by the spirit of narrow exclusiveness, in this sense forming but barren offshoots of the universal life of civilisation. The Mediterranean nations are, on the other hand, in constant transformation. Ceaseless contact sharpens and rouses every side of their physical and intellectual activity, and keeps it in an unbroken ferment, which leads sometimes to progress, sometimes to retrogression, but always to the active expression of powerful vitality.

Nations in Ceaseless Transformation

Of great importance to the nations on the Mediterranean was the fact that on their long journey from their primitive home to the shores which became their new abodes they had gradually freed themselves from the caste system, a burden which weighs heavily on the development of primitive nations. Caste is a primitive institution peculiar to no especial race; it is found in a pure form among the Aryans of India and the Semitic-Berber Egyptians. Even among the Redskins of America caste was traceable. Wherever this institution has appeared, it has always crippled the development of a people, checked its national expansion, stunted its political growth; and while it has restricted knowledge, education, prosperity, and power, and even the promotion of art and trade, to privileged classes, it has proved itself a clog on the intellect and an obstacle to civilisation. Thus it was a fortunate dispensation for the Aryan and Semitic stocks, from which eventually the Mediterranean nations sprang, that during the prehistoric period of their wandering they had been forced to abandon all vestiges of any caste system they may have possessed. They appear as masses which are socially united, though severed as nations. Despite their universal barbarism they had the great advantage that their innate capacity for civilisation was not hampered by the internal check of a caste system. Every discovery, every invention, every higher intellectual intuition, perception, or innovation could redound to the benefit of the whole people, could penetrate all strata, and be discussed, judged, weighed, accepted, or rejected by all. Nourished by a many-sided and fruitful mental activity, by comparison, imitation, or contradiction, the existing seeds of civilisation yield a fuller development.

Caste System and its Development

The peculiarity of the Mediterranean civilisation is contrasted with other civilisations, and the secret of its superiority stands out most sharply in its capacity for progress under favourable circumstances; and though Mediterranean civilisation has experienced fluctuations and periods of gloom, it has always emerged with inexhaustible vitality, more vigorous than before. For manifestly it is dominated by one ideal, which is wanting to all other nations, the ideal of humanity. This consciousness of the inner unity and of the common goal of universal mankind did not indeed arise all at once on the Mediterranean. But the separate steps in this weary path may be recognised with tolerable distinctness, and they lead by the shores of the Mediterranean. Here we come across the first ideals of national feeling, out of which the conception of humanity is gradually evolved. First of all comes the dependence of the individual on the minute band of those who speak the same language and inhabit the same country as he. This relation of dependence declares the existence of an important altruistic feeling; it is the foundation of patriotism. Patriotism is a sentiment foreign to the great nations of the East, for these had no social feeling outside that of membership in the tribe and the family; and the peculiar conditions of civilisation in the Orient have prevented the evolution of this sentiment into the higher one of membership in a nation. The

The Great Ideal of Mediterranean Civilisation

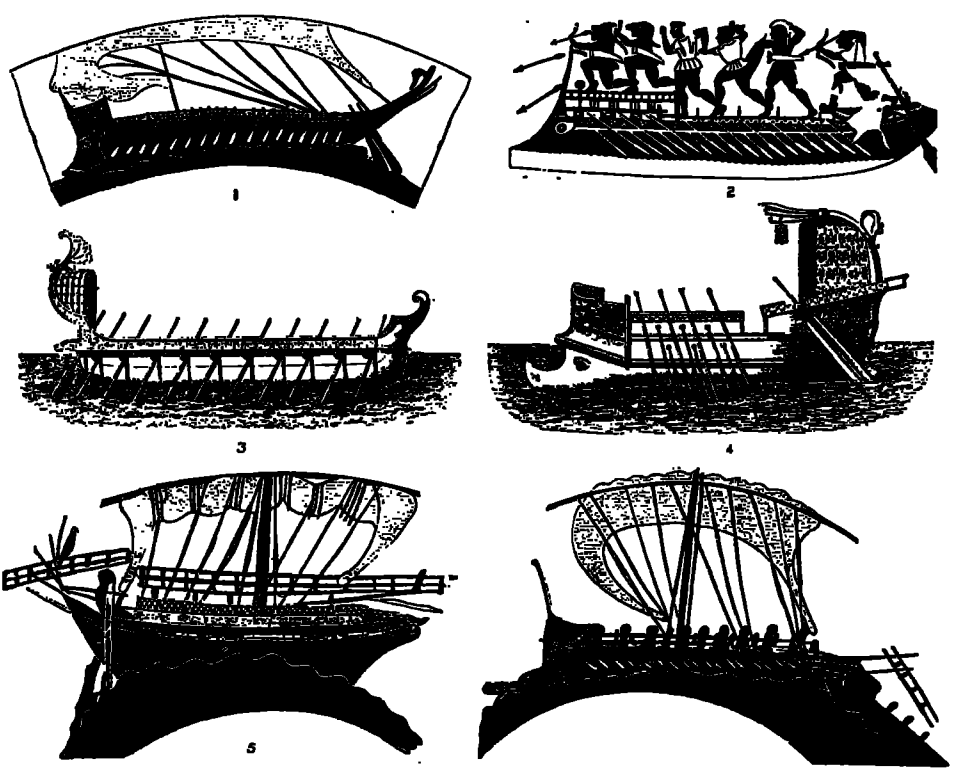
small number of individuals in the peoples of the Mediterranean nations, with their countless subdivisions, and their almost universally hostile relations, furthered the impulse towards combination, since it made the individual a valuable member of the whole. A second point is the conception, which is equally peculiar to the Mediterranean races, of the existence of personal rights, which marks out for the individual a wider sphere of action within his community; and a further result of this is the legal establishment of the social and political system.

Recognition of the Rights of the Individual

This idea is also more or less foreign to the great peoples of the East; while fostering all other forms of intellectual culture, the old Oriental despotism has not allowed a distinct conception of rights to be formed, but lays down the will of the lord as the highest and only law, to which the good of the individual must be absolutely subordinated. The passive and even fatalistic character of most Oriental peoples has at all times been reconciled to absolute government and the identification of the State with the person of the prince or with a ruling class.

The Mediterranean nations, on the contrary, if they ever possessed this characteristic, shed it during the era of migration. And although among them, too, a despotism is no rare phenomenon, yet it has assumed a stamp quite different from the Oriental form; it is no longer a natural thing, unalterable, and inflexible. On the contrary, we often notice among the Mediterranean nations, at an early period, an effort to extend the right of free activity from the individual to the community, to expand personal liberty into political freedom. In the striving after liberty we recognise one of the most striking characteristics of the growth of civilisation on the Mediterranean, such as is nowhere else to be found as a primordial element. National feeling, patriotism, the conception of rights, and the existence of political liberty were the foundations on which humanity found it possible to rise.

Foundations for the Rise of Humanity



TYPES OF THE SHIPS WHICH SAILED THE MEDITERRANEAN IN ANCIENT TIMES

These illustrations of ancient Greek and Roman ships, from vases and sculptures, include the Greek galley of 600 B.C. (2), the Greek unireme (1), the bireme (6), the merchant-ship (5) of 500 B.C. and two Roman galleys (3, 4) of about 100 A.D.



THE DOMINANCE OF GREECE & ROME

THE MEDITERRANEAN AT ITS HEIGHT

THE Hellenes, or Greeks, come before us as the most important nation of antiquity on the Mediterranean, and the one which exercises the most powerful influence on the far distant future. But the Hellenes do not appear to us as a compacted national entity. They break up into many separate tribes, and their state system presents a spectacle of disunion which finds a counterpart only in the petty states of mediæval Italy or Germany. Nevertheless, Greek life shows such a similarity in all its parts, so active a national consciousness of fellowship prevails, and such a community of purpose in their institutions, that the Greeks seem a united nation.

Never was any people more happily or splendidly endowed by Nature than the ancient Greeks. Disposed to cheerfulness and the light-hearted enjoyment of life, loving song, the dance, and manly exercises, the Greeks possessed also a keen and clear eye for Nature and her manifestations, a lively desire for knowledge, an active spirit, which, far removed from the profound subtleties of the Egyptian or Indian philosophers, set itself boldly to the task of investigating things from their appearance; they possessed also a highly-developed social impulse, and an unerring delicacy of feeling for beauty of form. This natural appreciation of beauty is characteristic of the Greeks and raises them at once to a higher level than any other people. Grace in outward appearance, beauty of form, symmetry of movement in joy as in grief, melodiousness in utterance, chastened elegance of expression, easy dignity in behaviour—these were the qualities the Greek prized highest; these ideals are expressed in the almost untranslatable καλός κἀγαθός, which implies that beauty and goodness are in truth inseparable. Even among the Greeks of the Heroic Ages we have already the feeling of being in "good society." This was the ultimate cause of the idealistic tendency of the national mind, of the worship of the Beautiful, which with no other people reached such universal and splendid perfection. This finds its expression in the national cultivation of poetry, music, the plastic arts, and to an equal degree in their religion, philosophy and science. In closest connection with this intellectual tendency stands the hitherto unparalleled degree of freedom and versatility in the development of the individual. Besides all this, the Greeks were physically hardy and strong, brave in battle, cunning and shrewd in commerce, adept in all mechanical crafts. And since they felt themselves drawn towards a seafaring life and navigation, they soon established their complete superiority over all their neighbours.

Splendid Endowment of the Greeks

Worship of the Beautiful

Hence came their national pride; what was not Greek was barbarous. This boastfulness was not like the dull indifference of the Egyptians, and still less like the bitter religious hatred which the Israelite bore against every stranger, but asserted itself in a sort of good-natured scorn, based on full consciousness of self. The Greeks liked, by means of intercourse, example, and instruction, to draw to themselves what was strange, in order to raise themselves; and without hesitation they appropriated whatever strange thing seemed worthy of imitation. Thus they acquired by observation from the Egyptians astronomical and mathematical knowledge, and from the Phœnicians the arts of shipbuilding and of navigation, of mining and iron-smelting. Hellenism offers the first historical instance of a conquest, which was effected not by war or commerce, but through intellectual superiority.

The First Intellectual Conquest

Compared with the significance of the Greek race in the history of civilisation, its political history sinks into the back-

ground. The universal disorganisation is originally based on the diversity of the tribes, which, it is true, spoke the same language, but established themselves on the Mediterranean at different times, coming from different sides. Whole tribes—Æolians, Dorians, Ionians—always sought out the coasts or their vicinity; the Greeks nowhere, Greece proper excepted, pressed into the heart of the country in large numbers. The only exception to this is presented by the Dorian Spartans of Lacedæmon, who could never reconcile themselves to maritime life; they also in another respect took up a separate position—they prided themselves not so much on morality as on a somewhat theatrically vainglorious exaltation of bodily strength and hardihood.

Political Disunion of Greece

Varied and manifold as the tribes themselves were the communities founded by them and their forms of constitution. The original type, monarchy, came usually to an early end, or was preserved only in name, as at Sparta; yet a form of it persisted in the "Tyranny," which differed from monarchy only in its lack of hereditary title. The "Tyranny" was found in Greece proper as well as on the islands and in the Greek parts of Asia Minor, Lower Italy and Sicily; but for the most part it was of short duration, since it required a definite conspicuous personality, after whose death it became extinguished. The high standard of universal education, the wide scope conceded to individuals, and the small, easily surveyed extent of the separate communities, brought about the result that gradually more and more sections of the people desired and won a share in the conduct of public business.

Thus was established the extended republican form of constitution peculiar to the Hellenic race. It is strange that this thoroughly Greek conception of a republic should have found no Greek expression, while the word democracy signifies for the Greeks merely a party or class government. According as wider or narrower circles of the people took part in public affairs—that is, in the government—distinction was made between Aristocracy, Oligarchy, and Democracy. These constitutional forms underwent constant change; a cycle is often observable which goes from Oligarchy through Tyranny to Democracy and then begins afresh. Such frequent internal changes obviously could not proceed without civil dissensions and the conflict of antagonistic views; yet these internal struggles passed away, thanks to the mercurial temperament of the people, without any deep-seated disorders. Far from being a barrier to progress, they helped to rouse and stimulate their minds.

The Greek Form of Government

The mutual relations of the individual states to each other present the same features. They are almost continually at war in order to win the spiritual headship in national affairs, the hegemony, but without hatred or passion, as if engaged in a knightly exercise; with all this they do not lose the feeling of fellowship, which was always kept alive by the national sanctuaries—Dodona, Eleusis, Delphi, Olympia—the regular Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, and the Amphictyonic League, as well as by a warm feeling for oratory, the stage, poetry and art, which showed itself stronger than petty local jealousies.

At the same time the Greeks did not neglect the practical side of life. The poverty of Greece proper in productions of the soil made the necessity of ample imports early felt, and natural conditions pointed exclusively to the sea as the way by which these should be brought. The dense population of Hellas depended entirely on foreign countries for corn, wine, fruit, wool, leather, and timber, while it possessed valuable articles of export in the products of its mines and technical industries. Thus a flourishing maritime commerce was developed, which in the east of the Mediterranean put even that of the Phœnicians into the background. There was awakened among the Greeks, fostered by the extensive coast-line of Hellas and Asia Minor, and by the great number of densely-populated islands, a love and aptitude for sea-life which is almost unequalled. The Phœnicians carried on navigation for commercial ends; the Greeks devoted themselves to it as an amusement. From privateering, in which they also indulged, they were led to develop their shipping for warlike purposes, and so became the founders of a navy. At sea they showed themselves a match for a numerically superior enemy, as the Persian wars testify, in which the enormous fleets of Darius and Xerxes, mostly composed of Phœnician ships,

Flourishing Commerce of Greece

could not withstand those of the Greeks. The city-states of Athens, Argos, Ægina, and Corinth; the Ionian Islands; the islands of Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Samos, Chios, Paros, and Thera; in Asia Minor the towns of Phocæa, Ephesus, and Miletus; the colony of Naucratis in Lower Egypt; in Magna Græcia the towns of Tarentum, Rhegium, Locri, Neapolis, Syracuse, Messana, Leontini, and Catana—all these were maritime powers, and not less so were the colonies of Miletus on the Black Sea (Sinope and Trapezus), the Corinthian colonies in Illyria (Apollonia and Epidamnus), the Phocæan colonies in the west (Saguntum and Massilia), and the colony in Africa founded from the island of Thera—Cyrene, which afterwards, under the dynasty of the Battiadæ, and as a republic, developed into a flourishing power. While the Phœnicians from fear of competition were wont to make a secret of their voyages, the Greeks gave publicity to their own. A thirst for learning and a delight in travelling, both innate qualities of the people, induced not merely sailors and merchants, but men of far higher education to take part in these voyages, and their narratives and records widened men's knowledge of the Mediterranean. The Greeks were the first to concern themselves not only about their own nation, but about foreign nations and lands, and that not exclusively for political and commercial ends, but out of scientific interest. They studied these foreign lands, their natural peculiarities, their products and needs, the life and the history of their inhabitants. Similarly the Greeks were the first who made no national or caste-like secret of the fruits of their explorations, but willingly placed the results at the disposal of the whole world. While they in this way made the knowledge of geography, natural history, and past events accessible to wider circles, they became the founders of the exoteric or popular sciences, while the scientific efforts of all other civilised races became less profitable for the masses from their esoteric character. The spread of knowledge enables Hellenism, as much as its æsthetics, which are based on the pleasure felt in beauty and proportion of form, to exercise an educating and ennobling influence on its surroundings, and firmly cements all who are of kindred stock and spirit. The varied and comprehensive unfolding of Greek life, drawing to itself the outside world, is bound up with a surprisingly rapid local expansion.

Greeks the First Explorers

The formative influence of Greece on the entire Mediterranean region was fully exercised, not during a lengthy period of peace, but in the midst of internal and external disturbances. Greece was split up into countless petty states, but experienced at first no danger from the fact, which rather had a beneficial result, since it gave scope to the capabilities of many individuals. We can thus understand the part which was played by Solon, Pisistratus, Pericles, and Alcibiades in Athens, by Lycurgus, Pausanias, and Lysander in Sparta, by Periander in Corinth, by Epaminondas and Pelopidas in Thebes, by Polycrates in Samos, and by Gelon and Dionysius in Syracuse. Even hostile collisions between the individual states were, at least in earlier times, harmless; the winning and the losing party were alike Greeks. Then a violent storm gathering in the east came down on them. In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the nation of the Persians roused themselves under their king Cyrus, and so quickly extended their power in every direction that their newly-founded kingdom became at once the first Power in the ancient world. The annihilation of the Babylonian kingdom, the subjugation of the Armenians and Caucasian Scythians, and finally the conquest of the Lydian king Crœsus, who ruled over a mixed race, made Cyrus lord of Nearer Asia; even the Greeks of Asia Minor submitted to him, some willingly, some under compulsion.

Greece Split up into Petty States

When, however, Cyrus's successor, Darius I., began to extend his conquests to the regions of the lower Danube in Europe, they became concerned, and supported the attempted revolt of their tribal kinsmen in Asia Minor under the leadership of Miletus. Thus arose the fifty years war between Greece and Persia, which ended in the victory of the former, in so far as the Persians were forced to renounce all further attempts at conquest. Much ado has been made of the successful defence of tiny Greece against the enormous Persian realm. Considered more closely the matter is not so astonishing. The heroic deeds of a Miltiades, a Themistocles, and an Aristides, of a Leonidas, a Xantippus, and a Cimon, deserve all honour; but the true reasons for the

Fifty Years of War With Persia

Persian failure lie deeper. Let us remember how weakened the apparently mighty world-empire of Spain emerged from the eighty years war against the diminutive Netherlands. Moral superiority, higher intelligence, and greater skill in seamanship had secured victory to the Greeks. Yet they had not gone through the war without internal loss. On the one hand, familiarity with Asiatic luxury, made inevitable by the war, exerted a disastrous influence. On the other hand the rivalry of the states and their internal factions were rendered keener by the political and diplomatic intrigues running parallel with the war. This led to mutual aggression and the infringements of rights, and finally to regular war between the two leading states, Athens and Sparta. The Peloponnesian war (431-404), so bitterly waged, undermined the political power of both. Almost all the Greek states, including the islands and Sicily, took part in it. The exhausted victors, however, soon afterwards submitted to the Thebans, who were ambitious of the hegemony. But they also were too weak to maintain the leadership. The result of the contest for supremacy was the enfeebling of all.

Greece's Loss by Victory

At this point began the political downfall of the Greek petty-state system, but at the same time there came a new and strange increase of the national greatness in another direction, a renaissance of Hellenism generally. While the smaller states were rending each other, the hegemony had been transferred to a stock which had until now been disregarded as comparatively backward in civilisation, but was nevertheless thoroughly vigorous and Greek—that of the Macedonians, who had early founded a kingdom in Thessaly and Thrace, and were ruled by a royal family which prided itself on its descent from Hercules. King Philip II. of Macedon (359-336), in consequence of the internal disorders of Greece, had formed the plan of making himself master of the whole country, and carried it out, partly by force, partly by diplomacy and bribery. While he used his victory with moderation and knew how to pose as the guardian of the rights of the separate states to self government, he managed so that the league of the Amphictyons nominated him commander of the league in the aggressive war planned against the Persians. During the preparations for the war Philip was murdered, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, then a young man of twenty (336-323 B.C.). He not only carried out all his father's plans, but went far beyond them.

The Rise of a New Greatness

The gigantic apparition of Alexander the Great at the head of his Macedonian and Greek armies raged like a storm-cloud over Asia and Africa. An unprecedented idea had mastered the royal youth—the conquest of the entire known world, and its union under his sceptre into one single empire, in which Hellenic and Oriental culture should be blended. In an unparalleled series of victories Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, Cyrene, Media, Babylonia, Parthia, and Persia were conquered; the armies of the Persian king Darius were annihilated in decisive battles; and in the capital, Persepolis, the enfeebled Persian nation did homage to the conqueror. Then his progress was continued northward against the Scythians and eastward against the Indians. The valiant resistance offered by the ruler of the Punjab, King Porus, caused Alexander to interrupt his victorious career and to return to Babylon, in order thence to govern the mighty empire which his sword had won. Fate allowed him no time to carry out his great plan: overcome by excesses, Alexander died, and left a shattered and incompletely reconstructed world behind him.

The Gigantic Apparition of Alexander

The empire, which lacked any internal bond of union, was destined to break up, all the more after Alexander's death, since neither the question of succession to the throne nor the organisation of the empire had been settled. In the wars of the "Diadochi," able and great men among the Hellenes fought for the sovereignty of the world. The powerful Antigonus and his son Demetrius, the "Town Destroyer," claimed the title of "Kings of Asia." They found in Europe a counterpoise in Antipater and his son Cassander, who usurped lordship over Macedonia and Greece. Other generals joined one side or the other, and carried off as spoils whole provinces, a truly bewildering confusion. The battle of Ipsus first ended it; Antigonus fell, and with him his proud structure, the kingdom of Asia, crashed to the ground. Meanwhile

Hellenism had been playing a predominant part, and all the other nations looked on in silence. The conquerors divided among themselves the inheritance of Alexander. Casssander took Macedonia and Greece, Lysimachus took Thrace, Seleucus took the whole of Nearer Asia, and Ptolemy Egypt. But only the two latter succeeded in founding lasting dynasties. Cassander's dominions fell to the descendants of Antigonus, and the Thracian kingdom of Lysimachus sank into ruins. On the other hand, new Greek states arose.

Some fifty years after the death of Alexander, the divisions of his inheritance, from which the central Asiatic countries were severed, assumed a more lasting form, Mediterranean in character. This was the era of the Hellenistic monarchies. The preponderant influence in the political history and civilisation of Hellenism passes from Hellas proper, which gradually sinks into decay, to the border-lands. As such appear the kingdom of Macedonia under the descendants of Antigonus, the kingdom of Epirus under the Pyrrhidæ, the kingdom of Syria under the Seleucidæ,

Greece Sinks into Decay

the kingdom of Egypt under the Ptolemies, the town of Pergamus in Asia Minor under the Attalidæ, and the kingdom of Bithynia in Asia Minor, founded by Nicomedes. In a certain sense we may include the later kingdoms of Cappadocia, Pontus, and the Greater and Lesser Armenias, former parts of the Syrian empire of the Seleucidæ since their royal houses had been greatly influenced by the Greek spirit. So, too, many Greek islands regained their political independence: Crete became a dreaded nest of corsairs; Rhodes attained a high civilisation.

Hellas proper, divided into the Achæna and the Ætolian Leagues, sought a return to her former republican greatness, but could not release herself from the Macedonian power, and wasted her remaining strength in fighting against it, as well as in conflicts between the two leagues, so that finally it became an easy prey for the Romans. Hellenism meanwhile unfolded its most beautiful blossoms in the monarchies. Admittedly it lost more and more of its national character and became more markedly cosmopolitan; but to the world at large this tendency was profitable. The houses of the Ptolemies, the Seleucidæ, and the Attalidæ especially, produced enlightened patrons of science and art. The towns where their courts were, Alexandria, Antioch, and Pergamus, became capitals of vast splendour, size, and wealth, centres alike of intellectual culture and world commerce. They were adorned with magnificent buildings, temples and palaces, with academies, museums and libraries, with art treasures

Hellenism's Most Beautful Blossoms

of every kind. They were filled with manufactories, stores of merchandise and warehouses. The ever active and eagerly creative spirit of the Greek people, from whom the weakening and distracting occupation of politics had been withdrawn by the monarchical form of government, threw itself with redoubled energy partly into scientific research and artistic production, partly into the industries, trade, and navigation; and in all these branches it achieved triumphs which were spread over every coast by the medium of the sea.

The age of the Hellenistic kingdoms, which comprises the last three centuries before the beginning of the new chronology, marks the zenith of Hellenistic culture; it is the period when the greater world, revealed by the conquests of Alexander, was explored by science and its value practically realised. To this period belong the delicate perfection of the Greek language, the rich literary productions in the departments of philosophy, mathematics, physical science, geography and history, and a great assiduity in collecting; all these laid the foundation of a real science. Then, also, trade and navigation were organised, not on the basis of a monopoly, but on that of free competition, and these drew the connecting bond still closer round the nations of the Mediterranean. But, above all, this age is that of the admitted supremacy of Greek life, that gentle power which irresistibly draws to itself all that is outside it, and assimilates it; that

Zenith of Greek Culture

power which has absorbed the Phœnician, Syrian, and Egyptian civilisation, and has not passed over the Jewish without leaving its trace. On the other hand, the invasion of many strange peoples could not but react ultimately on Hellenism. It lost its homogeneousness and the feeling of nationality, weakened already by independent political events. These causes, and the fact that it was the common possession of different states

continually at war with each other, eventually made Hellenism the foundation on which the Roman people built up the proud structure of their greatness.

The Great Days of Carthage

Before the Romans began to influence powerfully the people on the Mediterranean, the Carthaginian nation, on the western shores of it, had already appeared on the stage of history. The Phœnician colony, in which the noblest families of proud Tyre had found a new home, soon broke off connection with the mother country, drew the remaining Phœnician settlements in Africa to itself, and formed with them one flourishing state, in which nothing, except their descent and their liking for the sea, reminds us of their original home. Even the nationality of the Carthaginians seems to have shown an independent stamp, owing to the influence of their surroundings, although their language remained Phœnician. The territory of the Carthaginian state, bounded on the east by Numidia, on the west by Mauretania, was soon covered with numerous towns, not only on the coast, but also in the interior, where agriculture could be carried on profitably. Colonisation spread from the coast towns as far as the Balearic Islands, Spain, the Atlantic coasts of Africa, and to the great Mediterranean islands, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. On the last-named island Greek settlements already existed. Hence a long conflict broke out between Carthaginians and Greeks in Sicily for the possession of the island, in the western part of which the former, and in the eastern part the latter, maintained their supremacy. The army and fleet of the Carthaginian general Hamilcar were destroyed by the Syracusan leader Gelon, at Himera, in 480 B.C.

Carthage Did Nothing For Civilisation

Though possessing considerable resources and great wealth, Carthage performed no especial services in the cause of civilisation. The oppressive rule of an aristocratic oligarchy at home, a religion which craved for human sacrifices, and a vein of cruelty peculiar to the whole people, characterised the Carthaginians. A civilising influence on their Berber neighbours can be inferred in so far as these nomads became partially settled, built cities (Iol and Tingis in Mauretania, Hippo and Zama in Numidia), and adopted a regular form of government in the kingdoms of Mauretania and Numidia. The more the power of Carthage extended in the Mediterranean, the more often must she come into conflict with the power of Rome, which advanced at first only towards the west. Each of the two powers saw in the other the chief hindrance to its prosperity, a dangerous rival, with whom it was impossible to live in peace, and who must be annihilated at any cost. In Carthage, as in Rome, the consciousness of the necessity of a struggle for life and death had become an article of the national creed, and served to foster the bitterness between the two nations. The war broke out in 264 B.C. Sicily once more was the immediate cause of it. Owing to the tenacity and the military efficiency of both combatants, it lasted, with interruptions, until 146 B.C., after it had been waged in many places, in Sicily, Africa, Spain, Italy, and at sea. In the years 218–215 B.C. the war, owing to the bold march of the Carthaginian general Hannibal through Spain and Southern Gaul over the Alps into Italy, presented a surprisingly favourable prospect for Carthage, and brought Rome to the brink of ruin; but after the Romans had found a valuable ally in the Numidian king Masinissa the war ended definitely with the fall of Carthage. The town itself was destroyed, the country came as a province to Rome. The same fate befell the African kingdoms of Numidia and Mauretania. Julius Cæsar had Carthage rebuilt as a Roman town; as such, and later as the capital of the Vandal kingdom, it played in subsequent years a part in history. The Punic population as such preserved its identity up to the conquest of the Vandals and even to the invasion of the Arabs, and exercised great influence on Christianity through St. Jerome and other Fathers of the Church.

Rome on the Brink of Ruin

The ruins of the Carthaginian power formed the first stepping-stone for the world-empire of the Romans, the people in whom the "Mediterranean spirit" is most clearly seen. The Roman people, or, more correctly speaking, the Roman state, emerged from an obscure beginning through the consistent and successful prosecution of one leading idea. The development of the Romans struck out a path quite different from that of their kinsmen, the Greeks. With regard to the poetical embellishments of their origin,

history has but followed the spirit of the times; but this much is clearly established, that a fragment of the old Italic people of the Latins, inhabiting Central Italy, founded Rome on the Tiber after their severance from their kinsfolk, and regarded it henceforth as the national centre. The national pride of the Romans, highly developed from the very outset, their military capacity, and their successful wars against their neighbours, soon raised the town to prosperity, greatness, and power, and made it a nucleus to which all the other peoples of Italy either voluntarily, or under compulsion, in time attached themselves.

This pre-eminence of Rome rested on a fundamental moral conception, precisely like the pre-eminence of the Hellenes over the east of the Mediterranean: but the morality of Rome was quite distinct from the Hellenic, and therefore had different effects. Roman life was developed from the idea of the state, the lofty conception and never failing manifestation of the indivisible unity, the majesty and omnipotence of the state in itself. The "Res Publica" was the highest ideal for the Roman. He felt himself not an individual, as the Greek did, but an inseparable element of the state, only thereby entitled to exist, but for that reason, too, of an exalted greatness. The common weal was the first law for him; to this all else—nationality, individuality, civilisation and religion—was subordinated. Not that he would have been intolerant of foreign nationality and civilisation, or foreign creeds; those were matters of indifference to him. He demanded of every man who obtained a share in the state an unqualified submission to the ideas of the state. Much narrower limits were, therefore, set to the assertion of individuality than among the Greeks. Personality counted for little in public life, in which all was concentrated, all tuned in a single key.

The State the Roman's Highest Ideal

In consequence, an unshaken firmness was developed in the fabric of the state, an inexhaustible vitality, which, guided by a many-headed but single-voiced will, was always directed into such paths as led to the deepening and widening of the state-idea. Heterogeneous tendencies and internal struggles doubtless existed; there were radical changes of political plans and forms of government, transitions from monarchy to an aristocratic and thence to a democratic republic, and thus to oligarchy and imperialism. Nevertheless, one common characteristic belongs to all factions and régimes—namely, the compacted structure of state-unity and state-omnipotence. The peculiar tendency of Roman life is displayed in an advance in civilisation, which influenced the nations on the Mediterranean and beyond to a degree no less than the Greeks did. The development of the ideal side of civilisation, as well as its material promotion by manufactures and trade, the two paths so successfully trodden by Hellenism, remain somewhat foreign to the Roman nature and are only followed after the example of others. But the Romans turn as pioneers to the social question, which stands in intimate connection with the development of the state. They are the first to make progress in this sphere and in a threefold direction.

The Unity of Roman Public Life

In the first place they were early inclined to restrict all expression of public and private life to strict forms, to stereotype these by written laws, and equally to bind all members of the state, without exception, to their observance. By this means caprice and partiality in the judges were checked, the popular idea of justice was strengthened, and a strong respect for law was infused into every section of the people. This feeling was one of the firmest props of the authority of the state; the knowledge of law and jurisprudence was developed hand in hand with it into a science peculiar to the Romans.

Again, the Romans were the first people to recognise the danger which threatens a state in a large class of pauper citizens. They directed their efforts, therefore, towards establishing an equal division, as far as possible, of property, especially real property, by a classification of the citizens, by agrarian laws, by gratuitous division of state-lands among the poorer classes, and by a gradually improved adjustment of the conditions of tenure. The entire scheme failed, because of the growth of the state and the increasing complexity of its relations. Still, credit is due to the Romans for having recognised the importance of the question and for having attempted its solution.

Dangers of Pauperism Recognised

Thirdly, they assigned to woman an honourable position in the family and in society, and that from the very beginning. They recognised in the family the strongest foundation of society; therefore, they kept a strict watch over the sanctity of marriage and invested woman with the dignity and privileges of a citizen. Even the Greeks themselves with all their striving after the ideal—to say nothing of the Semitic and Oriental peoples—misunderstood the position of woman, whom they treated as an inferior being and kept in slavish dependence; the influence which individual hetairæ, distinguished by beauty and wit, exercised, only marks the low position in which women were intentionally kept. The Romans, on the contrary, strongly insisted on modesty in their women, and they therefore showed them due respect; and though there was no social intercourse between the sexes in the present meaning of the word, women took with them a far higher position, both in public and private life, than with any other people of those times.

Woman's High Position Under the Romans

While the Romans perfected the most complete constitution which antiquity possessed on the Mediterranean, their state system, partly through successful wars with the other Italian nations, partly by alliances and voluntary accessions of territory, grew increasingly in extent. Rome began to exercise a spell, from which even the Greeks of Lower Italy could not withdraw themselves, and the Roman citizenship became a greatly prized privilege. Though national differences in Italy did not entirely disappear, the Latin branch maintained a distinct predominance over all others, and Latin became the prevailing language. From South Italy the Romans encroached upon much-coveted Sicily, and in so doing brought about the war with the Carthaginians, in consequence of which they were able to create the first province, adding in the following years Sardinia and Corsica. From this point begins the vast and gradually increasing expansion of the Roman empire. Attacks from without furnished the immediate stimulus; the annoying piracy of the Illyrians and the continual unrest caused by the Celts of Cisalpine Gaul compelled interference. The Gauls were then in the course of a backward migration—that is, one from west to east. The terrible disaster of the year 390 B.C. was not yet forgotten, but a century and a half had not passed over the land in vain; the Roman state was already strong enough not only to repel the attack, but to subdue the country across the Po as far as the Alps. Then their task was to ward off the second and most violent attack of the Carthaginians. This Second Punic War, after many vicissitudes, added Spain, wrested from the Carthaginians, to the Roman provinces. Hannibal's plan of uniting the Hellenistic monarchies of the east against Rome was wrecked by the superior policy of the Romans, who shattered the alliance and conquered its most active member, King Philip III. of Macedon.

Beginning of Rome's Vast Empire

The war with Macedonia and the Achæan League permitted the Romans to join a firm footing in Greece also, where they already had an ally in the Ætolian League. Rome's lust for conquest only became greater; for the Hellenistic states, dazzled by the good fortune of Rome, were accustomed in all external and internal difficulties to turn to her as arbitrator. The greatest impulse to the irresistible expansion of the Roman power was given when the Third Punic War had ended in the incorporation of the Carthaginian state as the Province of Africa in 146 B.C. The thought of a world dominion, up till now merely casual, and the natural consequence of favourable events, from this moment confronts us as a political motive clearly realised and carried out with iron resolution by means of the raising of immense armaments and astounding diplomatic skill. Almost simultaneously with Carthage the completely shattered Macedon was incorporated, and then came a rapid succession of new provinces—Greece (Achaia), Pergamus, left by King Attalus III. as an inheritance to the Romans (Asia propria), Transalpine Gaul, Cilicia, Cyrene, Bithynia, bequeathed to the Romans by King Nicomedes III., the island of Crete, the kingdom of Pontus on the Black Sea, wrested from the powerful Mithradates VI.; Syria, snatched from the Seleucidæ; the island of Cyprus, Numidia, Mauretania, Egypt, taken in the year 30 B.C. from the Ptolemies, and Galatia. Thus the Roman dominion had completely encircled the entire coast of the Mediterranean, and had penetrated deep into the interior of three continents. Then came a series of fresh provinces, some in Europe, some in Asia; only the

Rome Conceives the Policy of a World-Dominion

German races dwelling between the Rhine, Danube, and Elbe were able to protect themselves against that iron embrace.

This gigantic frame was held together by one single force—Rome, which administered the bewildering conglomeration of the most heterogeneous nations. The ruling people, the Romans, left to their subjects their language and nationality, religion and worship, manners and customs, trade and industries, unchanged; nothing was required of them but obedience, taxes, and soldiers. And the nations obeyed, paid taxes, furnished recruits, and were proud to be members of the mighty empire. This result would be incomprehensible, despite all the advantages of Rome, if the influence of the Phœnicians and Greeks had not prepared the way. The Phœnician and Greek nature had shot the varied warp of the national life of the Mediterranean nations and woven a stout fabric, from which the Romans skilfully cut their imperial mantle. The myriad relations which had been formed between the different members by their mediation could not fail to instil, at any rate in the upper strata, a homogeneity in mode of thought, feeling, and contemplation, which gradually deepened and revived the consciousness of the original and long since forgotten affinity.

All-Embracing Idea of the State

The Roman world-sovereignty opened up the glad prospect for the different nations that, without being forced to renounce their national individuality, they might study the promotion of their own prosperity in peaceful contact. The place of the ideas of nationality, home and fatherland, which alone had been predominant until now, was taken by the all-embracing idea of the state, of a state which to some extent embodied mankind and took the welfare of all alike under its sheltering wings. This fabric appeared constructed for eternity. Nothing seemed able to shatter the solidity of its framework; neither the onslaught of external foes nor internal dissensions, nor finally the change in form of government—republic, dictatorship, triumvirate, empire. The state-idea was never lost from sight, even in the civil wars with their extermination of the noblest. In the genius of Cæsar, the divine Julius—whose name has become the title of the highest grade in monarchical rank—is found the most splendid embodiment of the Roman conception of the state. And when his great-nephew Octavianus Augustus succeeded in attaining the highest dignity in the state without infringing the time-honoured system of administration, and in making the great office hereditary for some time, the proud edifice seemed to have received its coping-stone. The Roman empire of that age formed a world-empire in a stricter sense of the word than that of Alexander the Great: it was no mere collection of discordant and divergent entities welded by the sword, but an organic living body, which had Rome for its head. The organising genius of the Romans had created a system whose threads met in one central point. The capital offered also, with its palaces, temples, theatres, race-courses, monuments and baths, with its processions, feasts, gladiatorial shows, and a thousand dissipations, an endless series of attractions. For the Romans there was but one city, the "Urbs Romana"; but one limit to the empire, that of the "world." The Roman spirit did not cling to its city: it spread over all provinces, not deeply penetrating and absorbing, like the Greek spirit, but commanding respect by its self-trust, calm earnestness, and systematic order. Thus the Roman ideals are a valuable supplement to the Hellenic civilisation. On every shore of the Mediterranean they come into contact, and by mutual interpenetration blend into that distinctive Mediterranean spirit which now begins to awaken to self-consciousness.

The World the Empire's Only Limit

In the new order of things which had been created in the region of the Mediterranean by the enlargement of the Roman empire, the teachings of Christ produced a revolution in the intellectual world such as history has but seldom seen. The effect of this change was neither political nor national, but purely intellectual and social. Since all worldly ambition was wanting in the first adherents of the Christian religion, who were mostly "mean people" from the poorer and more ignorant classes, they exercised at first no immediately sensible influence on a public life unalterably cast into the flexible forms of imperial Rome. The first attack on them proceeded from Judaism, which was just then being annihilated as a political influence and as a nation; but the dispersion of the Jews contributed largely to the

Effect of the Christian Revolution

spreading broadcast of the seed of Christianity. It was an equally important point that the Christian teaching at the very first broke down the narrow barriers of national Jewish thought, filled itself with the Greek spirit through the immense activity of Paul, who had received a Greek education, while he had been brought up by a Pharisee, and was thereby enabled to enter into sympathy with all mankind. An ever-widening power belongs to monotheism. This power, freed from shackles of nationality, was the more effective from the union, in the Christian teaching of the belief in one God, with a moral code which, through its gentleness and its love, embracing all mankind without distinction, spoke to the hearts of all. For the first time the principle appeared that all men, without distinction, are the "children of God," all of equal spiritual worth, all called to the enjoyment of equal rights.

Ever-Widening Power of Monotheism

From the beginning of historical times every social organisation had been based on inequality; and although it was only among the Egyptians that this principle was carried out on the Mediterranean in its strictest form—that is, "caste"—yet in every nation a strict division of classes existed. The idea of a "people" comprised usually only a section of politically privileged citizens, more or less restricted in numbers, while under them a large population, without political rights or personal freedom, existed as slaves. Free labour was the exception. Then suddenly the Christians came forward and asserted that there was no distinction between high and low, bond and free, master and servant; that all men were equal, and had no other duty than to love and to help each other. The first Christians certainly made no attempt to introduce this doctrine into ordinary life; they emphatically declared that their kingdom was not of this world; and, waiting for the realisation of their hopes in the world to come, willingly adapted themselves to their appointed condition. But when such tenets penetrated the dense masses of ignorant bondmen, was not a mistaken interpretation of the question possible? Would not this part of the population be inclined to seek the promised equality and fraternity in this world rather than in the next? Would not the traditional order of society thus be threatened, and the very existence of the state be endangered? A war of all against all seemed imminent.

Christianity and the Social Life

We can estimate from this how the first appearance of Christianity with its unheard-of demands must have unfolded, uncompromising and threatening, the picture of the social question. The followers of Christianity were either to be ridiculed as unpractical enthusiasts or to be hated as dangerous innovators. The ideal core of Christianity, the manifestation of a pure humanity, was superior to the Jewish, Hellenic, and Roman nature. Mankind must first be educated to understand it. As long as that was not accomplished, the Roman state must offer resistance to the new teaching and strive to suppress it by force. Yet it was destined to discover that the power of thought is greater than that of external violence. Notwithstanding all the heat of the conflict, it gradually was made clear that both pursued, although on different roads, the same end—namely, the establishment of the superiority of the universal to the individual. If Rome strove after political sovereignty over the world, Christianity strove after its spiritual union under one faith, one worship, one moral law. The close relationship between these two apparently dissimilar aims must lead finally to a mutual understanding—a compromise was made. The state abandoned all attempts to suppress by force a faith which had already penetrated the higher social strata and had lost its revolutionary appearance. Christianity, on the contrary, renounced its dreams of a millennium, and assumed an attitude of toleration towards the calls of earthly life.

Christianity Reconciled With the State

In the end, both parties recognised that they could make good use of each other: the state recognised in a universal religion, which rested on a foundation of morality, a firm cement to bind together the loosening fabric of the empire; Christianity learnt to value in Roman life the power of strict organisation, and was busy in turning this power to the good of its own welfare. Then came reconciliation. The state became Christian—that is, Christianity became the religion of the predominant circles, while its opponents were confined, both in space and social influence, to continuously lessening classes. Christianity organised itself as a Church, after the model and in the spirit of the Roman state.



MEDITERRANEAN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE GROWTH OF THE EUROPEAN CONCEPTION

THE Roman empire, whose development and extension had placed it in a favourable position for uniting no inconsiderable portions of mankind, had long been the hammer; it was now destined to become the anvil. The "great fly-wheel of all history," the migration of nations, had stood comparatively still while the world-empire of Rome was being built; at least, the far-off effects of it had been less appreciable on the shores of the Mediterranean. Now the empire received a blow of tremendous violence, dealt by the Germanic tribes, under the shock of which the fabric of the world creaked. Many a strange rumbling had preceded the shock.

The first signs of the new movement go back to the onslaught of the Cimbrians and Teutons on the Roman power, some hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, and are repeated at short intervals with increasing strength. The German tribes on the further side of the Rhine and the Danube became more and more restless; and though the Suevi in Roman Gaul were conquered by Cæsar, all attempts to extend the Roman sway beyond the two boundary rivers were in vain. Soon Rome saw herself restricted to the defensive, and even that position became more and more difficult. The Dacians on the Lower Danube were subdued only with difficulty and partially Romanised by numerous colonies. At the mouths of the Danube and on the coasts of the Black Sea the Goths established themselves, after dislodging and subduing the Scythians and Sarmatians, and thence overran in numerous predatory hordes the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor and Greece; after occupying Dacia, which the Romans had given up, they founded a kingdom which stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic.

The Fabric of the World Creaks

Besides this, in the extreme east of Rome's Asiatic empire the renewed attacks of the Parthians gave cause to suspect that the great reservoirs of population in Central Asia were once more about to be poured out. This outbreak occurred in full force at the precise moment when the Roman empire, which had already become rotten to the core, split under the burden of its own weight into two halves, a western and an eastern, with Rome and Constantinople as capitals. The Huns, a numerous nation of horsemen, Mongolian in race, living in Central Asia, being hard pressed, began to move and drive everything steadily before them in their march westward. On the Volga the Huns came upon the Alans, also a nomad nation of horsemen, consisting of a mixture of Germans and Sarmatians, and hurried them on with them. Both together hurled themselves against the new kingdom of the Goths and shattered it. While the eastern portion of this people spread with the Huns and Alans into the Dacian-Pannonian lowlands, the western Goths threw their whole weight first against the eastern and then against the western Roman empire. Athaulf, Alaric's successor, led them out of Italy into Gaul and Spain.

The Roman Empire in Halves

In the meanwhile the impact of the Huns, which had destroyed the Gothic kingdom, had set in motion all the German tribes westward of the Vistula, and had caused their general advance towards the west and south; hence ensued a migration with women and children and all movable possessions which flooded Europe and did not break up or halt until the Mediterranean shores were reached. But before the equipoise of the nations, which were crowding on each other in storm and stress, could be restored, new masses kept rolling onwards. The Germanic tribes were followed by the Slavonic, who occupied the habitations which the former had left, and gradually began to spread over the broad stretch of

A Migration that Flooded Europe

land between the Baltic and the Black Seas; and behind these more hordes of Mongolian origins kept the line moving westward.

The fate of the Roman empire was sealed. It could not withstand such pressure. Even that splendid system went down before the flood of rapacious barbarians. All in vain did the Romans take troop after troop of these barbarians into their own pay; in vain they conceded to them border state after border state as a bulwark; and when the western Roman government, in order to protect at least their ancestral Italy, recalled their own legions from the provinces, these were immediately inundated. Among "the first who knew nothing of the last," the Germans poured over the empire. At the beginning of the fifth century the Franks established themselves in northern, the Burgundians in eastern, Gaul; the Vandals marched to Spain, and, driven thence by the West Goths, who were vacating Italy, crossed into Roman Africa. Meantime, the West Goths settled in Spain and Aquitania.

Rome's Fate Sealed

But even Italy itself had not drained the cup of misery to the dregs when the bands of Alaric plundered her. Attila, "the scourge of God," dreaming of a world-empire, had led the hordes of horsemen from the kingdom of the Huns, Alans and Goths, against Western Europe. He encountered in Gaul the Roman commander Aëtius, under whom the Franks, Burgundians, West Goths, Gauls, and the remnants of the Romans had united in common defence. Attila, compelled on the plains of Châlons to retreat, swooped down on Upper Italy, where he destroyed the flourishing town of Aquilia. He died, it is true, as early as 453; but Rome found in his place two dangerous enemies. The German Odoacer, who had been entrusted by the Romans with the protection of Italy, deposed the last Roman emperor and, without opposition, made Italy Germanic. Meantime the Byzantine emperor, Zeno, had shaken the threatening presence of the Pannonian East-Gothic kingdom from off his neck by prompting Theodoric to conquer Italy. The great East Goth succeeded not only in making himself king of Italy in the place of Odoacer, but in transmitting the sovereignty to his descendants. His chief aim was to abolish the national differences between Romans and Goths. Unfortunately, the Goths, when they became Christians, had adopted the doctrine of Arius, which Church and State had rejected; and even if they adapted themselves to the Roman forms in government, the union was limited to the peaceful occupancy of a common territory.

Italy's Cup of Misery

During these changes in Italy new German kingdoms were rising in the former Roman provinces on the west and south. In Gaul the Salic Franks, under Chlodwig, or Clovis (486), had annihilated the last remnants of the Roman rule and had adopted the Christian doctrine sanctioned by Rome. From this germ grew the Frankish power, destined for such future greatness. In Spain, Athaulf had already laid the foundation of a West-Gothic sovereignty. Eurich and his successors ruled over this West-Gothic elective monarchy until 711. The amalgamation of Goths and Romans in Spain proceeded far more smoothly than in Italy, especially because King Reccared in 587 was converted from Arian to orthodox Christianity, and formed a legislature for both nations in common. Dislodged by the victorious West Goths, the Vandals had already withdrawn to Roman Africa. Their king, Geiserich, had conquered the whole province in 439 and made Carthage the capital of a kingdom which was destined to live for nearly a century. The Vandals, who had become a considerable maritime power, then acquired Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands, and were dreaded not only in Italy (where they sacked Rome in 455) but also in Byzantium. Yet the warm climate and the luxury of later Rome soon sapped the strength of the northerners. A blending with the Romans had been impracticable, since the Vandals, who, in contrast to the other Germans, were intolerant in religion, as zealous Arians relentlessly persecuted the adherents of the Roman Church.

Vandals in Africa

At this time the East Roman empire took a fresh lease of life under Justinian. This prince, hard pressed in the north by the Bulgarians and in the east by the Persians, entertained the idea of restoring the unity and the greatness of the pristine Roman empire. The success and skill of his brave generals, Belisarius and Narses, made this goal seem actually attainable. After the annihilation of the disintegrating Vandal power, the southern coasts of West-

Gothic Spain were conquered and held for some time. Then the Byzantine armies turned to Italy, and after twenty years of fighting the power of the East Goths was ended.

But the times were unfavourable for a complete restoration; fresh hordes were following the main body of migrating eastern nations. The territories in Pannonia and Dacia, which had been abandoned by Theodoric, had been occupied by Langobardi (Lombards) and Gepidi. In the wars of extermination which had broken out between the two races the Langobardi won the day; but they had to yield to the pressure of the Tartaric Avars, and moved westward. In the year 568 the Langobardi, under Alboin, reached the borders of Italy. In a very brief period they had conquered almost the whole land.

The independent spirit of the Langobardi hardly tolerated the rule of their own kings, and each duke sought rather to become a ruler on his own account. Thus the first foundations were laid for the political disintegration of Italy. After King Authari in 589 had married the Bavarian Theodelinde, an adherent of the Roman faith, close relations arose between the conquerors and the conquered. Steady amalgamation made the German spirit retreat further and further into the background, until at last it was stifled by the Roman. In the struggle against powerful vassals, against the remnants of the Byzantine exarchate at Ravenna, and against the influence of the Bishop of Rome, the kingdom of the Langobardi gradually sank to ruin, until, in 774, a foreign invader gave it its death-blow.

German Spirit Stifled by the Roman

The mighty movement in the north of the Mediterranean, outlines of which have been sketched in the preceding pages, has its counterpart in a later movement on the eastern and southern coasts. Here also a migration begins, not indeed from unknown regions, but starting from a definite local centre. It advanced not as a half-unknown natural force, but springing from one individual will. The south-eastern angle of the basin of the Mediterranean, the birthplace of monotheistic religions, once more produced an idea of the One God, which united in itself the obstinate zeal of the worship of Jehovah with the expansive power of the Christian religion. Islam, the doctrine taught by Mahomet, not only quickly took root in Arabia, its home, but grew irresistibly greater. All nations on the face of the earth were to be converted to the belief in Allah and his Prophet, and by the sword if other means failed. Thus the previously isolated Arabian nation suddenly swept beyond its borders with overwhelming power, the leader in a second migration. The invasion of the Arabs did not drive the other peoples before it, as the German migration had done; it overwhelmed them. The successors of Mahomet, who as caliphs were the spiritual and temporal rulers of their people, immediately began an attack on the two great neighbouring powers. Omar deprived the Byzantines of Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, and the north coast of Africa. His successor, Othman, conquered Persia and destroyed the royal house of the Sassanides.

The Mighty Movement of Islam

Hardly had the Arabs settled on the Mediterranean when they became inspired with the life of the Mediterranean spirit; and although the situation of their country, bounded by three seas, had in thousands of years never once caused them to turn their thoughts to navigation, they now became navigators. On the Phœnician coast, the classic cradle of maritime life, they created for themselves, as it were in a moment, powerful fleets, with which they not only ventured on a naval war with the Byzantines, but also seized the world's trade into their own hands. The influence of the Mediterranean asserted itself. Contact with the Græco-Roman civilisation aroused in them a spirit of research and a love for science.

At a time when Europe was retrograding intellectually and morally through the flood of barbarous nations and the subversion of all institutions, the Arabs became almost the only transmitters of culture. Under the caliphate of the Ommayyads (661–750), who transferred their court to Damascus, the Arabian supremacy was extended still more widely. While it spread in Asia as far as the Caucasus, the Caspian and Aral Seas, the Syr Daria and away towards India, it invaded Europe from Africa in a direction just opposite to the path of Vandal invasion. In the year 711 the Arabs put an end to the kingdom of the West Goths, swarmed over the Pyrenees into the kingdom of the Franks, and occupied the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and even Tarentum.

Culture Preserved by the Arabs

If we consider as a whole the movement of the nations, continuing from the middle of the fourth to the eighth century and beyond, we notice before everything else a predominant line of advance from east to west on both sides of the Mediterranean. In the north the movement begins earlier and penetrates deeper; in the south it is a deliberate course of action. In both cases it is brought to a halt by the Atlantic Ocean, and is compelled to describe a right angle and to strike out into a new direction. Determined by the nature of the ground, their march leads the wanderers across the sea at the point where the continents are closest to each other, at the Straits of Gibraltar; here the two currents meet and join their waters. Thus the living strength of both is destroyed. The moving circle of nations round the Mediterranean is now completely closed. The whole movement must come to a stop, even if the pressure from behind continues, for it can no longer go forward; the two ends of the thread have been joined, and form a tangled skein, which prevents all progress. Now the problem for the nations is how to plant themselves firmly in the ground, to hold fast to the conquered territory as far as possible, and to keep off the next comers.

Circle of Nations Round the Mediterranean

As for the basin of the Mediterranean itself, which again became the scene of events in the history of the world, it showed itself for the second time to be the mighty breakwater, or the great receiver in which the motley mixture of nations ferments and in the end is purified into more perfect forms. During the great storm, indeed, and immediately after it, there is more fermentation than purification to be observed on the Mediterranean. An old world has been shattered into fragments, and the new world knows not what is to be made out of the ruins. A lofty, and eventually an over-refined civilisation has been trampled beneath the rude feet of barbaric nations exuberant with animal strength. It is not to be expected of times when "thousands slain unnoticed lie" that men should show any comprehension of intellectual development, of humanity, of law and order, of the ideal conception of life. The only things that gained respect were booty won by the sword, personal courage, and bodily strength. "Life consists in defending one's self." In fact, all that the laborious work of civilisation had reared in many centuries was breaking up: not merely manuscripts and art treasures, temples and theatres, roads and bridges, aqueducts and marts, but ideals, plans and achievements, intellectual efforts—in fact, the entire sphere of thought and emotion in the ancient world.

A Mighty Breakwater of Nations

And yet in this collapse of all existing things, in the helpless striving after a new, dimly-pictured order, the Mediterranean spirit, apparently crushed, stubbornly preserved its vitality and its supremacy. The close historical connection between the nations of the Mediterranean, which, though little apparent, was all the more close, expressed itself from that period onwards so vigorously that it irresistibly drew even foreign elements into its charmed circle. It is remarkable what little tenacity in the preservation of their own individuality was evinced by these foreigners, from the time of their becoming settled on the coasts of the Mediterranean. We can certainly trace in this the influence of the mild climate, the more effeminate way of living as compared with previous times, the charm of the southern women, the more frequent indulgence in wine. Again, the number of the immigrants may have been small in comparison with the original population. The broad fact remains that the conquerors, through trade, marriage and other intimate relations, soon experienced an ethnological change, as a result of which the Germanic elements sank into obscurity with astonishing rapidity.

All-absorbing Action of the Mediterranean

On the other hand, the influence of the Roman civilisation developed irresistible strength in the mixture of races. This had appeared much earlier—we may recall the Romanising of Africa and Dacia by colonists and soldiers—and was especially remarkable now in Italy and the western countries. In the Pyrenæan peninsula, after the West Goths in the third century of their rule had changed their nationality by intermarriage with the natives, the Spaniards arose, in whom, in spite of liberal mixture with Keltiberians, Greeks and Carthaginians, the Romance element was predominant. Similarly in the Apennine peninsula, the Lombards gradually were transformed into the Italians by mixture

with the Romans and the relics of the Gothic and Greek population. And even the strongest and most tenacious of the Germanic peoples that came into direct contact with the Romans, the Franks in Gaul, changed and blended with Romans and Gauls into the French, in whom the Keltic element was most prominent and after it the Romance, while the Germanic almost disappeared; only the eastern tribes of the Franks, through the support of the hardy Frisians, Saxons, and Bavarians, preserved their identity and developed it into a German nationality in combination with these tribes.

The feeble cohesion of the Germanic tribes, notwithstanding all their natural strength, is shown also by their almost sudden disappearance from the field of history; the East Goths after 555, the Gepidæ after 568, the Vandals after 534. They change their religion with a certain facility. With the exception of the orthodox Franks, all the Germanic tribes had adopted Arian Christianity; but as soon as they were settled among the Romans they mostly adopted the Roman religion. This fact presents a striking contrast to the Semites. Jews and Arabs, who preserved their native manners, customs and faith even in dispersion and under unaccustomed circumstances of life. We must, however, bear in mind that the Germanic tribes were in the position of advanced outposts, which shattered the old world like battering rams and were broken off from the parent stock by the violence of the impact.

Civilisation Conquers the Conquerors

A main reason why the Germanic races were at a disadvantage in the compounding of nations on the Mediterranean lies in the consideration that the conquered had at their command a well-developed literary language and a rich literature, while the conquerors were badly off in this respect. Writing, indeed, existed among them, but the knowledge of it was rare, and a written literature was entirely wanting. It is thus comprehensible that, as new conditions demanded a freer use of writing from the Germans, they found it more difficult to express themselves in their own tongue than in the foreign one, in the use of which they could obtain advice and help. Thus a foreign language was already in use for communication at a distance, and it was only a step further to employ it for oral communication. He who neglects his mother-tongue has lost half his nationality. Superior civilisation proved more powerful than brute strength; and the succeeding generations employed the more developed ancient language all the sooner, as their own proved inadequate for the expression of a number of ideas, with which the Germans first became acquainted through the Romans. Again, the ancient language was the language of the Church, to whose care and protection all that was left of culture in those rude times had fled; and the Church began then to exert over the simple minds of the Germans a greater spiritual influence than it ever did over the native races of the Mediterranean. Again, language forms only a single link in the chain of influences which are at work in the amalgamation of nations.

Teutons Lose Their Mother-tongue

Although the Græco-Roman civilisation was buried by the migration of the races under an avalanche of semi-barbarian débris, yet it was not stifled. Here and there, at first in isolated spots, then in numerous places, it again broke through with increasing strength and forced its way up to the surface. Naturally it became impregnated with much of the foreign element that covered it, yet it transmitted to them so many of its characteristics that their development in the direction of a single Mediterranean spirit was accelerated.

In the East Roman empire, which survived, though in a diminished form, the storms of the migrations the Græco-Roman culture was not exposed to the same destructive influences as in the western countries of the Mediterranean. At least the Balkan peninsula, with its capital, Constantinople, was able for a considerable time to ward off the invasion of the Avars, Bulgarians and Arabs. But it fell a victim to a peculiar internal disintegration. While in the west the crumbling civilisation had fertilised a fresh soil vigorous with life, the east remained externally quite unscathed; but internally, owing to the pressure of the Tartars and the Semites, it was confined to its own limits and broke up in isolation. The old Hellenism, deprived of air and light, had passed into Byzantinism. The change was characterised by a remarkable formulation of Christian doctrine, and by a perpetually growing

Hellenism Decays to Byzantinism

opposition to Rome and the Roman Church, especially after the schism and the rise of a despotic form of government which had not previously existed. This development showed a complete divergence from the Mediterranean spirit, and its history is recorded in that of the Byzantine empire. Of the new state-building races in the west, the Franks most completely apprehended the task that awaited them, in so far as this consisted not only in destruction, but in reconstruction.

Rise of the Franks

The history of the Franks under the Merovingians, a long chronicle of outrages and excesses, offers indeed no attractive picture, and yet amidst all that is repugnant great features exist. The good always survives. After the sovereignty over the united Franks had passed to the race of Pepin, the might of Islam in Europe broke against their strength. For the second time in the course of the great race-movement it was Gaul which shattered the onslaught of Asiatic conquerors; as formerly Attila had been compelled on the plains of Châlons to retreat, so now the Arabs met the same fate at the field of Poitiers in the year 732.

Charles Martel and his Franks saved Europe from a defection from the Mediterranean spirit. For there is no doubt that, notwithstanding the high degree of culture already attained by Islam and its monotheistic principle, the Oriental religion could in no way have agreed with the western countries, steeped in the Roman spirit, but must have necessarily hindered their natural development. Just as France had already shown herself a strong rampart against the Arabs, so she showed herself now against the last offshoots of the race-movement which pressed on from the east. The Avars had taken nearly the whole of what is now Austria and Hungary, and thence harassed Italy and France by predatory incursions. They found no opposition from the unwarlike Slavs of those parts, the Wends, Serbs, Czechs, for a great leader was wanting. Then the Franks not only vigorously attacked them, but drove them back at the end of the eighth century behind the Theiss. There the Avars gradually lost themselves among the Slavs and Bulgarians.

How the Franks Saved Europe

With this ended the great race-movement, so far as it extended to the countries of the Mediterranean. It is true that a century later a Ural tribe, the Magyars, immigrated into the eastern part of the former territory of the Huns and Avars. This people alone among all the earlier and later incomers of Tartaric stock willingly incorporated itself into the European group of nations by the adoption of Christian culture; in other respects they cannot be reckoned among the Mediterranean nations. Further, the devastating inroad of the Mongols in the thirteenth century forms only a passing incident without any effect. And, finally, in regard to the successful immigration of the Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, nothing can be said here; it falls outside the scope of this treatise.

Thus we may venture to assert that it was to a large extent the vigorous efforts of the Franks which brought the race-movement to a standstill. Under the rule of the first four descendants of Pepin, they directed, as a united people, the forces of the migrating nations, which had mostly shown themselves destructive, or merely temporarily constructive, towards the creation of permanent institutions. The lion's share in this work fell to Charles the Great. Under him and through him the Frankish people became the forerunners of those nations in which the true Mediterranean spirit of morality and enlightenment was destined to reach the most perfect accomplishment. The bulk of Charlemagne's task of restoration fell in the Mediterranean countries. Italy offered him the means; there the dominion of the Lombards was approaching its end.

Charlemagne's Great Task of Restoration

Before this, misunderstandings between the Lombard king, Aistulf, and Pope Stephen II. had caused the intervention of the Frankish king, Pepin. The father of Charles, siding with the Pope, had formerly presented to the chair of Peter the Exarchate of Ravenna, which had been taken from the Langobardia Lombards. When, therefore, during the reign of Charles, disputes broke out with renewed intensity between the Lombard king and the Pope, Charles made use of his right to interfere, dethroned Desiderius, and received the homage of the Lombards as king of Italy. Italy therefore received the Frankish form of government. Since the old spirit of Roman institutions was in accordance with these laws, written as they were in Latin, they quickly struck root

and helped to hasten the amalgamation of Lombard and Roman life, already begun. The Frankish spirit proved itself a powerful agent in the union of the nations. The Pope, confirmed by Charles in the possession of the gift of Pepin, saw in the Franks true sons and firm pillars of the Roman Church.

This mutual understanding promoted the revival of a great conception, which had been considered dead—that of the restoration of the Roman empire. Before his coronation as emperor at Rome, Charles had already devoted his efforts towards incorporating, if not all, at any rate the European, maritime countries of the Mediterranean into his realm, and towards organising the nations who inhabited them into a unity in the Frankish-Roman sense. He was most easily successful with the extension of his dominion over the coasts of the Mediterranean, partly by conquest (Spain), partly by treaties (Illyria). When Charles, who, on his accession, had possessed no part of these border-lands, except Aquitania, was crowned Roman emperor in the year 800 by Pope Leo III., he was already lord of all the European shores of the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Ebro to Albania. And his plans extended still further towards the east. He was prevented from carrying them out by the tedious operations necessitated by the obstinate resistance of the Saxons, whose subjugation and conversion to Christianity he regarded as one of his chief duties. Nevertheless, the monarchy established by Charles formed an empire that comprised almost all of Western Europe from the North Sea and the Baltic, and can appropriately be called a Mediterranean empire.

Charlemagne Becomes a Roman Emperor

Charles was less successful with the restoration of true unity; ecclesiastical unity was not sufficient to check the disintegrating force of national tendencies. As long as Charles lived, his mighty genius and his far-reaching personal influence kept the nations together under his sceptre, but soon after his death the empire was dissolved. The three larger kingdoms which grew out of the monarchy, France, Germany, and Italy, preserved for a considerable time the impression of the spirit with which Charles had stamped them. In particular, the newly awakened conception of empire was kept alive. It sank deep into the minds of the nations and was for centuries one of the most powerful mainsprings of political activity. In estimating the part played by the Frankish monarchy, its most important service must be reckoned the restoration and strengthening, through intervention, of that intimate connection between the nations on the Mediterranean which the migration had shattered. The ruins of the old civilisation were taken by the Franks and steeped in Germanic methods of thought and feeling. Thus a new field for culture was formed. And from it the Mediterranean spirit has been able to develop into a broader entity as the Western European spirit.

Franks Create a New Field for Culture

The other Germanic races that had been forced onward by the great movement of the nations, and from whom eventually the German people emerged, finally established themselves north of the Alps or continued their march further beyond the Baltic and the North Sea; this is not the place to discuss them.

The physical characteristics of that part of Middle Europe, which was occupied by the Teuton races who remained or became Germans, definitely determined their historical development in a different direction. These territories are separated from the Mediterranean by the boundary-wall of the Alps, and their great rivers, with one single exception, flow towards the North Sea and the Baltic, which are equally "Mediterranean" seas of sharply defined peculiarities in history, geography, and civilisation. The Germans linked themselves to the North European group.

Here they found the surroundings congenial; here they could establish a nucleus of power and develop on a national basis, while immediate contact with the Mediterranean was dangerous, as exemplified in the fate of the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards. On similar grounds the Slavs have no relations with the Mediterranean. This continental people, so conspicuously peaceful and agricultura', seemed diligently to avoid its shores. In one spot only, at the north-east corner of the Adriatic, members of the Slavonic family, the Chorvates, or Croates, have settled in a dense mass. These became, indeed, skilful seamen through mixture with the old Illyrians, but limited themselves to their own coasts; and as a

The Peaceful Slavs

nation they were too few, and in their political development too independent, to exercise a predominant influence on the shaping of the life on the Mediterranean. Slavs, indeed, flooded Greece in great masses, but their nation was as little able to gain a firm footing there as the Germanic race in Spain and Italy. They soon were blended with the natives into the modern Greek nation, in which the Hellenic spirit prevailed, and with it they became the prey of the ever-narrowing Byzantinism. Nevertheless, a Teutonic race once more asserted its vigorous strength in the Mediterranean, at a time when national life had already begun to assume the fixed outlines of that form which has been maintained essentially up to the present day.

The Slavs Flood Greece

The appearance of the Normans is the more noteworthy in that they followed a path as yet untrodden by the migrating nations; that is, they came by sea and from the north. The Teutonic population of Scandinavia had, in consequence of the barrenness of their home, at an early period turned their attention to piracy, and thus became the pest of the north. The spirit of adventure, ambition, and the consciousness of physical strength made the Northmen no longer content with piracy, but sent them out, always in ships, on lasting conquests. Charles the Great had already been forced to defend his kingdom against their attacks; and towards the middle of the ninth century they had established themselves firmly in England and Northern France. Here, Charles III., the Simple, was compelled in 911 formally to surrender all Normandy to them.

In the Mediterranean the Northmen, sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar, had as early as the second half of the ninth century appeared as bold pirates, plundering the coasts as far as Greece; but the bold defence of the Arabs and Spaniards had hindered a permanent occupation then. Nevertheless, this enterprising race had by the sixth decade of the eleventh century succeeded in founding the Norman kingdom in Lower Italy and Sicily, which for a century and a half flourished exceedingly.

Founders of a Norman Kingdom

The founders of this kingdom had come from Normandy, where the Northmen had quickly become Christianised, had accepted French customs with the adaptability characteristic of the Teutons, and had changed into the quite distinctive Norman nation. Civilisation could not take from them their love of liberty, their lust for adventure, and their eagerness for action; but since religion and custom forbade Christians to rob and murder, they sought a new field of activity.

This they found in the war against Islam. They gradually extended their campaigns so that they reached even the East and carried with them all the Christian nations of Europe. The movement of the Crusades, a tide of Western nations flowing back towards the East, did not originally start from the Normans, but is connected with the establishment of their supremacy in Lower Italy. This noteworthy people, in whom the pious enthusiasm and the calm determination of the North was united with the fiery fancy and emotional nature of the South, had on their reception of Christianity given it an enthusiastic and romantic direction. They yearned to visit the places where Christ had lived, taught, and suffered. When the news spread through Europe, chiefly from the Normans, that in those places, which the Mohammedans held, native Christians and Western pilgrims were being oppressed, a mood gradually took possession of them which fanned the religious ardour, the ambition, and the rapacity of the Western nations and ultimately brought about the long war of the Christian west with the Mohammedan east. This war, the theatre of which was exclusively the basin of the Mediterranean, and by which the inhabitants of that region were once more thrown into complete confusion, culminated at first in the reconquest of the Holy Land by Christendom and in the spread of Christianity over the known world.

Romance of the Crusades

But in time the purely religious and moral motives fell into the background to make room for political schemes of aggrandisement. Both these impulses show the power of the reanimated Mediterranean spirit, which, kept in ceaseless movement like waves of the sea, now pressed on from west to east. The most zealous promoters of the Crusades were the Normans, not as a united people, but as a continuous series of wandering knights and adventurers. Since these bold freelances were accustomed to make a stay in Lower Italy on their voyages to

Palestine and back, in order to have a passing encounter with the Arabs, they found ample opportunity there to mix in the various quarrels of the counts and barons, the former Lombard feudal lords, and the Greeks, and to place at their disposal their swords, which readily leapt from their scabbards. In this way they won much for themselves. First the Arabs were driven out; in 1030 Apulia with its capital, Aversa, appears already as a Norman possession. Soon afterwards the sons of Tancred de Hautville succeeded in uniting the small Norman lordships in Italy. In 1071 Robert Guiscard was recognised by the papal chair as Duke of Apulia and Calabria, while at the same time his brother Roger ended the Arab rule in Sicily and conquered the whole island.

Twenty-five years later the eastward migration of the Crusades had begun. Struck by the mighty impact of the western armies, the Mohammedan house of Seljuk, which had entered on the inheritance of the Arab caliphs, seemed ready to fall to ruins, as once the Roman empire under the shock of the barbarians. Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine were quickly conquered by the Crusaders, and western knights created eastern kingdoms for themselves. Godfrey de Bouillon of Lorraine became king of Jerusalem; the Norman Bohemund of Tarentum, son of Robert Guiscard, became prince of Antioch; the Provençal Raimond of Toulouse, prince of Tripoli. By the side of these secular principalities were organised the spiritual knightly orders, the Knights of St. John, the Templars, and the Teutonic order, independent bodies possessed of great wealth.

Kingdoms of the Knights

Yet Western civilisation found no favourable soil in the East because it adhered rigidly to its religious, romantic, and feudal character and was inclined to show little leniency towards the equally rigid racial and social forms of the East. It also found a malicious opponent in the Byzantinism of the Greek population, which opposed the "Latins" with oustpoken hostility. Thus, in spite of the first dazzling success, the western system never took firm root, but was soon itself hard pressed after the Mohammedans had recovered from their first alarm and had found a vigorous ruler in the Sultan Saladin. It is remarkable that the very same Normans, who in the East were the implacable foes of Islam, not only refrained from oppressing and persecuting their numerous Arabic subjects in their own kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, but treated them with actual consideration, being eager to effect an amalgamation of races. The Arabs of the east had at that time been crushed by Seljuks, Turks, and Kurds, or driven back to their original home. The Arabs of Spain and Sicily, on the contrary, had reached a stage of civilisation higher than that attained by almost any part of Europe. And since the fanaticism of these Arabs was not nearly so keen as that of their eastern co-religionists, their union with the rest of the motley population of Sicily did not seem at all impossible. In fact, it did come about to a certain degree; and if it was not completely successful, the reason lies in the early dissolution of the Norman power, which, after extraordinary prosperity, succumbed in the war of 1194 against the world-monarchy personified in the German Imperial House of Hohenstaufen.

The Norman Power Succumbs

From that time the Normans, who were always weak in numbers, disappeared from the Mediterranean without leaving any trace beyond a glorious memory. Their conquerors, the Staufer, as lords of Lower Italy and Sicily, showed consideration to the Arabs and made friendly advances to them; but they also sank into obscurity, and the French and Spanish, who succeeded to their rule in Naples and Sicily, were bent only on driving out the Saracens by force or exterminating them.

Islam wreaked vengeance on Christianity for this loss by preparing a speedy end for the western power in Asia. After Saladin, in 1187, had retaken Jerusalem, all attempts of the Christians to recover it proved fruitless. At the close of the twelfth century the Western powers had to abandon Asia. On the other hand, in the beginning of the thirteenth century a new attempt was made by them to expand in the east, this time at the expense of the Byzantine empire. Under the pretext of a Crusade, an expedition of Christian knights, whose moving spirit was the Doge of Venice, started straight for Constantinople by sea, captured it, placed a new emperor on the throne,

Vengeance of Islam on Christianity

merely to dethrone him at once, and finally availed themselves of the weakness of the Greeks to divide their territory among themselves. Count Baldwin of Flanders placed himself, in 1204, on the throne of Constantinople as "Latin emperor." Under him, just as had been the case a century before in Syria and Palestine, there arose a series of vassal states under western knights—Boniface of Montserrat in the kingdom of Thessalonica, William of Champlitte in the principality of Achaia, Otto Delaroche in the duchy of Athens. The coasts were seized by the republic of Venice; Cyprus had been ruled since 1193 as a kingdom by the family of Lusignan when driven out from Jerusalem. In short, the Byzantine rule saw itself restricted in Europe to Epirus, and elsewhere to the north of Asia Minor.

Western Knights Rule in Constantinople

But even then the West was not successful in creating permanent political fabrics; sharp dissensions between Latins and Greeks, internal and ecclesiastical disputes, pressure from the Bulgarians on the north and from some vigorous Comneni, caused the downfall, first of the kingdom of Thessalonica, then of the Latin empire. In 1261 the Byzantine empire was restored. The dukedoms of Achaia and Athens lasted, it is true, somewhat longer, since the first placed itself under the protection of the Neapolitan house of Anjou, the latter under that of the Sicilian royal house of Aragon, and was ruled by a band of Spanish freebooters, the Catalonian company; yet they only led a confused, shadowy existence until they became the spoil of the Turks. The possessions of Venice and those of Genoa, which were also acquired during the Crusades, were kept the longest and were the most powerful. These commercial republics were free from national, religious, and feudal arrogance and from the insolence of the other Western conquerors, and knew how to maintain friendly relations with their Byzantine and eastern subjects. But after the Turks had finally shattered the Byzantine empire, and had shifted the centre of gravity of their power to Europe, Venice and Genoa, too, were obliged to quit the field.

Decay of Venice and Genoa

The movement of nations occasioned by the Crusades, which is distinguished from the great migration of the peoples only by the fact that it did not involve the total abandonment of home, but the removal only of a portion of the population capable of bearing arms, produced no lasting change in the political conditions of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean. The grouping of great nations, which was already assuming a permanent form, was not seriously disturbed by it.

Yet a wide-reaching importance attaches to it in many respects. It forms the conclusion, the last outburst, of those impelling forces which, springing partly from natural, partly from spiritual necessity, drove the masses one against the other, mingled them together, and out of the mixture caused new forms to be created. From this point the inner life of the nations of the Mediterranean comes more and more into a position of equilibrium and rest. The impulse towards expansion is quenched and gives place to one towards the internal improvement of all that concerns the nation, the state, and civilisation. After the struggle, lasting 200 years, between the two conflicting religions, Christianity and Islam, had ended in the exhaustion of both, a silent understanding was arrived at. The subsequent advance of the Turks into Europe presents another aspect; in this, religious reasons no longer play the chief part, and the invasion of the Turks ethnically exercised but little influence. The West and the East had learnt to know each other. Not only had the long sword of the knight crossed with the scimitar of the Saracen, not only had the Gospel matched itself against the Koran, but western and eastern life had come into contact. Thereafter many intellectual threads were spun backwards and forwards between the two, marking new paths of trade and commerce over the sea. A certain reciprocal appreciation of each other's strength, character, mental abilities, and nature began to assert itself—an appreciation of what each might learn, borrow, or buy from the other.

West and East Know Each Other

To this gradually dawning knowledge was joined the conviction that the forcible incorporation of the enemy's territory would be difficult, and, even if possible, would perhaps not conduce to the welfare of either. The long-continued hostility between the two halves of the Mediterranean had caused the building of large fleets upon it and had changed insignifi-

cant coast towns, such as Pisa, Genoa, Venice, into maritime powers; fleet and merchant navy both required occupation. After the great war had ended, only maritime trade and petty warfare were profitable. In fact, maritime trade on the Mediterranean, which had greatly diminished, owing to the migration of the nations, flourished so splendidly during and after the time of the Crusades that all previous results were eclipsed.

This prosperity was accompanied by a rapid growth of national wealth, the exchange of the productions peculiar to the different regions, a refinement in manners, an awakening of the desire for travel and of ardour for research, and a universal enlargement of knowledge. Familiarity with the East and its civilisation, which had almost been lost by the inhabitants of the Western Mediterranean, awoke a multitude of new thoughts which fructified and advanced the development of state, politics, society, and science. This mental change was greatly accelerated by the fact that the West in its new system was, in many ways, permeated with survivals of old Mediterranean ideas. On the other side a similar dispersion of Western elements was produced in the East through these causes. Partly as remnants of the Latin state system, partly as colonists and traders, Burgundians, Provençals, Spaniards, Southern Italians, Lombards, Genoese, Venetians, and Illyrians had spread in great numbers over the coasts of Syria, the Ægean and the Black Sea.

Universal Enlargement of Knowledge

These outposts of the West were, of course, too weak to exert an ethnical influence on the life of the Eastern nations, yet were strong enough, in union with the native Græco-Slavs and the Turko-Tartars, who were streaming in from the Far East, to prevent the formation of marked nationalities. Thus they have contributed towards giving to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean the character which attaches to it at the present day—that of a mechanical medley of race fragments, showing no trace of chemical affinity, and therefore incapable of any of those bonds which have made united nations out of the conglomerate populations of the West. It is the permanently incongruous character of the motley mosaic of races in the Eastern Mediterranean basin which created an Eastern Question in the remote past, an ethnographical problem unsolved even at the present day. The universal interests of mankind, formerly put into the background, partly by the deafening din of arms and partly by a scholasticism which fettered the intellect, came gradually back to men's minds, occupied their thoughts, and found zealous supporters. That theory of life which had been born when the exploits of Alexander the Great widened the horizon of man, which had assumed a more lasting form under the Roman empire and, socially purified, had been established by triumphant Christianity upon the moral worth of man as a basis, once more arose.

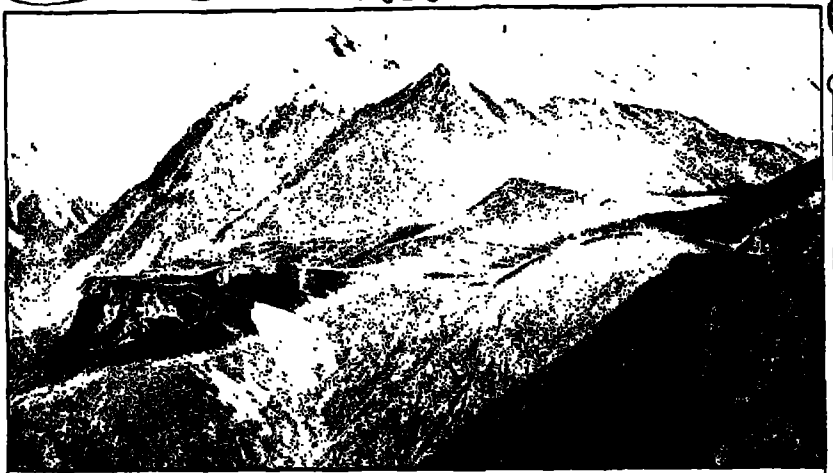
A Motley Mosaic of Races

Henceforth the Renaissance, embodying this conception, selects and brings together the best qualities of all previous manifestations in an intellectual new birth. Through this movement the Mediterranean spirit, whose sources had been many, and whose growth had been slow, becoming conscious of itself, was destined to attain unity. The peculiar nature of the Mediterranean spirit finds its purest expression in the Renaissance, which comprises in itself material, moral, and intellectual welfare, the beautiful and the useful, the rights of the State and the citizen, and the free unfolding of the individual. Rejoicing in the power of creation, it passed directly into the wider conception of European civilisation. This accounts for the superiority of European civilisation over the other civilisations of the world and for the triumphant manner in which, radiating from the Mediterranean, it has spread over the world. Its progress continues in our own day, and in perfect adaptation to time and place it has grown more ennobling, more enriching, more intense.

Why European Civilisation is Supreme

EDWARD, COUNT WILCZEK
HANS F. HELMOLT





The snow-clad Rila Dagh mountain and the wild Devil's Valley, in the Balkans.



In the Dinaric Alps, the western range of the Peninsula, on the borders of Herzegovina.



A forest-clad mountain slope in the Balkans, the eastern range of the Balkan Peninsula.

MOUNTAINS WHICH SEAM THE BALKAN PENINSULA



THE EARLY PEOPLES OF SOUTH AND WEST EUROPE

PEOPLES OF THE MAIN BALKAN PENINSULA

By Dr. K. G. Brandis

SEAMED by high mountains which run in various directions and enclose sharply isolated valleys, the mass of the south-easternmost peninsula of Europe resembles in its physical characteristics the peninsula of Greece, which joins it to the south, but differs from it in being far less accessible by sea. The east coast is but little indented and is deficient in good harbours. The west coast is more irregular in outline and possesses numerous islands and harbours; lofty and precipitous mountains, however, run down to the shore and prevent brisk trade with the interior.

Only to the north, where the peninsula joins the continent, is it without any distinct boundary, and on that side the country is wholly exposed to foreign invasion. The vast area may be divided orographically into two regions—the western part, shut in by the Dinaric Mountains, which stretch from north to south, and the eastern part, which abounds in mountain ranges, running almost at right angles with the Dinaric chain. The ethnographic divisions correspond in general to the orographic; the Illyrians dwelt on the west, the Thracians on the east, and at a later period the Macedonians thrust in their way between the two to the south. Bordering on Epirus to the south, and having intercourse with the Hellenes, the Illyrians were, on the north, neighbours of the Kelts, with whom they came into contact in what is now Croatia. But exact boundaries can be as little specified on the north as on the side of the Thracians on the east; the frontiers were often uncertain and in the course of time were frequently altered. Prevented from extending northward by the Kelts, who, since an early period, pressed down on them, and hemmed in by mountains on the east, the Illyrians continuously encroached upon the Hellenes on the south, and some bands of them even advanced into Greece;

Mountains of the Balkans

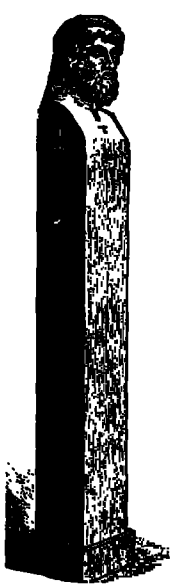
but the great mass of wanderers, who left their old home on account of over-population and the consequent deficiency in food, or the pressure of neighbouring nations, or the desire for conquest, crossed the Adriatic and settled on the opposite Italian coast. Even in ancient times the Daunians, the Sallentinians, the Peligni-ans, Iapygians, Messapians, and other tribes of Italy, were held to be Illyrians; and the correctness of this assumption has recently been confirmed by the close relationship of the present Albanian—a dialect spoken practically in the same district as that once occupied by the Illyrians, and considered to be the latest variety of one of the old Illyrian dialects—with the Messapian, preserved on inscriptions in Lower Italy.

Migrations of the Illyrians

Split up into many tribes, which preserved their peculiar habits and customs, separated as they were from each other by mountain ranges, and untouched by any foreign civilisation, the Illyrians never attained national unity, though renowned for their bravery and notorious for their rudeness and love of plunder. At the head of the tribes were the princes, who sought to extend their dominions at the expense of each other as well as by the invasion of foreign territory. West of the lake of Lychnitis some importance was attained by the monarchy of Bardylis and his son Clitus, who invaded Macedonia

and held in subjection part of that country until driven back by Philip and afterwards by Alexander. At a later period the kingdom of the Ardiæi existed on the lower course of the Naro. This nation, governed by such princes as Pleuratus and Agron, ruled the sea with their pirate fleet and menaced the Greek colonies on the fertile islands which fringe the coast as well as Greek towns on the mainland. All the Greeks on the Adriatic, with the exception of those of Issa, lost their independence. Issa invoked the help of Rome; and in the year 230 B.C. Rome first interfered in Illyrian affairs by liberating the Greek towns. Rome was forced to wage war repeatedly in Illyria before that country could be made a province. Then, for the first time, it became more accessible; roads were built and the beginning of progress made, while the Roman legions maintained peace and paved the way for trade and commerce.

Rome Sets Free the Greek Towns



HERMES
Worshipped by the Thracian kings.

We do not know when the Thracians entered the land which bears their name. From the few words which have been preserved—no records in the Thracian language exist—and from the proper names which have come down to us in large numbers, but above all from their geographic position among the Aryan nations—Greeks, Slavs, and Scythians—it has long been held that the Thracians also were Aryans and formed as distinct a branch of that great family as their southern neighbours, or as the Kelts, with whom they afterwards came into contact on the Danube. Thracian tribes spread beyond the Balkan peninsula itself and settled, the Getæ in Transylvania, the Dacians in what is now Roumania. And though in more recent, and particularly in Roman, times the term "Thrace" was applied to the country south of the Hæmus, between the Rhodope Mountains and the Black Sea, in antiquity this was not the case: then Thrace comprised all countries where Thracians dwelt, the vast regions extending from the slopes of the Carpathians to the Ægean and from the Black Sea westward to the frontiers of Illyria. Probably no one at present doubts that the Thracians originally came from the north. But after the first occupation of the land to which they gave their name many important changes occurred; tribes long settled changed character with the arrival of new settlers or wandered from the old homes to new abodes. The Trojans and Phrygians, both Thracian tribes, left Europe, to find a new home in Asia; this event is said to have happened about 3000 B.C.—that is, in prehistoric times. Then came the migration into Asia of the Mysians, who set out thither from the valley of the Danube. Some of them were still settled there even in Roman days under the name of Mœsians. The last great migration from the Balkan peninsula over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, that of the Thynians and Bithynians, occurred after the close of prehistoric times. Of them, however, a part remained behind in Europe, as in the case of the Mysians. The chief cause of all the migrations was the inability of the tribes to resist the pressure of powerful nations behind them.

We do not know how often entire tribes, or at least considerable fractions of them, were thus annihilated or crushed; we may see only here and there the results of a long and important movement, without being able to follow more closely its origin and its course. Thus, we know that the Cimmerians of the South Russian steppe in the east were pushed westward by the advance of the Scythians, were driven against the Thracians, and, finally flying before the nomads, left their native land; that they then proceeded through the Balkan peninsula over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor and there produced great revolutions. Some Thracian tribes, which had shared their campaigns in Asia Minor, were with them. Precisely the same thing happened to the Thracians in the south-west, where the Pierians, Bottiæans, and Edonians held all the territory up to Olympus and the Thessalian frontier, where the Macedonians repelled every forward movement. Obviously the departure of the Thracians from those parts must have produced important revolutions or migrations among the kindred tribes.

The Thracians Driven From Thrace

The superstitions of the Thracians, their forms of divine worship, and their religious conceptions were the object of zealous study among the Greeks; but many observances are found among them which had been borrowed from their southern neighbours and developed. According to Herodotus, the Thracians worshipped Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis; but their kings worshipped Hermes, whom they claimed as progenitor, a cult peculiar to them. The whole list of their gods is not, indeed, exhausted by these names; they certainly worshipped one other celestial being, who seems to have been called by some tribes Gebeleizis, by others Sbelthiurdus. In times of tempest they would entreat him, by discharging arrows in the air, to silence the thunder and keep back the lightning.

It is not surprising to find Ares, the god of war and of the din of arms, worshipped by so warlike a people. Thrace was for this reason called Areia, the land of Ares; from Thrace, according to Homer, he rushed forth to battle with his foes, and to Thrace he returned. But we know nothing of the manner in which he was worshipped.

On the other hand, the cult of Dionysus is tolerably well known. Supposing that Semele, who is universally considered to be his mother, is really the Thracio-Phrygian earth-goddess, then Dionysus may be accounted the son of the Earth and of the god of Heaven, a conclusion to which the first element in his name points. He brings blessings and fertility. Not merely the vine, but all the fruits of the fields and gardens are under his protection; when the plants that cover the earth pass away lamentations are raised to him; when they awake once more he is greeted with shouts of joy. Utter licentiousness and the wildest abandon characterised the celebration of the resurrection of Dionysus. Men and women, the latter clad in flowing many-coloured garments, joined in the rout. Garlanded with ivy and bearing the thyrsus, with flutes, cymbals, drums, and pipes, they rushed madly through the fields in search of the god, and the orgy was continued till his approach was announced by the ululation of men imitating the howling of beasts; the wildest enthusiasm was indulged in by all who took part when once the god was again among them. All this was reckoned, even in antiquity, as a distinctive feature of the festival of the Thracian Dionysus. In Greece any trace of such orgiastic festivals may be assigned to Thracian influences. Another aspect of the nature of Dionysus deserves to be noticed. He was a god of prophecy. North of Pangaeum, in the wild Rhodopian range, was found his oracle, over which the priestly race of the Bessi presided. A woman, inspired by the god, uttered in his name dark sayings, hardly more intelligible than those of her far more famous colleague at Delphi. This oracle of Dionysus maintained its importance for many centuries.



ARES, THE THRACIAN GOD OF WAR
Ares, known to the Romans as Mars, was the war god of the Thracians, and Thrace was, for this reason, called Areia. From a Paros sculpture, now at Munich.

Orgiastic festivals with processions were held in honour of the goddess Bendis, who was identified with the Greek Artemis. The offerings brought her by the women

were wrapped in wheat-stalks; the men organised a torchlight ride, and the whole festival was ended by a night of unrestrained revelry. Human beings were also sacrificed. Every four years a festival was held in honour of Salmoxis, at which a man, previously selected by lot to go to Salmoxis as ambassador and messenger, was seized by his hands and feet and thrown on the points of spears. If the chosen victim did not die therefrom, he was a wicked man, unworthy of the commission entrusted to him, and another was taken in his place. The favourite wife was often sacrificed on the new-made grave of her deceased husband and immediately buried by his side. Herodotus, it is true, relates this only of one Thracian tribe. But the sacrifice of widows was certainly a universal Thracian custom which found parallels among other Aryan nations in primitive times, and has only very recently been suppressed in India. At the time when Herodotus wrote this custom had begun to die out in Thrace. In more recent times no human victims were offered to the dead, but all kinds of objects were consecrated to the departed as a hero or a demigod. Small marble slabs were dedicated to him, which showed in relief the figure of a rider with fluttering cloak, sometimes alone, frequently in combination with various beasts of the chase, at which the horseman hurls his lance; often an altar was raised to him. The surviving members of the family did this in order that the spirit of the departed might be gracious and favourable to them. Herodotus was able to say of the Thracian tribe of the Getæ that, according to their religious conception, life did not end with death, but that after death a better and more happy life was to be expected; according to ordinary tradition, the sage Salmoxis had taught them this belief in immortality. Peculiar to them is the exalted station the wise man or priest occupied by the side of the king; as interpreter of the divine commands, and as mediator between gods and mortals he was the monarch's guide and counsellor. The Trausi, another Thracian tribe, lamented at the birth of a male child, as they reflected on the afflictions and sufferings awaiting him in life; but they buried the deceased with great rejoicing as one who had done with sorrow and had entered into everlasting happiness. It is not therefore astonishing that the piety of the Thracians was often praised in antiquity. In some cases also asceticism is noticeable among them: there were people who, in order to obtain a reputation for sanctity,

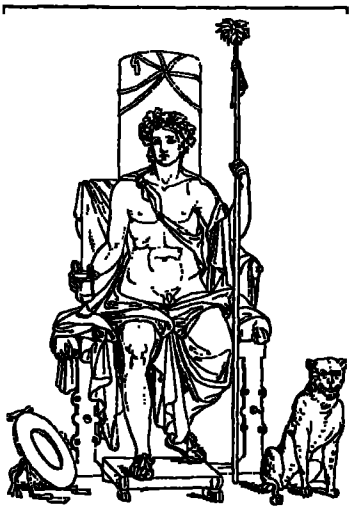


GREEK STATUE OF DIONYSUS



THE WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS AS ILLUSTRATED IN GREEK SCULPTURE

Spring, the time of the resurrection of Dionysus, the Thracian god of the fruits of the fields, was greeted by the Thracians with joy, and his festival celebrated with the wildest abandon and enthusiasm. From a Vatican relief.



DIONYSUS ENTHRONED
From a wall-painting at Pompeii

refrained from all flesh food and remained unmarried. We can doubtless see in the efforts of these few holy men a reaction against the prevailing habits of life; for in many other instances handed down to us the Thracians appear in a brutal light, indulging in polygamy, addicted to drink, and rough in their habits. Wives were bought for money from their parents and were strictly watched by their husbands, whereas maidens enjoyed great freedom of movement, and could form liaisons at pleasure. The sale of children also was prevalent. The Thracians were divided into numerous tribes, at the head of which stood princes. The inaccessibility of their mountains favoured their efforts to maintain independence. These mountain tribes lived mostly by hunting and cattle-breeding; brigandage and marauding were regarded as the most honourable pursuits. The state of affairs was different in the river-valleys, especially in the broad and fertile valley of the Hebrus. Here there was a higher civilisation: agriculture was carried on; wheat and millet were cultivated as well as hemp, from which cloth was made; barley, from which beer was extracted, and even vines. Here the inhabitants dwelt in fortified villages, and there were farms surrounded by palisades, since the owners always had to be prepared for the raids of the marauding mountain tribes. In the valley of the Hebrus, which was inhabited by various tribes, a kingdom was first constituted by the Ordysæ, who united several tribes under one rule. But before this could happen Thrace had to shake off the yoke of the Persians. When Darius marched through this land on his expedition against the Scythians in 513 B.C. its inhabitants either submitted to him or were forced, like the Getæ between the Hæmus and the Danube, to join his army. After the disaster to the king, Megabazus remained behind in Thrace with 80,000 men in order completely to subdue the country. As a result, the districts on the Ægean coast and the valley of the Hebrus came under the Persian rule. They were made subject to tribute and were required to provide auxiliaries, while Persian garrisons were placed in the most important towns, such as Doriscus, Sestus, Byzantium, etc. The Persian supremacy in Thrace lasted up to the time of the Persian wars, when, after the battles of Platæa and Mycale, the Greeks succeeded in bringing the straits of the Bosphorus once more into their power and driving the Persians completely out of Europe. In the following years Persian garrisons fell in rapid succession, last of all that of Doriscus, which was defended by the brave Mascames. Thus, the Persians were driven out of Thrace by the Greeks, chiefly owing to the Athenians. But far from welcoming their liberators gladly, the Thracians, on the contrary, offered a desperate resistance to the Athenians. They not only aided the Persian garrisons of Eion and Doriscus, but actually defeated the Athenians on several occasions when these, being now in possession of Eion, endeavoured to occupy and colonise Enneahodoi. This name, which means "nine ways," was given to a place on the Strymon in a most fertile region and at the intersection of the roads from the north to the Ægean Sea, and from Macedonia to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; it was not until 436 B.C. that Amphipolis could be founded here. But Eion belonged to the Athenians, and after the revolt of Thasus his possessions on the mainland fell into their hands in 463 B.C. Thus, the Athenians firmly established themselves on the Thracian coast. The Thracian Chersonese had long been in their possession; and through the creation of the Attic maritime

Persia Driven from Thrace



Mansell

DIONYSUS
The son of the Earth and the god of Heaven who brought blessings and fertility to the Thracians.

Thrace Ruled by Persia

league—to which Abdera, Aenus, and Maronea of the Greek colonies situated in these parts, and Byzantium, Perinthus, and others of the Hellespontine towns belonged—they completely ruled the whole Thracian coast. The Chalcidian peninsula, which adjoins on the west, was also subjected to Athenian influence.

Odrysæan Kingdom Founded

Almost contemporaneously with the establishment of the Athenian power on the coast, the Odrysæ, in the valley of the Hebrus, succeeded in subduing the other native tribes and in founding a kingdom. Though Teres was not the founder of the Odrysæan kingdom, he was regarded as the one who did most to enhance its power and to extend its sway over the regions of Thrace. The whole territory between Rhodope, Mount Hæmus, the Black Sea, and the Hellespont was ruled over by the Odrysæan kings. Even beyond Mount Hæmus, the Getæ, who inhabited the coast between the mountain and the Danube, were subject to them, as were the Agriani, who dwelt in the mountains along the upper course of the Strymon; even a few Pæonian tribes recognised their supremacy. Sitalces, the son of Teres, reigned over the Odrysæan realm within these boundaries.

The monarchy was absolute. We are not told that the people were ever consulted or that any voice in the decision of public affairs was conceded them, or that the king in general was bound by laws or a constitution. In the event of war he summoned all men capable of bearing arms: at the end of the war they were dismissed. There was not the slightest trace of a standing army with its strict military organisation and efficient training. Next to the king there were dynasts, or local chiefs, whose power was naturally weaker when the king was strong, and stronger when the king was weak. The taxes which accrued to the king from the

Absolute Odrysæan Monarchy

country itself and from some Hellenic colonies on the sea coasts amounted, according to Thucydides, at their highest total to 400 talents of silver annually; but in addition to these he received presents of gold and silver, embroidered and plain stuffs and many other things, the value of which is said to have equalled the amount of the taxes. The Thracians thought it more blessed to receive than to give, and it was difficult for any one to accomplish his object without distributing lavish presents. The more influential a man was, the more he favoured this custom; the king, naturally, obtained the most, and his wealth increased with his power. Obviously this was a great cause of official uncertainty, and under such circumstances there was no thought of an organised administration.

Nobles are mentioned among the Odrysæ. The court and immediate circle round the king were composed of them or they resided on their estates, ready to go to war as cavalry when necessary; (and what Herodotus said of Thracians in general holds good of them—namely, that agriculture was regarded by them as dishonourable and disgraceful, and that only the life of the soldier and robber pleased them.) By the side of these nobles there must naturally have been "commons," for how else could the cultivation of the fields and gardens, for which the territory of the Odrysæ was famous, have been carried on? These commons, or peasants, composed the infantry in time of war. Sitalces, the son and successor of Teres,

The Robber Nobles of the Odrysæ

had the command of a very considerable force; 150,000 men are spoken of. As an ally of Athens he interfered in the affairs of Macedonia and Chalcidice; we shall see later on why this expedition proved fruitless to him. A few years later, in 424 B.C., Sitalces fell in a campaign against the Triballi on the Danube. This shows that he was eager to extend his power over the Thracian tribes. But soon afterwards the Odrysæan kingdom broke up for lack of a firm basis. The various tribes that composed the kingdom submitted, indeed, to the iron hand of one who knew how to keep them together, but they always struggled for independence whenever that strict rule was relaxed.

Under Seuthes and Medocus, the successors of Sitalces, the power of the local chiefs was strengthened, and they became more and more independent of the superior king. In 383 B.C., one of these, Cotys, succeeded in overthrowing the hereditary dynasty and making himself sole monarch. Though he was sensual and fond of pleasure, he was capable and vigorous. He made it his object to conquer the Thracian Chersonese. When the Athenians recovered from the disastrous termination of the Peloponnesian war, and proceeded to reconquer the towns on the

Thracian Chersonese which had been lost to them, they came into collision with Cotys. In this war, which, with the exception of a successful campaign carried on by the capable Timotheus in 364 B.C., was conducted by Athens with inefficient commanders and slight resources, victory rested with the Thracian king. He conquered Sestus and other places, and about the year 360 B.C. Athens possessed only the two small places Crithotæ and Elæus.

After the death of Cotys, in 359 B.C., his kingdom was divided. His son Cersebleptes held the territory east of the Hebrus, while Amadocus ruled over the territory between the Hebrus and Nestus, and Berisades, from Nestus to the Strymon. Simultaneously Philip came to the throne in the neighbouring state to the west, Macedonia, and was destined soon to interfere in the affairs of Thrace.

The Rose Gardens of Midas

The land lying between the courses of the Axius and Haliacmon, which afterwards belonged to Macedonia, was, so far as the materials at our disposal allow us to trace its history backwards, at one time occupied by Thracian tribes. While a rich, fertile plain, encircled by mountains, lay between the lower courses of the Axius and the Haliacmon toward the sea, the upper stretches of these rivers enclosed a wild and partly inaccessible mountain district, which, inhabited by various nationalities, long preserved its independence. At a remote but fairly definite period there dwelt round Mount Bermius those Phrygian tribes which later crossed over to Asia Minor and subjugated and cultivated the land named after them. But the celebrated rose-gardens round Bermius, which were called in antiquity the gardens of Midas, on account of their luxuriance and the fragrant scent of their roses, preserved the remembrance of the Phrygians once settled there, whose kings were called alternately Midas and Gordius.

A remnant of these oldest inhabitants must, however, have remained there, for when Mardonius in the year 492 B.C. undertook at the orders of Darius an expedition against Greece, his army was attacked in Macedonia by the Brygians—that is, the Thracian Phrygians—and suffered severe losses. Still, as the main body of the Phrygians had left these regions, other Thracian tribes occupied them. Without being able to assign fixed limits, we may say that the Cordæans dwelt afterwards on the Bermius range, the Pierians on the Haliacmon and southward to Olympus, the Edonians in Mygdonia east of Axius, and the Bottiæans to the west. It is an historical fact that even these nations did not remain in the same regions, but were all pushed further westward by the Macedonians, who pressed on victoriously and gave to the whole country between Olympus and the Strymon their own name, Macedonia. It is not known when the Macedonians first appeared. They are considered rightly to be a people closely related to the Hellenes. When the Greeks migrated into Hellas the Macedonians remained behind somewhere in the Epirot Mountains, and then, driven out, doubtless, by the southward pressure of the Illyrian tribes, crossed the Pindus range and sought settlements on its eastern side.

The Coming of the Macedonians

The ancients were well aware that the Macedonians had migrated into the land afterwards called Macedonia. The ancient legend connected the royal race of the Macedonians, the Argeadæ, with the Temenidæ in Argos. Three brothers of this race—Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas—fled from their home to Illyria, and thence came to Upper Macedonia; there they entered into the service of the king at first as common labourers. Dismissed and pursued by their master, they were saved from his horsemen by a swollen river. Subsequently they settled in a district of Lower Macedonia, and finally subdued the rest of Macedonia. This myth may serve to illustrate the connection of the Macedonians with the Hellenes, and to throw light on the bitterness of the struggle for the conquest of the land; but it does not solve the mystery which wraps the earliest history of the people.

First King of the Macedonians

The youngest of the three brothers, Perdiccas, is celebrated as the first king of the Macedonians. This princely race, which resided in Ægae, succeeded not only in founding a dominion in Lower Macedonia, but also in making their supremacy recognised among the neighbouring tribes of Upper Macedonia. Macedonian history is full of struggles of the central power against the suzerain border-chiefs, especially of the mountain districts of Lyncestis and Elimiotis, who were often rebellious until the strong arm of Philip reduced them to order.

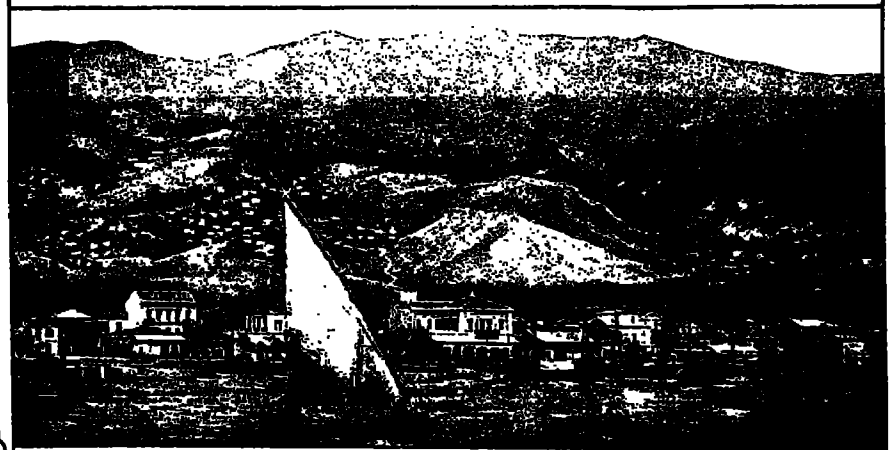
K. G. BRANDIS



Salamis, one of the magnificent harbours which led the early peoples to take to the sea.



The mountainous country of Thessaly; a monastery on a mountain top.



A harbour-town on the ancient Gulf of Pagasæus, one of the finest Grecian harbours.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF GREECE WHICH MODIFIED ITS HISTORY

THE ANCIENT PEOPLES OF GREECE

By Professor Rudolph von Scala

THE lower the stage of civilisation, the closer is the dependence of the human race upon the soil. The intelligence that masters the earth does not make its appearance until late, and even then it scarcely ever succeeds in severing all the ties by which man is joined to the earth from which he has sprung. The geological conformation of Greece, with its mountainous regions and its lack of plains, of easy land-routes, and of navigable rivers, led of itself to the separation of races into isolated groups and to their dependence upon the sea as the most favourable means of intercourse. The magnificent harbours formed by the Gulfs of Ambracia, Corinth, Argolis, Saronicus, and Pagasæus must at an early time have led men to take to the sea, a course in which they were greatly aided by the landmarks that are almost always visible to the mariner: Mount Athos, above 6,000 feet in height, which may be seen from nearly every point in the Northern Ægean; the mountains of Eubœa, visible from most points in the Central Archipelago, and, highest of all, Mount Ida, in Crete, which serves as a guide for almost the entire Southern Ægean.

Early Mariners of Greece

The climate of Greece is tempered by the sea to a far greater extent than one might suppose, considering the size of the peninsula. To be sure, there are important variations; for example, Messenia with its magnificent climate presents the most striking contrast to the mountainous regions of West Arcadia. In Athens, the point where the greatest differences in temperature are to be found, the mean temperature is 43° in January, and 82° in July. The influence which the climate, together with the beauty and brilliancy of the blue summer sky and the clear outlines of physical objects, had upon the development of the Greek love for beauty of form, and the effect of the mildness of temperature, and the rareness of tempests, upon architecture and the development of household surroundings, have long been recognised. Thus the influence of geographical configuration on the history of Greece may be clearly seen; the development of the Greek races took the most varied forms, and through their very dissimilarities and varying interests the different tribes must in turn have had great influence on the intellectual activity of the people as a whole. All the defects and all the merits peculiar to individualism—or rather to the extreme self-concentration of small groups—are united in Greece; and from the combination of these defects and excellences arise great talents in individual men—and isolation in states.

Geography in the History of Greece

The Balkan peninsula and the islands of the Ægean were the scene of the beginnings of European history. There, for the first time in the continent of Europe, inscribed stones spoke an intelligible language; and there, too, from the uninscribed remains of ruined palaces, citadels, and sepulchres, modern investigation obtains testimony of centuries that passed away long before writing was invented. Fragments of pottery proclaim the connection of primeval settlements with definite spheres of civilisation; indeed, they even afford the possibility of arranging these spheres of civilisation chronologically; and comparative philology throws light upon the significance of obscure names of places, often proving them to be the last remains of races about whom tradition is silent, or at most indistinct. Archæology and comparative philology do not, however, supplement each other perfectly. We are not able to confirm with absolute certainty the hypotheses advanced by archæology regarding the connection of ancient remains with any one of the strata of populations to which they are referred by philological investigation. Probability that has almost become certainty upholds us in

Where the History of Europe Begins

calling the possessors of that early civilisation which we call Mycenæan, Greeks; and, again, it is probable that of the Greeks the Achæans, or the early Dorians, built and perfected the fortresses of Mycenæ and Tiryns. English excavations at Melos have revealed a prehistoric palace beneath a Mycenæan, and thus the Greek population of the continent is connected with the old pre-Grecian settlements and sanctuaries. The oldest population of the north-eastern part of the Balkan peninsula, the Phrygio-Thracian races, concerning whom important information has recently been obtained through the discovery of a grave-mound near Salonica, was hard pressed by the Greek peoples 4000-3000 B.C., and furnished many emigrants to Asia Minor, who repeatedly settled the hills of Hissârlik. Small excavations, each encompassed by four simple stone slabs, mark their final resting-places. Implements of stone, such as axes, saws, and arrow-points, with chisels, awls, and needles of copper, later made of an alloy of copper and tin, were already in use. Beak-shaped vessels for pouring, and jugs with shapeless bodies, formed the household utensils of this Trojan civilisation, which spread far out over the islands, even to Amorgos. Strangest of all are the vessels displaying features of the human body, clumsily and fantastically imitated indeed, but showing that the first groping attempt at art of this people was to represent man. Coloured ornamentation was already employed in the form of awkward figures and lines drawn upon earthenware.

Greece Before the Greeks



MELOS: A SEAT OF ANCIENT GREEK CULTURE

The wealth of Oriental art was inaccessible to the Trojans; they stood in connection with the West, where as far as Bosnia traces of related human aggregates may be followed out. There was no intervening people to connect them with the civilisations of the East, already highly developed; only through the medium of the primitive inhabitants of the Troad were the lines of traffic drawn as far as Cyprus.

The oldest population of the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, as well as of a great number of the islands of the Ægean Sea, did not belong to the Aryan branch of the human race, but to a people of Asia Minor, which in time became divided into Carians, Lycians, Pisidians, and Western Cilicians. Not later than 3000 B.C. these tribes spread from Asia Minor over the Archipelago, where they established themselves in Cos, Crete, Paros, Patmos, Leros, Icaros, Delos, and Eubœa. Traces of their presence on the mainland have been left in the names Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis. The supposition that there was any connection between the migrations of the Phrygio-Thracians to Asia and of the tribes of Asia Minor to Europe becomes untenable if we remember that the Phrygio-Thracian migration to Asia Minor must have occurred earlier than the settlement of Greece by the Greeks, and that the latter must have taken place at an earlier period than that of the emigration of the tribes from Asia Minor to Europe. The worship of earth-spirits who dwelt in chambered caves was peculiar to the Asiatic tribes, as is shown by the cult connected with the cave of Psychro in Crete; the name of the Carian god Labrandus has been preserved in "Labyrinthus." Thus, probably, the worship of other cave-gods rests upon the old cults of the inhabitants coming originally from Asia Minor; that of Palæmon on the Isthmus, of Hyacinthus in Amyclæ, and perhaps those of Python in Delphi and of Æsculapius in Epidaurus. Aside from what we have learned of them from other discoveries—for example, the sacrificial altar of Zeus Dictæus—these earliest inhabitants were already possessed of an alphabetical writing in Crete at the time of the Mycenæan civilisation. This alphabet spread to other islands, but only a few letters, used as ornaments or as marks of ownership, penetrated to the Greeks of the mainland. Even earlier, between 2000 and 3000 B.C., a system of

Ancient Cretan Alphabet

picture writing resembling that of the Hittites was in use in the eastern part of Crete.

The Cretan civilisation of the races that came originally from Asia Minor was stimulated by a vigorous traffic carried on with the Grecian mainland and by constant contact with the products of Mycenæan art, and attained its highest phase of development at a period contemporary with the twelfth Egyptian dynasty. Communications were also carried on with Egypt, so that the identity with the Cretans of the peoples known to the Egyptians under the collective name of Keftiu is certain. The widespread dispersion of the inhabitants of this island is evidenced in the legend, founded perhaps upon fact, that the Philistines emigrated from Crete—Kefthor—to the coast of Syria.

The tribes of Asia Minor long remained upon the islands; even in historical times an inscription in their language—by Præsus—was written in Crete; and old sepulchres, discovered during the fifth century B.C., were, with just remembrance of the past, ascribed to the "Carians" of Asia Minor.

About 3000 B.C. the Greeks, or Hellenes, already differentiated into tribes or hordes, seem to have entered the Balkan peninsula. They must have remained stationary for a long time in the north, where prehistoric centres of civilisation arose about the Gulf of Janina, and where, no doubt, encouragement was whispered to them by the sacred oak, the oracle of Zeus at Dodona.



A BRONZE FROM MELOS

A statuette of Aphrodite from one of the most ancient sites in Greece.

Afterwards the fertile Thessalian plain became a central point for the wandering hordes of the north; and with Thessaly the name of Pelasgians is associated. To the ancient Greeks the term Pelasgian originally served to bring back merely the memory of their primitive home; but as time passed it became the designation of a misty, pre-Grecian population, and for thousands of years it has been a cause of confusion.

Greeks Enter Greece

The hypothesis that Pelasgians never existed as a people is a creation of the most recent criticism. Through the subsequent invasion from the north-east by Thracian races, of which isolated branches penetrated far into Greece, and of Illyrian races from the north-west, pressing towards Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, the southernmost branch of the Greek people was pushed over into the extreme southern part of the Balkan peninsula. This branch spoke a dialect akin to that which survived in later times in Arcadia, in the eastern part of Laconia, in the names of single strongholds, in Helos, and on the island of Cyprus. It was closely allied to those races which in historical times were in possession of Thessaly, Bœotia, and Lesbos. Other tribes followed and settled in Attica. It is improbable that these Greeks were as yet strong enough to exterminate the original Carian-Asiatic population. A process of amalgamation, and of transmission of customs from race to race, is much more likely. At first they wandered not as tribes, but in great hordes, all of which worshipped a god of the heavens, the god of light, enthroned upon all mountain tops that are first struck by the beams of the rising sun. Personal property was not recognised; the hordes united for war and plunder. They became divided up into tribes, where the freemen in councils of war debated over questions of policy, meted out justice as the emanation of the divine will. The god of herds, who dwelt in the fold; Apellon, or Apollon, the god of shepherds; Hermes, the god of roads to whose glory, and for the benefit of later wanderers, heaps of stones and sometimes rude statues, Hermæ, were erected to point out roads and to mark boundaries—all of these appear in the primitive Greek mythology. A moral conception of the gods and the coarsest form of fetichism were strangely intermingled in prehistoric Greece.

The Constant Invasion of New Races

RUDOLF VON SCALA

CHIUSI, THE ANCIENT CLUSIUM, A ROYAL CITY OF ETRURIA AND A CENTRE OF THE WONDERFUL ETRUSCAN CIVILISATION



THE PEOPLES OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA

By Professor C. Pauli

BEFORE Roman civilisation transformed the Italian peninsula into an evergreen garden—a garden that, in spite of centuries of mismanagement, still remains—Italy was a land of immense and thick forests, and differed in few respects from the Germany of the early Teutonic races described by Tacitus. But wherever mountain forests merge into the woods of lowlands there is sure to be no lack of swamps, caused by excessive moisture, peculiar to thickly wooded countries; and that there were many marshes in the Italian peninsula is shown by the remains of the settlements of its earliest inhabitants. The entire plain of Lombardy was thickly covered with villages built upon piles, which were especially numerous at the southern edge of Lakes Maggiore and Garda and in the region south of the Po, from Piacenza to Bologna. The situation of these villages proves that the early settlements were located chiefly upon marsh-land; but to what race the inhabitants of the pile-dwellings belonged is not yet known with certainty. Opinions have differed as to who were the first peoples of Italy; Ligurians, Itali, Etruscans, and prehistoric men have all been mentioned, according to different theories. According to the most generally accepted view, the pile-dwellings fall into two distinct groups, which, although separated by a considerable space in time, certainly show but small differences from one another. These differences are most apparent in the remains of pottery. The more ancient of the two strata is ascribed to the Itali, of whom we shall speak later, and the more recent to the Etruscans.

Italy in the Days of the Pile-dwellers

We have no other information respecting the earliest times of the peninsula except that conveyed by some proper names which have been handed down to us by tradition. In the earliest Greek records Italy is designated by the name "Œnotria," and its peoples are called autochthonous, which merely means that nothing was known of any anterior races.

The first inhabitants of the peninsula with regard to whom we can claim definite historical knowledge are the Iberians. We are, indeed, unable to say with certainty whence they migrated, when they first settled in their European home, the peninsula of Spain. Of this event the writers of antiquity, naturally enough, knew nothing; and here, too, language, the means by which we are often enabled to trace the origin of a people, fails us completely. Neither the old Iberian names of places, whose rude sounds caused a certain displeasure to Roman ears, nor the daughter tongue of this people, the Basque of to-day, show relationship with any other language. Philologists, it is true, are said to have discovered similar sounds in the languages of the American Indians; but any definite historical connection between races so widely separated is almost inconceivable, and may be at once dismissed.

First Historical People

The most probable theory, indeed the one which has most general acceptance to-day, is that the Iberians came from Africa. Yet this conjecture involves many difficulties likewise; for, although the Berbers, according to geographical conditions, are the only people that may be considered related to the Iberians, they not only show a totally different physical type, but speak a language that is throughout unrelated to that of the Basques. There is also another theory, in accordance with which the Iberians of Spain are considered to be of the same race as the Iberians of the Caucasus, who dwell upon the River Kur, whence they are supposed to have migrated. But this theory can be based only on the likeness in name borne by two races. For here, too, the languages, which should be the chief ground for our assumption, show no traces of a common origin, as was long ago seen by Appian. There is, indeed,

Whence Came the Iberians?

a certain resemblance between the Basque and the languages of the Caucasus that form a group by themselves, yet the likenesses, similar to those between the Basque and the American Indian dialects, are concerned with general form alone, and are not sufficient to demonstrate a relationship between the two races. The similarity in the names proves nothing of itself, for such coincidences are of frequent occurrence.

Modern Descendants of the Iberians

The physiological structure of the Iberians furnishes us with as little information of their origin as does their language. The Basques of to-day, who are, beyond doubt, their direct descendants, exhibit the physical characteristics of the South European type. They are, for the most part, of medium size, slender, and well built, with small hands and feet, dark eyes and hair, and light-brown complexions. All this, as one may see, shows no wide departure from the type of Spaniards, Italians, and French. Even if light hair and eyes are occasionally to be found, especially in scattered regions, they are to be regarded as exceptional only. The form of skull was originally long, a shape that rules throughout the Basque race. The short skull is by no means of rare occurrence among the French Basques, but it is considered to be due to a mixture of races. Thus the origin of the Iberians is to this day enshrouded in mystery.

Ancient traditions tell us that Iberian tribes also took possession of certain portions of Italy. The Sicani in special are said to have been Iberians; and, according to Thucydides—Philistus of Syracuse furnishes us with like information—they occupied Sicily, then known as Trinacria, in consequence of having been crowded out of the peninsula by the Ligurians; and Sicily afterwards took the name Sicania from them. However, the Iberians seem not to have made their way to Italy directly over the sea, but to have journeyed by land through Gaul and Upper Italy and thence to the south, where they have been mentioned by a long series of ancient writers as the inhabitants of Latium. The Libui, too, who once occupied the region between Brescia and Verona, south of Lake Garda, as well as the Sordones, who dwelt in the eastern Pyrenees of Gaul, and seemed to have set out from that region to settle the island of Sardinia, were probably of Iberian stock.

Barbarian Migration into Italy

These tribes are, perhaps, the Rebu and Shardana mentioned in ancient Egyptian texts. From these accounts of old writers then, untrustworthy perhaps, so much, at least, can be gathered—that at one time Iberian tribes occupied certain portions of Italy.

The next migration into Italy was that of the Ligurians, who formed the vanguard of the great Aryan invasion of Europe. What we now call Liguria—the narrow strip of coast between the rivers Var and Magna on the one side, and the Apennines and the sea on the other, which at present includes both the provinces of Porto Mauricio and Genoa—is but the remnant of a once great and extensive Ligurian region. It extended westward beyond the Rhone, where the inhabitants mingled with the Iberians while the entire territory that lay between the Rhone and the western Alps was in their exclusive possession. At the time of Cæsar Augustus they occupied the valley of the Po to the mouth of the Ticino, and extended even farther north; for Turin and the surrounding country once formed part of their possessions. To the east the land was Ligurian as far as Veleia. But this region did not include all their territory; the names of places in many other parts of the peninsula prove that a Ligurian population once occupied other districts in addition. These territories, not including the portions that lay in France, comprised the cantons of Tessin, Graubünden, the Waadtland and Appenzell, and extended as far as Bavaria. In Italy, however, besides the districts which have already been mentioned, there were the provinces now known as Novara, Milan, Brescia, Cremona, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Como, Bergamo, and Sondrio. This Ligurian region extended, as may be seen on the map, eastward to the Mincio and to the south as far as Reggio.

The Great Ligurian Country

What the political organisation of this vast region may have been, whether it formed a single great empire, perhaps with a king at the head of affairs, or a confederation of states, or a country of entirely independent tribes—we have no knowledge whatever. On the other hand, we have an excellent description, written by Posidonius, of their civilisation at a time when they were already confined to the strip of coast that forms the Liguria of to-day. According to this description,

their land was rugged and unproductive, covered with thick forests, and so stony that the agriculturist met with fragments of rock at almost every step, and, in spite of all industry, could obtain but a small harvest for his labour. It was necessary to eke out the meagre produce of the fields by hunting. A scanty yield of grapes was obtained on the coast, but the wine tasted like pitch. Their usual drink was beer. Miserable huts of wood or reeds, as well as natural caves, served them as dwellings. From the nature of the country they became practised mountaineers, and the hardships of such a life made them exceedingly strong and active.

The origin of the Ligurians has long been a controverted point, in so far as we are uncertain whether they were Aryans or were related to the Iberians, and thus non-Aryans. At the present day the weight of opinion seems to be in favour of the former view. Language, the chief means for deciding such questions, is, in general, lacking here. The language of the Ligurians has disappeared, but not so completely as to have left no traces behind. It has left us a few remains, which, in spite of their scantiness, are sufficient to enable us to form a decision in respect to the disputed question of race. In the first place, we have a large number of names of places, not only in the Liguria of to-day, but disseminated within the broad boundaries of the ancient, Liguria. A great number of these geographical names are formed by means of the suffix *-asco* or *-asca*, and this we may look upon as a characteristic of Ligurian names of places. Such names are, for example, Aiarasca, Arnasco, Benasco. These words are, according to stem and termination, Indo-Germanic throughout.

Traces of the Ligurian Language

And we have not only names of places, but also a number of inscriptions that are, perhaps, Ligurian. In the southern part of the canton Tessin, in Davesco, Viganello, Sorengo, Aranno—all of which are in the neighbourhood of Lugano—as well as in San Petro di Stabio—which lies in the province of Mendrisio still further to the south—a number of inscriptions of doubtful origin, seven in all, have been discovered. We are not yet sure of the language to which they belong; but to look upon them as North Etruscan, as is usually done, is wholly wrong. True, the alphabet in which they are written is North Etruscan, and the words may be spelled out without the slightest difficulty. But this only concerns the characters employed in the writing; the language is certainly not Etruscan. In former days the inscriptions were also called Lepontic, and the Lepontic language was looked upon as one allied to Gallic; but this hypothesis takes too many things for granted. It would be difficult to believe that the Lepontii, whose name is still retained in the Val Leventina, could ever have dwelt so far to the south. No inscriptions of this nature have been found in the Val Leventina and its vicinity. And, on the other hand, there is no reason for supposing that a distinct Lepontic language ever existed. The inscriptions are not Gallic, although they seem to present some resemblances to the Gallic language; but these likenesses are more of a general sort, and only go to prove that this language, like that of the Gauls, was, without doubt, Aryan. If the inscriptions are neither Etruscan nor Gallic, and if we are unable to accept the theory of a distinct Lepontic language, then there is nothing left but to accept them as Ligurian. If, however, these inscriptions are of the Ligurian language—and no other explanation seems possible—then the Ligurians were surely a branch of the Aryan race. For if we had no other remnant of language than this one inscription left to us from the Ligurians, it alone would suffice to prove beyond all doubt that Ligurian was an Indo-Germanic tongue.

Probable Ligurian Inscriptions

The so-called Itali seem to have been the next Aryan people to enter Italy. They, too, appear to have come from the north by way of the lower part of the valley of the Po, so that their first settlements lay to the east of the Apennines—unless it be proved that the large number of terremare, or pile-buildings, in Æmilia also belonged to them. In later times they crossed the Apennines; and the Samnites, Volsci, Latini, Sabines, Umbrians, not to mention many minor tribes, occupied extensive regions to the west of the mountains. The Aryan Itali were subdivided into a large number of minor stocks, for which no collective name has come down to us; these separate tribes did not unite into a nation until the strong hand of the Romans welded them

The Itali Come into Italy

into one people. For us they fall into two great branches.

The First Latins

The branch which first migrated into Italy was, without doubt, the Latini, for since the Aryan Itali came in from the north—and this is a fact established beyond question—naturally the oldest stock of this race must have been that which first crossed the Apennines, pushed forward by the tribes that followed. The branch that came after—that is, the second great division of the Itali—was made up of Umbrians and Sabelli; and of these the Umbrians seem to have been the earlier, for they settled to the west of the Apennines, as well as in the mountains. Their vanguard comprised the Volsci and tribes closely related—the Hernici, Æqui, and Æquiculi—who dwelt in the south and east of Latium as far as the land of the Sabines, whereas the true Umbrians, who lived further to the north, were separated from the vanguard by certain portions of Sabine territory. Judging from the situation of their country, the Sabines seem to have been the foremost of the Sabellian peoples, who, crowding behind, compelled the Sabines to turn to the west, where they thrust themselves in the form of a wedge between the Volscic-Umbrian nations.

The greater portion of the Sabellians remained east of the Apennines. These were the Samnites—that is, Sabinites—divided into Frentanii, Pentrii, Hirpinii, and Caudinii, and to the north of the Samnites, the Marsii, Pælignii, Marracinii, Vestinii, and Prætuttii. During historical times the Samnites penetrated still farther to the south, occupying Apulia, Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium, and finally crossed the Sicilian Straits into Sicily. We have no means for discovering how long a time it took for all these different peoples to settle down in Italy. If the inhabitants of Terremare were really the "Itali of the plain of the Po," then the time could not have been very long, because the civilisations of Terremare and earliest Latium were substantially the same. Of all the Italian races only the Romans left a literature in the true sense of the word. This is not surprising; indeed, considering the development of the different tribes, it could not very well have been otherwise. Of the other races, we possess either no literary remains at all or only inscriptions.

Roman the only Ancient Literature

Illyrian tribes, too, settled upon the soil of ancient Italy; and it appears that the different clans wandered into the peninsula independently of one another and at different times. The earliest of the Illyrian migrations seems to have taken the direction towards Central Italy, where we find their traces in Latium (Venetuli, Ardea, Praeneste, Laurentum, tribus Lemonia), in Picenum (Truentum), and in Umbria (the Iapuzkum numen of the Eugubian tablets), whither the peoples seem to have journeyed by ship, directly across the sea.

The second Illyrian migration appears more clear and distinct in the light of history. It was that of the Iapygii, of whom single tribes—that is, the Messapii, or Sallentinii, the Poedikulii, and the Daunii—occupied the west coast as far south as Mount Garganus; in other words, the Calabrian peninsula and Apulia. These tribes also appear to have travelled to Italy over the sea; their latest journeys occurred during the eighth century B.C. The third Illyrian migration into Italy was that of the Veneti. It can be proved from traces left behind them that these were fixed in their later settlements about the middle of the seventh century B.C. Beyond doubt, they entered Italy by the overland route through Aquilia. We have but little knowledge of the civilisation of the Illyrians who first migrated into Central Italy. That they were acquainted with the art of writing would be definitely proved if a number of very ancient inscriptions, which have been found in Picenum, and which are usually held to be old Sabellic, could be definitely ascribed to them. It is almost certain that the language of these inscriptions is Indo-Germanic. It can scarcely be a Sabellic dialect; the variation from later Sabellic is far too great, and the whole style of the writing too foreign. If the language is not Sabellic, then, from the very nature of the case, there remains scarcely any other possibility than that the language before us is Illyrian. That the alphabet of these inscriptions, the most ancient of all Italian alphabets, is a daughter of the Greek alphabet is indeed self-evident.

Illyrian Tribes in Italy

The second people of Illyrian origin, the Iapygii, at first inhabited Apulia. Their few remaining descendants, under the name of Messapii, long dwelt in the extreme south of the region once occupied

by their forefathers and afterwards conquered by the Samnites, in which the Oscan language became the dominant speech. We know but little of their civilisation. This race, too, has left us a number of inscriptions, written in an alphabet borrowed apparently from the Epizephyric Locrians, and in a language that is clearly Aryan. They contain a great number of names of persons, which are repeated on the other side of the Adriatic Sea in the Latin inscriptions of the Illyrian districts. From this it is certain that the Iapygii were of Illyrian origin.

As to the civilisation of the Veneti, the third Illyrian people, we have far more information; and this knowledge has been obtained through the excavations in the neighbourhood of Este and Gurina in the valley of the Gail in Carinthia. The Este of to-day, the Ateste of ancient times, is situated in the midst of a group of cemeteries, in which five strata, belonging to as many different periods, may be recognised. The lowest of these strata is different in nature from the other four. It contains remains of flints, and seems to have belonged to a pre-Venetic population, mentioned by ancient writers as the Euganei. The other four strata belong to the Veneti and contain clusters of graves, upon which were erected pillars of hard trachyte, and in which large vessels, partly of clay, partly of bronze, have been found, filled with the remains of bones, ornaments, and small sepulchral urns. During the first of the four periods of the Veneti the graves were enclosed by stone slabs. The vessels of clay are similar to those which have been found in Bologna; all the ornaments are of bronze; iron is rarely found. The graves of the second period contain various articles of bronze, amber, and glass; clay vessels, too, which have been turned on the potter's wheel, and are of very fine workmanship, in the form of two truncated cones, joined together at their bases and decorated with winding patterns. During the third period the civilisation of the Veneti attained its highest point. It is characterised by many splendid objects of bronze; great vases, together with smaller vessels, ornaments, household utensils, and weapons. In the fourth period articles of silver and of glass have been found, and iron weapons that show signs of Gallic and Roman influence. To this last period belongs also the temple, containing a large number of consecrated gifts, discovered in the Chiusura Baratela, near Este. Apparently, it was dedicated to a goddess called Rehtiia.

Cemeteries of Ancient Italy

We have also considerable knowledge of the civilisation of the Veneti in Carinthia. The discoveries there include the Hallstatter and La Tène abecedaria, bronze plates partially covered with inscriptions, figures of bronze, swords, knives, daggers, spear and arrow heads, as well as various utensils and tools. The relationship between the two civilisations, of Este and of Gurina, is as follows. The centre of culture of the Veneti lay, without doubt, in the neighbourhood of Este; and from this point the Veneti seem to have pressed forward to Carinthia in the north, and there to have gained, among other acquisitions of civilisation, knowledge of the alphabet. The fact that many of the remains which have been found at Este belong to an earlier period than those of Gurina does not interfere with this theory in the least. The Veneti of Carinthia could not possibly have been remnants of tribes left behind them during the migration to Italy, for the route taken by the Veneti—this is a certainty—was much further to the south, through the district of Aquilia. A large number of inscriptions have come down to us from Este as well as from Gurina. They are written in an alphabet that, of course, had its origin in Greece, and seems to be most closely connected with the writing employed in Elis. The inscriptions of Gurina are, in the case of a few single letters, more ancient than those of Este; however, the two alphabets are practically the same.

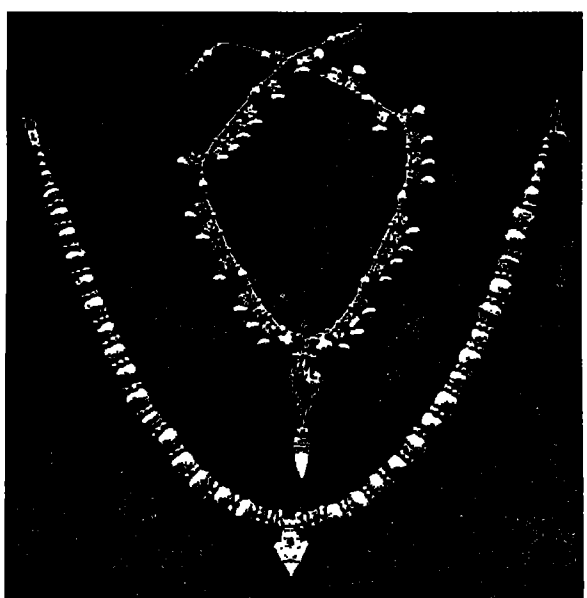
Civilisation of the Ancient Veneti

The great Ligurian empire was destroyed by the Etruscans. The latter came from the Far East, and, as it appears, were related to various races of Western Asia and the Balkan peninsula, but wholly unrelated to the Aryans or Semites. They seem to have halted for a rather long time in Central Europe, and to have been neighbours of the Teutonic peoples, in whose legends their memory is retained under the name of Thursen. Later, they were driven from their homes—we know not under what conditions, nor why—and were forced to cross the Alps, wandering

Coming of the Etruscans

to the south and occupying at first Rhætia, especially the Tyrol and Grisons. Thence they pressed forward to the south, and under the name of Euganei took possession of the country to the east of Verona.

Another of their tribes, Etruscans in a more limited sense of the term, settled in Atria, Spina, and in the neighbourhood of Bologna, which was at that time called Felsina, where their presence is still indicated by numerous burial-places, containing many inscriptions in their language. They travelled from Bologna across the Apennines, perhaps following the direction of the valley of Reno into Etruria proper, the Toscana of modern times; and from this country as a centre they spread over the plain of the Po, as well as over Latium and Campania. The origin of the Etruscans has long been a much-debated point. During the Middle Ages men sought to derive their language from the Hebrew, the language of Paradise and original speech of mankind—an attempt that was repeated in 1858. Then came a period when scholars, especially Passeri and Lanzi, believed they had discovered in the Etruscans near relatives of the peoples called Itali, of whom we have already spoken. This opinion, too, has found later adherents in Corssen and other Italian scholars; but it may now be deemed obsolete.



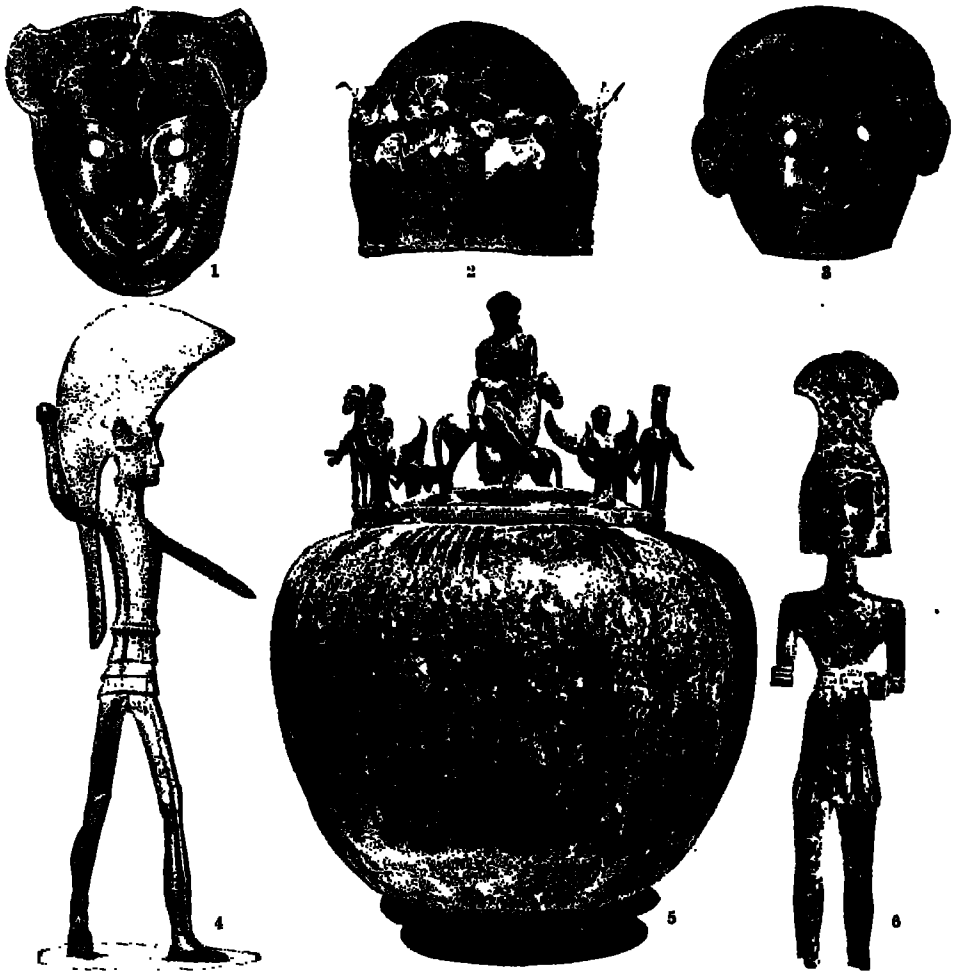
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EARLY ETRUSCAN JEWELLERY

Two fine necklaces of gold beads in filagree work, with flint arrow-heads suspended as charms. One of the valuable discoveries made at Vulci

Attempts to derive Etruscan from Irish, Scandinavian, Old German, Slavonic, Armenian, Altaic-Finnic, Basque, Lithuanian, Libyan, etc., need only be considered as curiosities. This list, as one may see, is a variegated sample card of all possible languages; but it rests, naturally enough, upon a base no more substantial than idle speculation. There are few chapters in the history of science that are at the same time so mortifying and so amusing as the chapter on the deciphering of the Etruscan inscriptions. The splitting up of indivisible word-forms, the joining of others that are absolutely heterogeneous, the acceptance of abbreviations of all sorts, and of phonetic theories that transcend even the wildest flights of imagination, were the means by which men hoped to force the poor Etruscan, stretched out on a Procrustean bed, as it were, to be derived from whatever language they preferred.

A sure foundation for the lingual and ethnographic position of the Etruscans did not exist until a few years ago, when two French scholars discovered two parallel texts cut into a gravestone on the island of Lemnos, written in a very ancient Greek alphabet, most nearly related to the Phrygian method of writing; but the language of the texts was not Greek. On further investigation it was found that this language was very closely related to the Etruscan. Now the classic writers tell us that the Pelasgi dwelt in Lemnos before the time of the Greeks; moreover, they also say that the Etruscans were descendants of Tyrrhenic Pelasgi, who came from Lydia. The truth of this tradition is at once established by the discovery of the parallel texts. To what races of Western Asia the Etruscans and Pelasgi were related, and how closely they were related, has been during the last few years the subject of extensive investigations, which are not yet completed. That the Etruscans were descendants of the Pelasgi is the opinion



THE BUDDING OF ETRUSCAN ART

Examples of the primitive periods of the mysterious Etruscan art before the influence of Greek art was felt. The extraordinary terra-cotta masks (1 and 3) were placed over the face of a corpse. The fine bronze helmet (2) is ornamented with a wreath of ivy in gold. A somewhat more advanced work is the bronze cista (5), with figures of sirens, horsemen and a goddess. The remaining bronzes represent a warrior (4), and a primitive goddess (6).

which obtains most credence at the present day. Wilhelm Deecke, who may be looked upon as the father of scientific Etruscology, has adopted it with certain limitations. After he had declared the Etruscans to be an entirely different race from the other Italians, speaking another language, thus agreeing with the opinion long ago expressed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he returned to the views of Corssen, already mentioned; but, finally, he came to look upon the Etruscans as a mixed people, made up of the native Raseni, whom he considered the Latin branch of the Itali, and Pelasgic-Greek corsairs, who had come from the city of Tyrrha in Lydia. In this precise form his view is certainly untenable; however, it approaches, at least, the correct theory in so far as it recognises the fact that there were two strata of races in Etruria; the older, Umbrian, as has been maintained by the writers of antiquity, and the later Etruscan, in a more restricted sense.

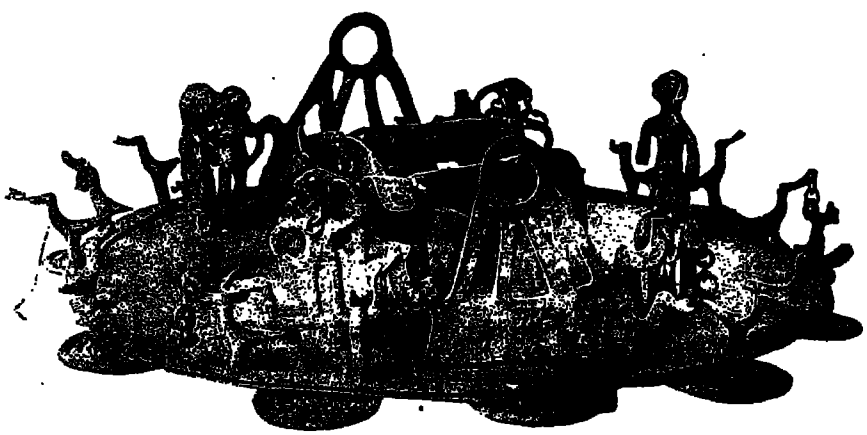
Not only their language teaches us that the Etruscans were not of Aryan origin; this fact is confirmed by their stature and appearance. The Roman authors described them as short and close-knit, with a predisposition to stoutness; and thus they appear plainly enough to us to-day in the hundreds of Etruscan figures on the covers of sarcophagi which have been discovered in the various cities of Etruria. Note the difference between these rotund forms and the spare figures of the

lean Itali; between the round skulls and countenances of the Etruscans and the long, narrow faces of the Aryans of Italy; between the flat, potato-shaped noses of the Etruscans and the finely-cut, straight, or slightly aquiline noses of the Romans. Such a physical type reminds us far more of the Huns, as described by writers of the Dark Ages, than of Aryans, whether the complexion be fair or brown.

Again, the mental constitution of the Etruscans distinguishes them from the Aryan races of the peninsula. Nothing shows more plainly that the Etruscans were not of Indo-Germanic origin than their mythology. While all is light-hearted and joyful with the Aryans—

Influence of Grecian Pantheon

introduced through an acquaintance with Greek art; but a mingling of religions, such as that which occurred in Rome, could scarcely have come to pass. That the names, however, at least of the Olympic gods, were known to the Etruscans is proved by the representations of such gods on vases, mirrors, etc., to which Greek names in Etruscan writing, expressed in the forms of the Etruscan language, have been added. In later times the names of Roman deities also occur; and these, too, are naturally in Etruscan form. Thus, finally, an amalgamation of Etruscan with Italic divinities appears, an occurrence that took place in precisely the



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A CURIOUS EXAMPLE OF THE PRIMITIVE ART OF THE ETRUSCANS

An extraordinary bronze plate, which has fastened to it figures representing an Etruscan ploughing scene. This reproduction is about half the size of the original, which was found in Campania and is now in the British Museum.

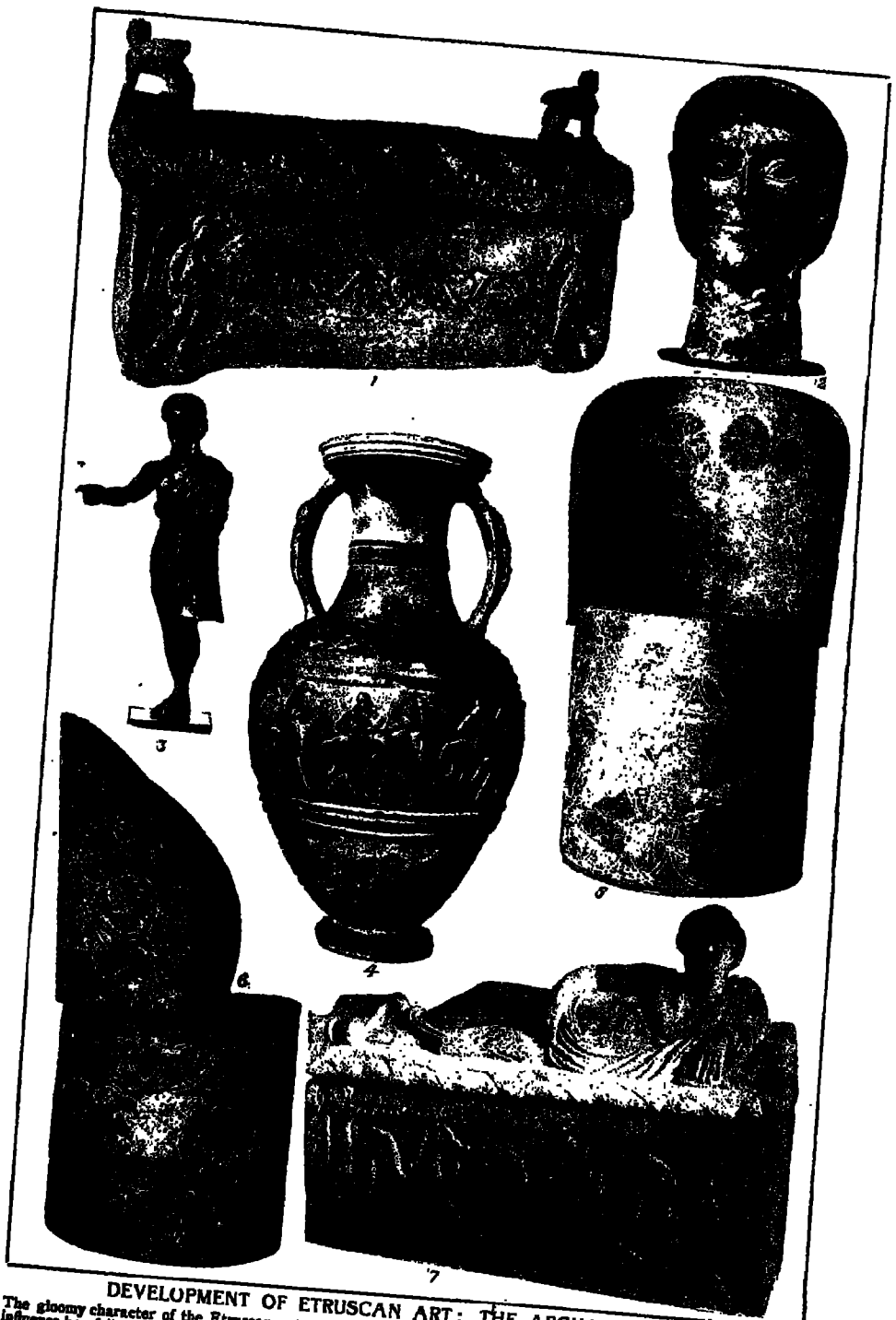
Father Heaven and Mother Earth, the sun, the moon, rosy dawn and fire are the original divinities of a cult expressed in epic narratives and single great dramatic poems—on the other hand, all is dark and gloomy with the Etruscans. Among their religious sculptures we meet sullen demons of death and the lower world, almost bestial of countenance, with pointed ears, bristly hair, tusks for teeth, and serpents twined about their heads, necks, and arms.

The Gloomy Etruscan Mythology

All the benevolent deities that have been found seem to have been borrowed from other races. In later times knowledge of the Olympian pantheon was

same manner among the Italic races, especially the Romans.

But this is nothing more than a later development, beneath which the original mythology of the Etruscans is still plainly visible. Among the ancient gods of the Etruscans there were, for example, Fufluns, god of wine; Juran, goddess of love; Laran, god of war; Thesan, goddess of the dawn. There were also divinities in the service of the chief gods, such as the child of the gods, Maris; Lasa, Mlacuch, Mean, and others. The divinities of death and various other horrible phantoms showed an especially full development. Here we have the gorgon-like Tarsu; the goddess of death,



DEVELOPMENT OF ETRUSCAN ART: THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The gloomy character of the Etruscan nature is particularly reflected in the art of the archaic period before Greek influence has full sway. Sepulchral objects occur frequently, especially the large stone sarcophagi ornamented with sculptures, of which we give two examples (1 and 7). The fine bronze chair, incised with animal and pattern designs, of which two views are given (5 and 6), is another sepulchral object. The female figure (3) and the head of a youth (2) are also fine archaic bronzes. The remaining object, the amphora (4), was probably used to contain ashes of the dead.

Vanth; Leinth, Culsu, Tuchulcha, and others. They are shown to us as figures, intended to inspire terror, in the representations of death scenes on sarcophagi and funeral urns. These fantastic forms, creatures of a barbaric imagination, were in complete harmony with the rites of worship. Human sacrifices were in vogue until a relatively recent period; and even as late as the time of the Romans the Tarquinii slaughtered, as sacrifices to their gods, three hundred Romans whom they had captured in battle. No joyful festivals relieved the gloom of their life; they were bound, fettered, as it were, to a dead ritual. Their lives from beginning to end were preordained by the inexorable will of the gods. The highest endeavour of their religious life was to discover in advance what this irresistible will of the gods might be. Thus developed the most extreme form of superstitious ritualism, the system of *haruspices* and *fulguriatores*. The task of the former was to discover the designs of the gods and the fate of men from an examination of the entrails of sacrificial beasts, and that of the latter to seek for the same knowledge by observation of the lightning.

Etruscan Human Sacrifices

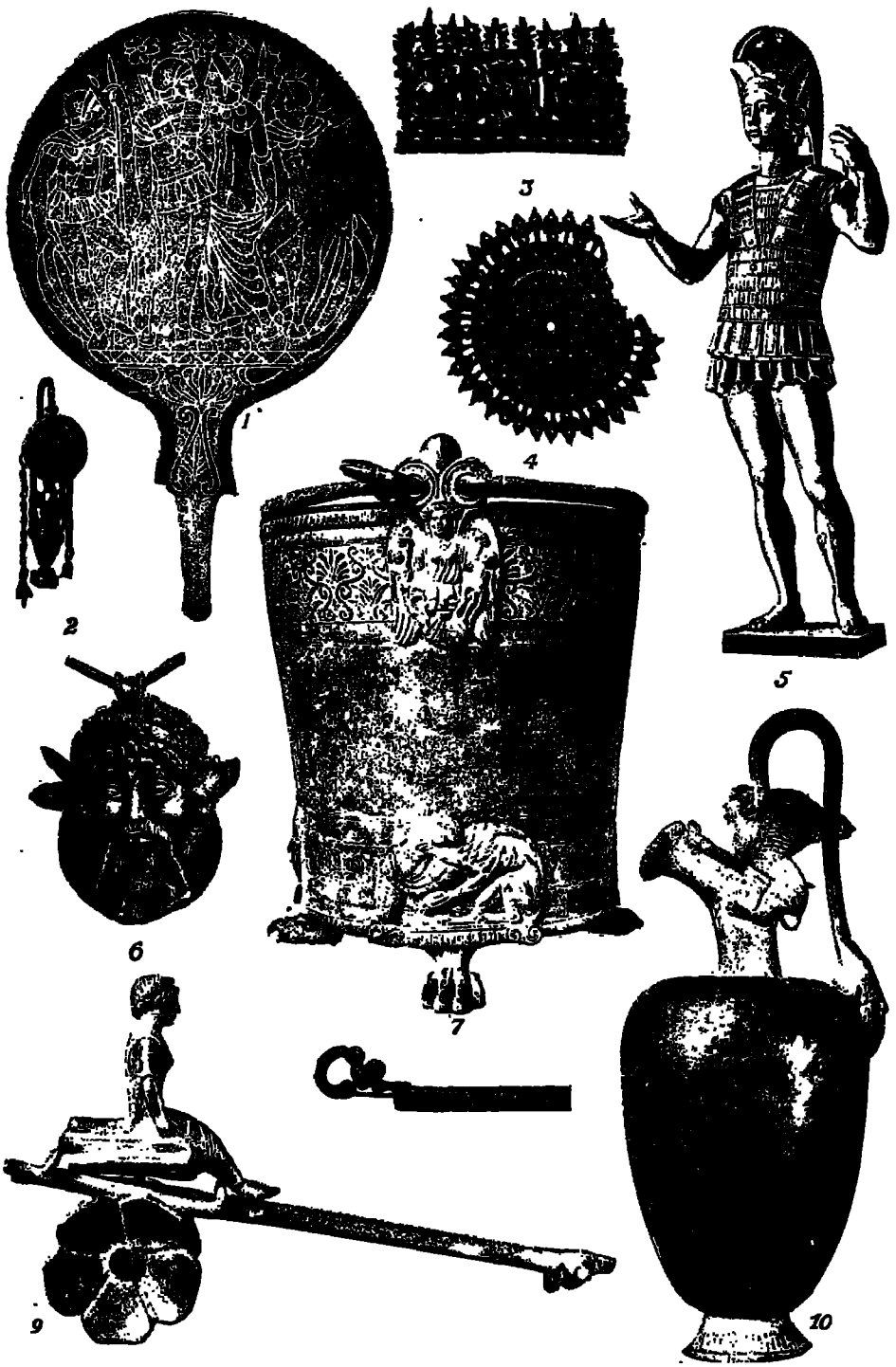
Much of this superstition was afterwards introduced into Rome, probably during the time when Latium was under the dominion of the Etruscans; but it was, from its very sources, a form of religion entirely foreign to the Aryan spirit. The religion of the Egyptians was more in harmony with this gloomy Etruscan cult. Richly decorated tombs and extensive cities of the dead are found in the neighbourhood of all Etruscan towns; especially magnificent are those at Volsinii, Perusia, and Tarquinii, as well as the sepulchres at Volterra, Cerveteri, and in the extensive region of Clusium. Such a highly developed worship of the dead is, likewise, unknown to Indo-Germanic peoples. Thus, after all has been said, the fact remains that the Etruscans were a foreign race, speaking a strange language, and altogether unrelated to the other inhabitants of the Apennine peninsula. This people, whose origin cannot be designated as less than semi-barbarian, attained the highest civilisation in Italy during pre-Roman times, and also, long before the time of the Romans, had made an attempt to extend their political domination over wide areas of the peninsula, perhaps with the conscious intention of taking possession of the entire country. All this signifies a certain intellectual capability and power of action, although at the same time it likewise shows that the Etruscan mind was of a receptive rather than of a creative nature.

Cities of the Dead

The Etruscans, then, were the first civilised, or at least semi-civilised, people of Italy proper; but only because they took other races as their models. And inasmuch as their civilisation extended over such a long period of time, they had sufficient opportunity for studying many different types. The first of these peoples were the Egyptians. Traces of them have been found in the sepulchre at Vulci, called the Isis Grotto, as well as in other graves, in the shape of objects bearing inscriptions in hieroglyphs of about the period 650–525 B.C. In later times the Mesopotamian races were the instructors of the Etruscans. Other signs of these races—articles finished according to their style and manner—have been discovered in Etruscan sepulchres; for example, in the grave of Regulini-Galassi in Cerveteri. However, it is not to be understood from this that either Egyptians or Assyrians exerted any direct influence on the Etruscans. Rather, the relationship came about through the mediation of the Phœnicians, as has been proved by a Phœnician inscription found in a sepulchre at Palestrina, together with objects of the same character as those which have been discovered in the previously mentioned Etruscan tombs at Cerveteri and Vulci. These objects belong to the same stage of civilisation as the greater part of the antiquities discovered in Cyprus.

Foreign Influence on Etruscan Art

The period that followed showed that the Etruscans were under the influence of the so-called Mycenæan civilisation, well-known to us from the explorations of Schliemann, which throve not only at Mycenæ, but also at Troy and at various other localities in Greece and its vicinity. Opinions are divided as to who brought this civilisation to Greece. Many scholars consider that the bearers were the Hellenes themselves of an early period; others believe that they were the Pelasgi. The latter view is the more probable; and an attempt completely to deny the existence of the Pelasgi, made a short time ago, has absolutely failed. That the principal



THE FLOWERING OF ETRUSCAN ART: THE FINEST PERIOD

The influence of Greece in Etruscan art is seen in the products of the finest period of that art which are illustrated here. Examples of metal-chasing and founding are the bronze mirror (1), chased with a representation of the betrothal of Menelaus and Helen, and the fine cast bronze situla (7). The same influence is shown in the beautiful gold objects from Vulci—a diadem (3), a brooch (4), the pendants (2 and 6), and the abecedarium (8). The remaining bronzes are a statuette of Demeter (9) on a rustic car, a statue of the Etruscan Mars, and a vase (10) with a sphinx handle.

instructors of the Etruscans in civilisation were Greeks is evident. The imitation of Greek art appears in many different regions which were once inhabited by the Etruscans. In architecture it is to be seen in the manner of building temples, where the influence of the Dorians is plainly visible. But it is also apparent in various other arts. Many vases which have been discovered, decorated in black as well as in bright colours, are not of Greek manufacture, but are copies made by Etruscan artists. That in later times metal-founding and metal-chasing were influenced by the Greeks is shown by the so-called Arringatore, now in the museum at Florence, which were discovered in Perusia. And the same thing is indicated by a large number of bronze mirrors, some of which are of great beauty, and by the specimens of the goldsmith's art of Vulci. A definite memory of this Greek influence seems to have been preserved in the Etruscan traditions, for Pliny relates that Demaratus, the refugee from Corinth, brought with him the sculptors Eucheir, Diopos, and Engrammos, who are said to have introduced the plastic arts into Italy.

Etruscans Taught by Greeks

We are able to form a fairly accurate and distinct picture of the civilisation of the Etruscans from the remains of these cities of the dead, in which have been preserved objects belonging to the different periods of civilisation, for these objects mirror the entire life of the people. The dead among the Etruscans were either buried or burned on funeral pyres. The former custom was in use chiefly in the north, the latter in the south. The dead were usually placed in great stone sarcophagi, ornamented with sculptures, of which many have been found, especially in the necropolis of Corneto and Viterbo. The ashes of bodies consumed by fire were preserved in small square ossuaries, differing in appearance according to locality. Those of Volterra are of alabaster, and are ornamented with very beautiful sculptures; in Perusia and Chiusi travertine was the material employed, also decorated with sculptures, but of a different style; and both Chiusi and Perusia have a particular shape of ossuary. Ossuaries of a still smaller size, and made of baked clay, have been discovered in Chiusi; and these, too, have a plastic ornamentation. The ashes of men of less consequence were preserved in round clay pots without decorations.

How They Buried Their Dead

The different urns and boxes which contained the remains of the dead were then placed in graves of varied construction, which always lay without the limits of the towns, and formed the closed cities of the dead, or necropolises. The graves have been classified, according to their different peculiarities, and names have been given to the various forms. The oldest are those which are called *tombe a pozzo*. They consist of cylindrical or conical shafts, sunk into the chalk formation. Each has two partitions; the upper of greater, the lower of lesser diameter. The latter forms the grave proper, and now and then contains a great red clay pot. With this variation the grave is called a *tomba a ziro*. The next form is the *tomba a fossa*, a rectangular pit from 6½ to 8 feet long, 3½ to 4½ feet broad, and 6 to 10 feet deep. Bodies were placed in these tombs, unconsumed by fire; the older forms still belonged to the period of funeral pyres. When the *tomba a fossa* is constructed with a facing of stones within, it bears the name of *tomba a cassa;* and when the tomba a fossa is of a larger size than usual, and has a lid or cover, so that it cannot be approached from above, but only from one side, it is called *tomba a camera;* when the lid forms a vault, resembling the interior of a hollow cylinder, it bears the name *tomba con volta a bolte*. If there is a narrow passageway, resembling a corridor, leading to a tomb, the name given is *tomba a corridoio*. The *tomba a buca* is a round pit about 9 feet in depth, having a circle of stones about its mouth. Whenever the tomba a camera is found to have greater dimensions than usual, forming at the same time, however, only a single chamber, it is called a *camera a cassone* And this form of tomb, with the addition of side chambers, is the latest and most highly-developed type of Etruscan grave.

Types of Etruscan Graves

From these graves, often rich in collections of objects of bronze, iron, silver, gold and clay, we are enabled to obtain a conception of the entire course of development of Etruscan civilisation from the very earliest times, from the day, perhaps, when the race first descended the southern slopes of the Alps until the time arrived when Romans became their successors in

the civilised life of the Apennine peninsula. And just as the Etruscans were the predecessors of the Romans in civilisation, so were they also in political life. They were the earliest power in Italy, and mighty on both land and sea.

The ancient writers often spoke of the Tyrrhenians as a great maritime nation—also a nation of pirates, according to the testimony of men who were overcome by them—and so there was once a time when the Etruscans stood upon an equal plane with the Greeks and the Phœnicians as a seafaring race. Witness is borne to this by the treaty between Carthage and Etruria, by which a formal confederation was established; and this alliance consummated in the battle of Alalia, fought by Phœnicians and Etruscans against the Phocæans. The power of the Etruscans was not



CEREMONIAL BURNING OF THE DEAD IN ETRURIA

These paintings from Cerveteri, an Etruscan city of the dead, show the Etruscan custom of burning the dead.

limited to the sea; their dominion on land covered a wide area in Italy. The writers of classic times relate that they subjugated almost the entire peninsula; but at one time Latins, Umbrians, and Aurunci were all known under the name of Tyrrhenians. The Etruscans advanced to the south in Campania; and here, too, they established, it is reported, a confederation, consisting of twelve cities. The most powerful of these towns were Capua, called Volturnum in Etruscan times, and Nola, which, perhaps, bore the name Urina. Numerous discoveries, partly of objects bearing inscriptions in Etruscan, proclaim the fact that the Etruscans once dwelt on the Campania. In later times the Greek colonies on the coast and the Oscans became heirs to their possessions. The conquest of Campania

Etruria the Earliest Power in Italy

and the foundation or occupation of the two cities above-mentioned occurred, according to the probably accurate account of Cato, about the year 602 B.C. In former days it was frequently stated that this conquest was effected from the sea; but since the Etruscan cities in Tuscany are situated upon rocky hills in the interior of the country there is very little reason to doubt that the Etruscans entered Italy by land. The same is true of their entrance into Campania, for Capua and Nola also lie inland, and at that time the coast of Campania was already in the hands of the Greek colonies.

Etruscan Conquest of Italy

If Campania was entered by the Etruscans from the inland side, it must follow that at one time Latium, which lies between Etruria and Campania—there is no route from Campania to Etruria, except that which passes through Latium—must also have been under Etruscan domination. But if this was the case, then the fact is established beyond doubt that the future mistress of the world, Rome herself, was once subject to the Etruscans.

Echoes of this time are to be found in the tales of the last three kings of the house of Tarquin. The family name of the dynasty itself, as well as the date fixed by the Romans as the beginning of the Tarquinian rule—that is, the year 616 B.C.—points to the supremacy of the Etruscans. Since they occupied Campania in the year 602 B.C., the year 616 B.C. seems a very probable date for the conquest of Latium. It is comprehensible enough that the Roman historians of later times should have endeavoured to slur over the fact that Rome was once under Etruscan rule;

but, in spite of all attempts to veil the truth, the descriptions given by the Romans themselves of the later years of the monarchy betray the facts. Moreover, the memory of Etruscan supremacy was also preserved by the Etruscans; for example, we catch a last echo of it in a legend of two Etruscan soldiers, who led a Tuscan troop from Volsinii to Rome and settled upon the Cælian hill. The domination of the Etruscans over Rome is, to be sure, denied even to this day; but whoever carefully reads Livy's account of the battles that followed the expulsion of the Tarquins can have no doubt of it whatever. What we find in Livy is no historical description, but an old epic, the ancient verses of which may easily be traced out; and this epic describes, not the battles of classes or the introduction of a new form of government, but the struggles of the Romans to free themselves from the dominion of a foreign conqueror. In addition, a great mass of manners, customs, and institutions of Rome, which were of Etruscan origin and were retained for a long period, bear witness to the state of affairs described.

Rome a Subject of Etruria

Thus we have, in the first place, matters pertaining to auguries, together with the form of temple peculiar to this belief, both of which were foreign to Rome. We have also the insignia of kingship, the *sella curulis*, the lictors with the *fasces*, and the garment edged with imperial purple. Moreover, there is the influence of the Etruscans on the Romans in metal-working and architecture, monetary affairs, and the calendar. Not only the *cloaca maxima*, but also the Capitoline temple at Rome were examples of Etruscan work. What is usually termed the expulsion of the Tarquins was, in reality, a war of independence, waged by the Romans against the Etruscans.

But even after Rome had attained her freedom there still remained not only a great number of Etruscan customs and institutions, but also a large Etruscan population, which had settled in Latium and in Rome. Such was the case in Praeneste and Tusculum; such in Rome in the *vicus tuscus*, at the foot of the Palatine hill. And these Etruscans were not of the common people alone; they also comprised Roman patrician families—as, for example, the Tarquitii, Voltinii, Volumnii, Papirii, Cominii, and others; and even the liberators belonged to families of Etruscan origin. This was true not only of L. Tarquinius Collatinus, whose very name betrayed his origin, but also of many others. The Junia *gens* is mentioned in Etruscan inscriptions under the name *uni*; the Valerii appear as *velsi*; even the Horatii seem to have been of Etruscan origin. Some deem it a fact proved by history that a mixture of blood produces races of high intellectual endowments and lasting vitality. It may be, then, that, owing to the mixture of Latin and Sabine and Etruscan blood in their veins, the Romans were enabled to develop at least some of the characteristics that fitted them first to become the heirs of the Etruscans, and afterwards to achieve world dominion.

Etruscan Patricians of Rome



RECONSTRUCTION OF A TEMPLE BUILT IN THE GREAT DAYS OF ETRUSCAN ART



THE KELTS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

BESIDES the two great Aryan groups, the Hellenic and the Italic, who have played so important a part in creating European civilisation, a third Aryan group comes into contact with the stream of European history before the entry of the Teutons. These are the Kelts, a race of which we find branches even so far east as Asia Minor, but with whom we are concerned mainly as pre-Teutonic occupants of the Western territories—the British Isles, France, and the North of Italy.

Linguistic differences, so far as these can be discovered from documentary sources, divide the Kelts of the British Isles into two main groups of Brythonic and Gaelic.

The most important members of the Brythonic group are the Welsh of Wales, into the mountains of which country the Keltic population of Britain withdrew before the inexorable advance of the conquering Anglo-Saxons. Their language, known as Cymric, is spoken at the present day and cherished or stimulated by poetry, national festivals, and so forth. Belonging also to the Brythonic group, and closely allied to the Welsh, is the language of Cornwall, or Cornish, which disappeared about the year 1800. The Bretons of French Brittany are also Cornish. They crossed the channel in the fifth century when retiring before the Anglo-Saxons. Their Keltic dialect, which has been independently developed from the original Cornish language, is still in current use.

Kelts of Wales

In addition to this Brythonic group, we have to consider the Gaels, whose dialects were spoken, and are still used to a limited extent, in Ireland, Scotland, and the adjacent islands. Scholars are still unable to agree whether the Kelts of the continent are more closely connected with the Brythons or with the Gaels. The word "Kelt," which has been adopted and popularised by science to express the entire group, is, in contrast to the word "Teuton," a national designation, bestowed by the people themselves. Hence, the Kelts possessed clearer ideas of their ethnographical connection, a fact recognised if not by all the Kelts, yet by a very large proportion of them; so that, in contradistinction to that of the Teutons, of whom we shall hear at a later stage, Keltic nationalism was by no means confined to the political outlook of petty states.

A Civilisation that had Great Ideas

In fact the Druids represented a civilisation which facilitated the possibility of large ideas, and turned them to good account. The word "Kelt" contains the same root as the Latin *celsus*—that is to say, the "lofty," a meaning which coincides with the fact of national pride or with the national self-consciousness that struck the notice of foreign authors at an early date. "Galli," on the other hand, derived from a native root *gal*, is said to mean "warlike," and here again the interpretation is supported by the bravery and the warlike and military spirit which were characteristic of the Kelts.

The Greeks, who adopted the word "Kelt" at an early date, and first from Spain, also used the form *Galatae*, Galatians, which is in close correspondence with the Latin Galli. Here we may have an instance of the Keltic tendency to lengthen names by the addition of a syllable consisting of one vowel and the letter "t"—*e.g.*, Helvii and Helvetii. Hence, problems arise, the solution of which may lie more nearly within the mutual relations of the names Celtae, and Celti, Galatae and Galli, than in the two above-mentioned derivations. It must also be said that wherever the Romans came in contact with the Kelts otherwise than through the medium of the Greeks, they immediately called them Galli; on the other hand, wherever Greek influence had already been operative upon the Kelts, or upon the Roman knowledge of them (as in Spain and about Massilia), they accepted the word Celtae. That the terms "Kelt" and "Galatian" were native and national designations is proved not only by their etymological derivation from Keltic roots, but also by

"Kelt" a National Term

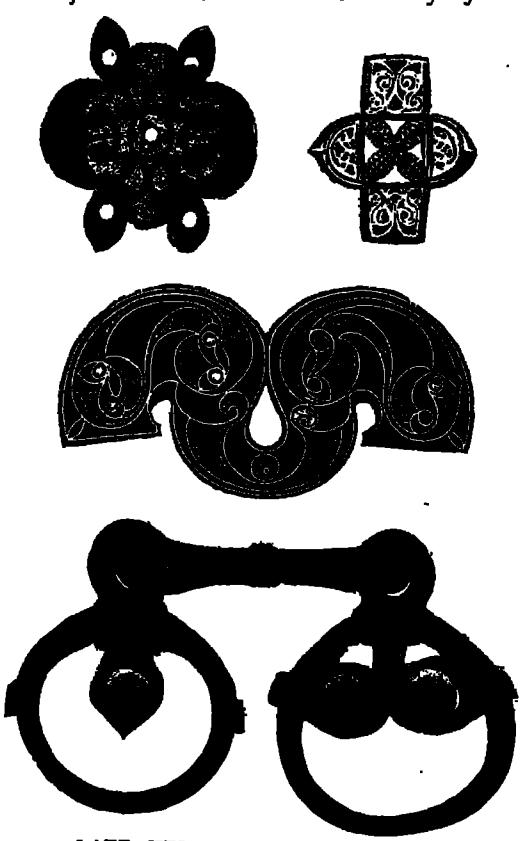
the occurrence of personal names with the initial syllable Kelt. Among the general characteristics of the Kelts were their stately carriage, their light complexions, their amiability, bravery, love of war, and liveliness, and intellect of a somewhat unpractical nature and inclined to pride, superficiality, and self-laudation; at the same time they had a sense of humour and love of oratory and grandiloquence, but also a strain of poetry and the true spirit of chivalry.

General Character of the Kelts

To translate the saying of Cato that the Gauls cultivated above all other things *rem militarem et argute loqui*, modern scholars have repeatedly used the words *gloire* and *esprit;* and a century later Cato's saying was enlarged and more closely examined by Cæsar. When the German Batavi stimulated their revolt with the imperialist dreams of vainglorious Gauls and Belgians, proposals to join the rebels were a daily occurrence in the councils of the Gauls, and in these the lack of reasons was concealed by the use of emotional appeals of a very modern character. It was no mere chance that after the second century A.D. Gaul became the headquarters of the Roman school of rhetoric; to the extensive influence of this teaching is to be ascribed primarily the bombastic features of mediæval style, and in a secondary degree, the modern exaggerations of ecclesiastical rhetoric. With their love of society, the Kelts possessed the three main alcoholic liquors which have appeared in the course of civilisation: beer — the Latin or Roman name of which, cervesia or cervisia, was certainly borrowed from the Kelts—wine, and, finally, brandy.

The influence of these beverages is only too obvious in Keltic history. The modern Frenchman has long since conquered the inclination to alcoholic excess which characterised the beginnings of his nationality; on the other hand, the resistance of the Keltic Irish to the influence of alcohol has been noted by many writers. Gaul was the special country of the wine trade as long as it still depended upon Massilian and Italian importation; a slave was often given as the price of a jug of wine. Hence, the culture of the vine was adopted in the country at an early date and spread outwards from Massilia, and the wooden cask was invented in Gaul. It is to be supposed that in primeval times the advance of the Kelts proceeded through the centre of the continent entirely by land, without touching either the Mediterranean or the Baltic. The problem of the populations whom they encountered does not concern us here. The Greeks regarded the Kelts as the earliest of the other civilised peoples they knew. Hence, they must have already occupied a large portion of Southern Germany and, perhaps, also of Central Germany and of France; they had even advanced into Spain, so that Herodotus and later writers considered this a Keltic country. The supposition that the Kelts, starting from France, reached Spain by sea, as there is no geographical connection between their settlements, is possible, but not

Alcohol in Keltic History



LATE KELTIC ART IN ENGLAND

Nowhere was the art of *champlevé* enamelling practised with greater success than in England by the Kelts of the early Iron Age, as may be understood from the very fine enamelled bronze horse-trappings here illustrated, from Keltic burials.



A GAULISH CHIEF'S INVASION AND CAPTURE OF ROME

The Gauls who migrated into Italy were never at rest, and one of their war-bands, under a nameless chief, made a raid on Rome in 390 B.C., occupied the city, besieging though not capturing the Capitol, and had to be bought off.

necessary. We cannot be surprised that the attention of the Greeks was first drawn to the Spanish Kelts as a special nationality. The Greeks were in commercial relations with Spain, and the overland routes of trade and commerce were far less popular in early times than those of the sea. Moreover, the Phocæan settlement of Massilia opened important communications with the Kelts of Gaul. This trade, like that with the Iberians, was concerned chiefly with the products of mining and the transmission of tin from Britain. The earliest tin trade was in the hands of the Phœnicians and was carried on from Iberia; the Massiliots were in charge of the importation from Britain to Gaul, whence the commodity was transferred to the great trade routes.

The Keltic population was thickest in the north-east interior, whence it pushed forward to the west coast along the river valleys, running in that direction; with

this exception, Spain was inhabited by the non-Indo-Germanic Iberians. One theory assumes that the population consisted of pure Iberian, pure Keltic, and mixed "Keltiberian" races. Another theory regards the Greek name *Keltiberes* as a vague term of convenience and as a combination due to the ingenuity of geographers, while as a matter of fact the Keltic and Iberian elements avoided all fusion. Iberians, of whom scanty remnants survive under the name of Basques, were in any case settled north of the Pyrenees, and formerly held sway as far as the Garonne. Remarkable also is the fact that the earliest known line of demarcation between the *langue d'Oc* and Southern French coincided with the boundary dividing the Keltic settlements from that part of Gaul which they had not occupied.

Migrations of the Keltic Race

Though as far as we know the Kelts never sailed the Baltic, they settled long stretches of the shores of the North Sea and crossed it or the English Channel to the greater or smaller islands of Great Britain. When this migration took place, and how long it lasted, are questions as yet unanswered; our knowledge of the former population of the islands is equally indefinite. The Cruithnigh of Scotland, as they were called in Gaelic—that is to say, the Picts, or the "painted ones," of Roman tradition—have been recently regarded as non-Kelts and non-Aryans They or other related tribes may thus have inhabited not only Scotland, but also Britain before the Kelts. Modern England was occupied or conquered by the Kelts of the Brythonic group. The Belgæ existed as a nation about Portsmouth, Southampton, and on the Isle of Wight; the Atrebates, Brigantes, Menapii, and Parisii were to be found on both sides of the English Channel; the name "Britain" existed, moreover, and has been localised among the Belgæ; hence we may conclude that a close connection existed between these neighbours, the Gallic Belgæ and the Britons, who were divided only by the English Channel. It is possible also that emigration to Britain was increased by a Teutonic invasion of Belgic territory. Apart, however, from the vagueness of our chronological information, the difficulty of these problems is increased by the possibility that Keltic emigrants may have made their way to Britain by sea from the same part of North-west Germany, from which the Gallic Belgæ advanced west and south-west beyond the Rhine, and from which, at a later date, Anglo-Frisian Teutons reached Britain.



KELTIC BRONZE FIGURES
Statuette, of a primitive character, of a Kelt with a boar, a favourite emblem among the Keltic peoples.

It must also be remembered that the name "Britain" may be nothing more than a local name extended to include the whole, and used as a general appellation for those emigrants and their relatives. The name originally belonged to a nationality settled in historical times, and still remaining, on the Somme below Amiens. As we have said, the Brythonic immigration to England must be distinguished from the Gaelic migrations to Ireland and thence to Scotland. The continental separation of Gaelic Gauls and Brythonic Belgæ, as subordinate groups of the Kelts in Gaul, is even represented upon the islands, and these two nationalities have their separate spheres of interest and expansion within the British Islands. The Brythons of Britain were conquered by the Romans in 43 A.D. after Cæsar had made two previous voyages of exploration. The Roman power was not extended over West Scotland — Caledonia, or Britannia Barbara, as the Romans named the country, the latter being a somewhat vague appellation. These northern parts of Scotland were left in the hands of the Picts. Ireland was also left unoccupied and was certainly in the hands of the Gaelic or Goidelic, nationality. The obviously native name "Ierne" appears at an early date in Greek authors, and is connected with Erin; Romans used the name "Ibernia," and the Anglo-Saxons at a later date the names "Ireland" and "Irish." The Scots, who were nothing else than Irish-Gaelic offshoots, left Ireland in the fourth century, shared in the attacks of the Picts upon Roman Britain,

Roman Power in Britain

which was then fortified by two parallel frontier lines, and established themselves in Caledonia, in the north-west.

They popularised the name "Scotland" for Caledonia, especially after the ninth century, when the Picts were incorporated in the Scottish kingdom. The earlier connection between these names is seen in the fact that the early middle ages generally speak of the Irish monks who were working on the continent as Scots. Conversely the Teutons of the Scottish lowlands called the Keltic Highlanders Irish. The name Alban, or Albion, for which reliable evidence is found in the sixth century, is of Keltic origin, and is used in its earliest meaning for Scotland, and to include the whole of Caledonia and the British Isles.

About 600 B.C. the Kelts advanced beyond the Alps into the fair and fruitful lands of Upper Italy, which they were never able to turn to full economic account, thus narrowing the boundaries of the Etruscan, Ligurian, Illyrian and afterwards of the Umbrian inhabitants. These wandering bodies are broken fragments of the Keltic peoples, which are known to us by the same names in different districts of Gaul, South Germany, or Bohemia, though we do not mean to say that at the time of their migration every one of these tribes was in possession of the settlements where their names are known to us. The occupation of Italy by the Gauls was not carried out as the result of one conquest, but was completed in the course of centuries. The first settlements were made at the foot of the Alps and new arrivals then established themselves on the frontiers of their kinsmen. Hence the latest arrivals, the Senones, are found furthest south, where the Apennines reach the coast about Rimini and Sinigaglia, or Sena Gallica. To the north of them, about Ravenna and the lower branches of the Po, and generally upon the right of this river valley, were settled the Lingones; between the Po and the Apennines were the Boii with their capital of Bologna; about Verona were the Cenomani; and about Milan the Insubres, the first arrivals. Even at the present day local names show Keltic traces, and Renus (Reno) or Bologna are here to be found, just as north of the Alps we find the Rhine, Bonn, or Boulogne-sur-Mer.



THE COMMUNAL HOMESTEAD IN KELTIC BRITAIN

Among the Gaelic, or Scotch and Irish, and the Brythonic, or Welsh and Cornish, Kelts arable land was held and farmed in common, and this type of communal homestead, from Bosnia, represents well the kind which existed in Britain during the Keltic period. It was made up as follows: 1, common dwelling house; 2, summer dwelling house; 3, granary; 4, common goose-house; 5, cows' and goats' house; 6, shed for making plum brandy; 7, well; 8, common oven; 9, stables; 10, swine stall; 11, loft for maize; 12, paling; 13, maize; 14, orchard.

The Gauls in Italy were never entirely at rest, and did not leave their neighbours in complete peace; even when new arrivals did not add to the disturbance, the warfare of the Gauls with one another or with their neighbours continued incessantly. Moreover, the war-bands, which were peculiar to them and to the Teutons, made considerable and desperate raids into the surrounding country, reaching as far as Apulia. One of these raids, an event of no lasting importance in itself, was conducted by a band of the Senones, who defeated the Romans on the Allia, under a certain nameless

"Brennus," which means "leader," in 390 B.C.; they occupied the city, besieged the Capitol, and were bought off with the money for which they had apparently come. Polybius gives a description of the war-bands of the North Italian Gauls which exactly resembled those to be found among the Gauls beyond the Alps.

The Gaul Raid on Rome

According to his report the Gauls in Italy were agriculturists; and in this fruitful land agriculture became comparatively more important than in Gaul at a later date, or in Briton and Ireland at an even more recent period. At the same time the cattle-breeding of these Cisalpine Gauls continued unchecked. Their wealth largely consisted in cattle, and large tracts of modern Lombardy, then covered with forest, were used for swine feeding.

With the Transalpine Gauls, those of Italy had little or no geographical connection, so far as we can see from our scanty knowledge of their ethnographical affinity; none the less, the feeling of relationship remained alive. Violently as these neighbours quarrelled among themselves, and although they failed to combine in any unity under the pressure of Ligurians, Etruscans, Veneti, Umbrians, and afterwards Romans, yet when the Romans proceeded to attack them, they met with support from beyond the Alps.



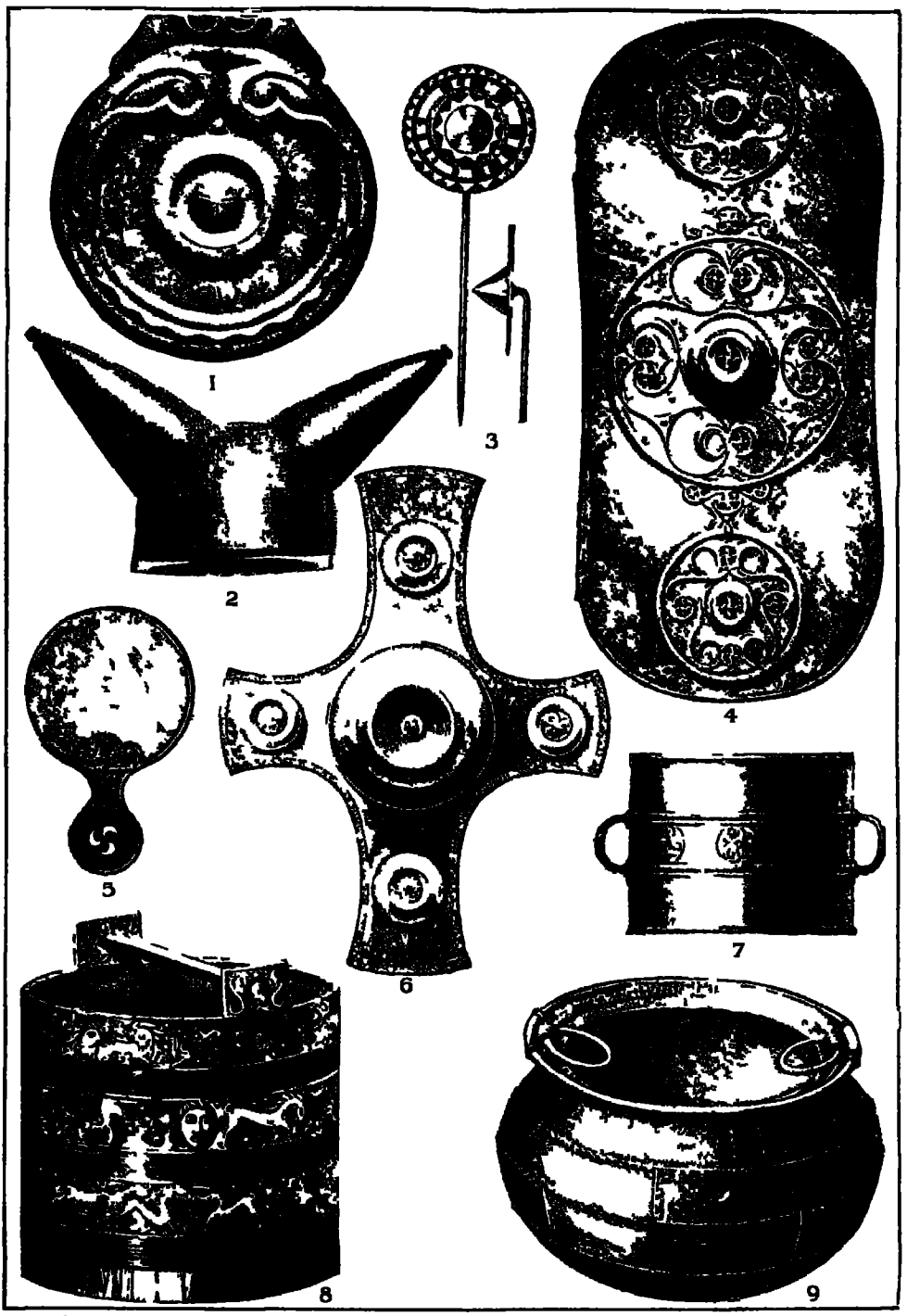
EXAMPLES OF KELTIC FUNERARY URNS

Drinking vessels of baked clay placed in Keltic graves, or barrows, for the refreshment of the dead during the journey to the next world.

Bands of Kelts entered this Balkan peninsula in search of land, as they had entered Italy. About 280 B.C. such a band appeared under another Brennus in Macedonia and Sicily, but were defeated in 279 B.C. at Delphi by the Ætolians, Phocians, and Locrians, whereupon they retreated northwards. In Thrace the Keltic settlement maintained its ground for some time. Such bands also entered the service of King Nicomedes of Bithynia in 277 B.C. as mercenary troops, when he was struggling with his brother for the supremacy; upon the conclusion of the war they became a general plague to Asia Minor, and were finally settled in Greater Phrygia, where they soon became assimilated to the Greek nationality, though retaining the name of Galatians, which is known to us from the New Testament. They were composed of elements from Trocmi, Tolistoboii, and Tectosages.

In Transalpine Gaul—that is, in Gaul beyond the Alps as seen from Italy—the population before the primitive migrations of the Kelts was scattered in isolated settlements; it comprised, besides other elements, the two groups of the Iberians, who were in the south-west, and of the Ligurians, who occupied the Rhone districts. The convenient valleys and passes of the Alps never prevented similar nationalities from settling in Gaul; such were the Ligurians, Rhætians, Etruscans, Gauls, and Teutons. The more recent Keltic inhabitants of Roman Gaul at a later period were divided into Gauls, in the narrower significance of the term, and into Belgæ; these were divided from one another by the Seine and the Marne. Romance philology has shown that these Keltic divisions correspond to the more modern and purely geographical districts of the Norman and Picard dialects. In later prehistoric times foreign nationalities from beyond the Rhine entered the district of the Belgæ and provided a Teutonic element which strengthened and revived this nationality, and tended to separate it from the Gauls proper; these immigrants, however, learned to speak Keltic more or less rapidly, even as the conquering leader, Ariovistus, spoke the tongue of the Southern Gauls.

The number of the Gaulish clans has been calculated at three or four hundred; out of these the Romans afterwards made forty-six administrative districts grouped around the towns. The fortified character of Gallic settlements is reflected in the numerous Latinised local names ending in *-dunum* and *-briga;* the former is phonetically identical with *zaun* or "fence," which among the Teutons long denoted a low enclosure, while *briga* is a height or hill connected with the word *berg*, and also with the secondary form *burg*, the meaning of which was modified among the



THE ASTONISHING EXCELLENCE OF KELTIC ART IN FARLY BRITAIN

One of the earliest Keltic shields found in Britain is that from the Witham river (1) made in the nd century B C before the use of enamel In the latter half of the first century B C Keltic art in Britain was marked with exuberant fancy and astonishing excellence which is seen in the beautiful enamelled shield found in the Thames (5) in the remarkable enamels illustrated on page 2426 the bronze helmet (2) and the cruciform bronze mount for a breastplate (6) Other late Keltic objects are the Irish pin with ornamented head (3) the Scotch mirror (4) the bronze mounted tankard from a Suffolk grave (7) the funerary bucket from Wiltshire (8) and the bronze caldron from West of Scotland (9)

Teutons, though it was originally identical with that of *berg*. This Gaulish ending *-briga* was so distinctive of towns that it was eventually applied to settlements which were not situated upon a height.

Apart from the political division of the Roman province of Gaul into Cisalpine and Transalpine, no ethnographical divergency seems to have separated the Kelts of Upper Italy and Gaul from those of Southern Germany, of the northern frontier of the Alps, and of the Keltic lands further eastward which extended to Hungary. The organisation of the provinces of Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia, under Augustus included the majority of these peoples, though omitting some few Keltic tribes settled to the north of the Danube.

The Centre of the Keltic Race

Transalpine Gaul, the greater part of which was inhabited by many Keltic tribes, was regarded by the Romans as the main centre of the race. This indeed it was, by reason of its isolation and in view of the comparative antiquity of its Keltic population. Hence we can readily understand that later Roman authors instinctively regarded the other Kelts as emigrants from Gaul; they found also in Gaul the names of tribes which occurred among the emigrants in the North of Italy. The eastern Kelts, for the most part at least, formed, however, the rearguard of that general prehistoric movement of the groups from east to west. In the later Roman Rhætia the Kelts had driven the previous Rhætian population into the Alps and occupied primarily the outlying districts; in Noricum, which is so called from its capital, Noreia, and not after any special people, they formed the main element of the population. Further eastward they advanced more sporadically, settling among other races which preceded or followed them. The chief race in Western and Southern Germany, until the advance of the Teutons, were the Helvetii, who spread northward to the lower Maine; east of them were the Boii, who were also in Bohemia, or Boiohæmum; while to the south of the Upper Danube were settled the Vindelici, and in the eastern Alps the Taurisci inhabited the province of Noricum. In Hungary we hear of the Cotini and Teurisci—a later form of the Taurisci—and of others The question remains undecided as to the original locality of the great nation of the Volcæ, with whom the Teutons seem to have first come into contact, as their name under the form of "Welsh" became a general designation for the Kelts; their earliest settlements were probably in Silesia and Galicia.

Eastern Advance of the Kelts

During a period which is unfortunately too little known to us, but will certainly be illuminated by the unwritten records of the past, the Kelts obviously occupied a great portion of Central and North Germany, though without fully developing its economic resources. The whole course of the Rhine, even on its right bank, gives evidence, in its place-names, and in the names of its tributaries, of early Keltic inhabitants. They must, however, at an early period have been settled considerably further to the east, according to evidence which is philologically entirely trustworthy, though we need not agree with the remoteness of the dates which are proposed. All such attempts at chronological conjecture, even when based upon philological evidence, which is far more tangible than that of archæology, must be accepted with caution, as they are dependent upon relations and conditions of extreme vagueness and complexity. In any case Keltic river names are found to extend from the Rhine district beyond the Weser up and to the Thuringian forest; they were accepted by the advancing Teutons, and modified by them to suit themselves. Even beyond these limits Keltic names are found as far as the Wipper, in the highlands of the Finns, and to the south of the Lower Unstrut; even the names of the Elbe and the Oder are regarded as Keltic, though the fact is not yet proved of their lower courses. Central and Eastern Lower Germany are void of all tangible Keltic evidence, as the Teutons were in occupation of it before the Kelts began their advance.

Traces of the Kelts in Germany

Our knowledge of Keltic institutions is founded upon evidence from Upper Italy, Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and Scotland; concerning the Kelts in modern Germany and Austro-Hungary we have no information in this respect. It is a surprising fact that Cæsar's description of the conditions prevailing in Gaul shows these to have been less primitive than those under which the Gaels of the Scotch Highlands lived until the middle of the eighteenth century. No doubt the

political forms of the Kelts were subject to continual modifications and divergencies in earlier or later times, but the main features stand out distinctly. Much is to be explained by the fact that, though the Kelts were acquainted with agriculture, many of them pursued it carelessly, or neglected it entirely. Cattle-breeding was to them their main occupation, and was clearly given a preference to which it never attained among the Teutonic tribes.

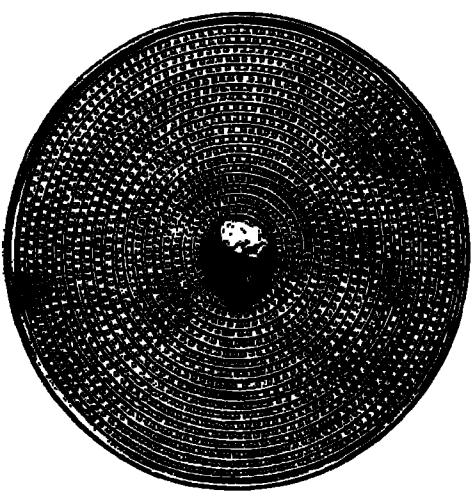
Among the Kelts the political unit is entirely comprehended under the word "clan" or family. The word "clan" is exactly that which we require; it is often carelessly used to denote a congeries of peoples connected by federation; we shall use it in its original and proper sense of political co-operation dictated by common origin. The political unit among the Kelts is thus an extended family. The Gaelic word "clan" means philologically the community existing between the descendants of a particular individual, a community which is properly based upon his name alone. Clan Aulay is thus the tribal family of one Aulay, and membership therein is denoted by the prefix Mac, as MacAulay. Mac is connected with the Germanic Magus, a boy, and with Maget, Maga, Maid. Personal distinction is then given to the various members of the Aulay clan by some additional title, which is derived from their personal appearance—the Lame, the Black, the Short, the Long, and so on.

The Keltic Clan

Members of individual clans were also to be recognised by a special form of dress. Among the later Gaelic tribes the brightly coloured check squares of the Scottish plaid or tartan served this purpose. The Keltic preference for brightly coloured clothing is evidenced also among the continental Kelts. We can hardly venture to speak of a Keltic dress as such; it is probable that their dress suffered numerous changes and was perhaps influenced by the general advance of civilisation, though we find many cases of resistance. The Gaels until the most recent times have declined to wear trousers, a remarkable exception, in view of their climate, to the predominance of protective clothing throughout the North. The Gauls in Northern Italy adopted the Roman dress without trousers, or some imitation of it; hence the name Gallia Togata in antithesis to Gallia Bracata on the north or west of the Alps, where the Gauls, at any rate the Southern Gauls, wore the "braca." "Braca" and "camicia" are among the few words which the Kelts can be said with certainty to have given to the Latins, though it is probable that they themselves borrowed "braca" from the Teutons.

The Keltic Dislike of Trousers

Among the Highland Scots arable land was held in common and there is no reason for assuming that the Irish proved an exception to this rule. Among the Scots three forms of procedure can be recognised, which may be enumerated in their order of succession: the communistic ownership of the land and division of the harvest; common ploughing of the undivided land, and its partition before seed time: and partition of the undisturbed land before agricultural operations had begun. The portion of the land destined to agriculture in a particular year was divided into different allotments to be planted with one or another crop; in the second and third of the above-mentioned cases, individual families received their allotments from this land. The annual share of the families was thus scattered about the common property, which constantly proved inadequate to their needs. Here we find a coincidence with the Teutonic institutions related by Tacitus; it is difficult to decide how far the Teutons may have learnt from their neighbours the



SHIELD OF A SCOTTISH KELT

A beautiful specimen of hammered bronze-work, of thin bronze with a central boss and concentric rings of studs.

Kelts, or how far they had advanced independently, on each side, towards individual agriculture from tribal communism. The general redistribution of land took place among the Highland Scots as a rule annually, though a more complicated procedure existed; for instance, every year only a third of the land reverted to the community, so that a complete redistribution was not effected until three years had passed. Local affairs were settled by an assembly of the heads of families under the guidance of a chosen village head, who corresponds to the Irish house-father.

A sentence of Dion Cassius also provides evidence of Brythonic communism. Other authorities enable us to conclude that the Brythons in the south were occupied chiefly with agriculture, in which case a series of transitions no doubt took place, as in the case of the Gaels and Teutons. Their houses were similar to those of the Gauls. Agriculture disappeared proportionately with distance from the south and the English Channel, and its place was taken by cattle-breeding and extensive pasture-lands. The individual clans were governed by chieftains, which is practically the meaning of the Gaelic title Ceann. The chieftain was chosen from some traditionally privileged family in the clan, and was elected. The successor was often chosen during the lifetime of the chieftain, and was usually his eldest son. This successor was known as Toisech. The physically defective were excluded; it was a recommendation for the first-born to have proved his capacity by some bold raid at the head of his adherents.

Chieftains of the Kelts

The affairs of the clan were settled by an assembly, which at the time of our Highland records was formed, not of all the fathers of families in the clan, but of the village headmen under the guidance of the chieftain; it was the same more convenient limitation of the assembly for practical purposes by the appointment of a committee with which we shall meet in the political and judicial bodies of the Teutons. The clan meeting of these village leaders could depose the chieftain at any time if occasion should arise. We may also observe the expansion of the chieftain's powers and the manner of his aggrandisement. The chieftains placed over the several villages within their territory "Maors," who collected the taxes. Even as the Centenarius superseded the Thunginus of the German Hundred, so also the Maor absorbed the judicial power and superseded the elected headman of the village in the conduct of the business of the community. The Gaelic chieftain was responsible for a show of dignity and for the care of the society over which he ruled. He supported old men, and one of a pair of twins was brought up at his cost. He paid the clan officials: the bard, who enlivened social entertainments and was the epic poet and genealogist of the clan; the piper, whose absence from assemblies or military musters was inconceivable; and the physician. The expense was recompensed not merely by a leading position and leading power, but also by gifts rendered in kind, which naturally developed into regular taxation. The chieftains also administered the untilled land of the clan. The chieftain, in virtue of his office, inhabited the "dun"—that is to say, the clan fortress, which only by exception formed the central point of the clan, and never among the Kelts sheltered a community exercising paramount political influence—and also had his own personal retinue.



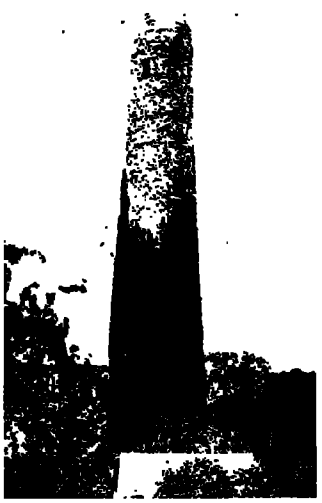
BREASTPLATE OF AN IRISH KELTIC KING
A finely chased gold breastplate belonging to an Irish king of the first decade A.D.; found in an Irish turf-bog.

Clans which could not maintain their independence bound themselves to pay taxes and to render military service to another, and thus became dependent upon a stronger clan under the supervision of its chief. Cases of this kind are met with both

among the Gaels and on the Continent, and became highly important among the Gauls. There is only a general resemblance to the "laets" and "lites" of the Germans.

Thus the chieftain was originally rather a superior official and leader of the clan than its ruler. If the clan regarded him as the incarnation of itself, the chief had gained this personal position rather by birth than by personal aggrandisement.

To the new constitutional forms which arise upon the basis of early Gaelic institutions we can but briefly refer. Relations of the chieftains and the families of chieftains within the clan families which eventually lost sight of their genealogical connection as they expanded, became a noble class, from which the chieftain appointed the maor; they provided the official classes and the chieftain's retinue. Members of this clan nobility were then provided with special property from the untilled land. They were thus enabled either to endow a retinue of their own or to help adherents who had been expelled from other clans, and other outlaws of the kind, in return for service or for payment of taxation. In these modifications of the old Gaelic institutions we have a parallel to the rise of the Gallic federations of vassals and dependents.

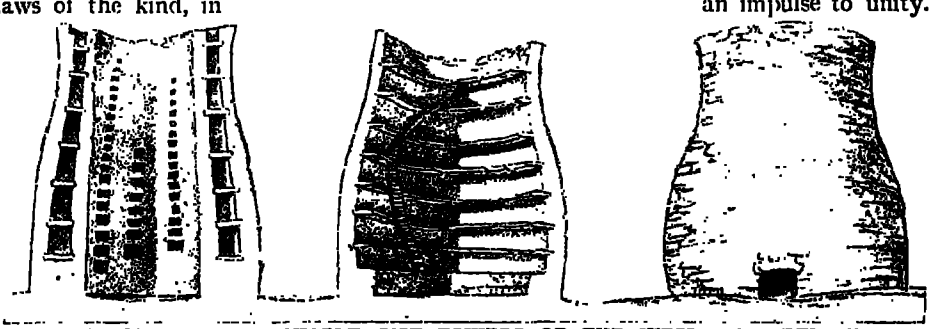


ONE OF THE MYSTERIOUS IRISH ROUND TOWERS
Its origin is uncertain, but it may be the grave monument of a Keltic warrior.

The members of a clan always went armed. Till recent times the Highland Scots retained their long sword, short dagger, and leather-covered round shield studded with brass nails, and regarded the firearm, when it was first introduced, as a merely practical innovation. When the clans went to war the Toisech held the command under the chieftain, and the levies of individual villages were led by the maors. As among the Teutons, the army was thus organised by kindreds, or, which is the same thing in an early stage of society, the tribal village was the military unit.



In course of time the clans were unable to avoid the impulse to federation which played so important a part among the Teutons, though it ran a different course of development. Mutual dissension and the opposition of non-Keltic neighbours and invaders were bound to give an impulse to unity.



ONE OF THE REMARKABLE PICT TOWERS OF THE WEST OF SCOTLAND
General view and sectional sketches of one of these mysterious towers in the Isle of Lewis, perhaps a Druid work.

The federations thus produced were secured both by voluntary co-operation for purposes of defence and also by the influence of some compelling supremacy.

The 184 clans of the Irish were, according to the evidence of the Romans, united into five larger federations or tribes. When such federations become permanent, a theory of long-standing relationship and of common origin is easily evolved by the childlike thought of primitive peoples, who make blood relationship the guiding principle of life. The connubium is, in the case of the majority, a result of previous



CHARIOT BURIAL OF THE GAULS
Among the Gauls it was the custom for distinguished warriors to be buried with their chariots, some of the bronze harness-ornaments being shown on page 2437.

federation: the rising nobility is obliged to pass beyond the narrow limits of its own social rank. The later persistence of this connubium in no way prejudiced the involuntary conception of early tribal relationships.

As every clan had its chief, so the Irish clan federations had a common overlord, who appears with the title of Ri or Rig. The five Irish clan federations were reunited in a higher federation, which thus embraced the whole island, and held its assemblies at Temair, the modern Tara, the point where their five local divisions meet. In reference to this higher unity the five were also known as *coiced*—that is to say, fifth parts.

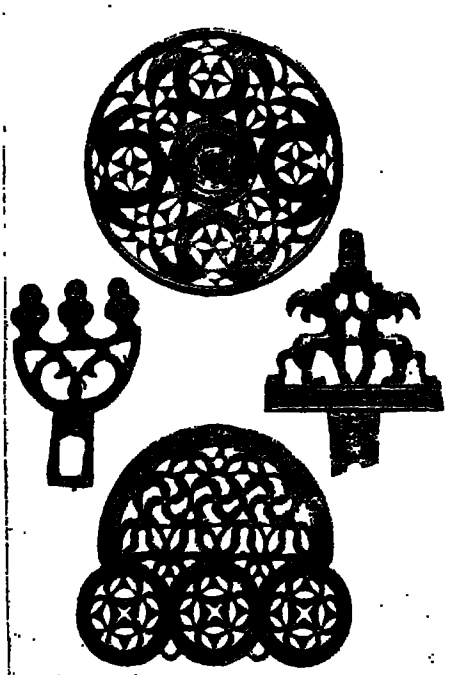
Among the Highland Scots we find no such organisation, almost inviting criticism. Among them, however, federations appear, known as Tuath or Cinel under a Rig. As among the federations of the Alamanni, Franks, etc., we find cases in general wars of individual clans joining now one and now another party, the federal unity having grown weak in the meantime. The supreme command of the federation in the hands of a single clan chieftain most easily led to the predominance of himself and his clan. In Scotland a loosely connected monarchical kingdom was formed in the sixth century; and the union of the Scots and Picts under Kenneth MacAlpine in the year 844 laid the foundation of the general kingdom of Scotland, though individual clans, who received little consideration from a government thus recognised as supreme, might easily fall back into their primitive political state.

The conditions in Gaul are, in their main features, very similar to those Gaelic institutions which have survived until recently, and therefore represent the features of a general Keltic national constitution. In Gaul, however, more complex development had been attained at a much earlier period. There were full means of communication—roads, bridges, river and coast-line navigation, trade, and manufactures; metal-working was an especially flourishing industry. Under the influence of this early modification of the old communistic and pastoral simplicity, by the introduction of an advanced and complex civilisation, the social and political institutions of the country underwent a considerable transformation.

We find in Gaul the clan, though it is not known to the Romans under this name, provided with a chieftain, council of elders, and assembly of free men bearing arms, whose decisions are final. The towns with their wattled walls and wooden houses were of importance both for military and other purposes, but had not absorbed the political influence of the clan assemblies. The nobility were of the same origin as among the Gaels, and were derived from the members of the restricted chieftain class. The nobles actually became a territorial plutocracy,

and monopolised the economic life of the nation. Like the Gallic or Teutonic members of a chieftain or princely class, the Gallic nobles also had war bands, and often made an extended use of them. Among the Teutons, with whom these developments were completed at a much earlier date, the rule of the one prince gradually overcame the nobility of the leading kindred, the *Stirps Regia*, as Tacitus calls it, and secured the monopoly of the war-band; the Gallic aristocracy, on the other hand, was able to crush the individual chieftains. Hence in Gaul rivalry and jealousy were unending, and material was always ready to feed the flame. Public and political life in Gaul was marked by hostility, intrigue, partisanship, by attempts to secure a following or to form a group, which exercised a disruptive and disintegrating influence even upon individual villages and families.

The triumphs of the nobility over the chiefs made the system of war-band in Gaul a distinguishing mark of the aristocracy as a whole, and of all who could enter their class. The latinised Gallic term *vassus*—this is the old Cornish *was*



EXAMPLES OF GAUL BRONZE-WORK

Among the Kelts of Gaul civilisation advanced much more quickly than in Britain, and metal-work flourished especially. These plates were found in a chariot burial.



HUTS IN A VILLAGE OF GAUL

Two of the wooden houses of Gaul, from an Antonine column relief representing Romans setting fire to a village.

and the old Welsh or Cymric *guass*—means *puer*, *servus*, or youthful servant. Under the feudal system evolved in Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul this Gallic system of vassalage and the Teutonic system of retinues were eventually amalgamated, and a third new form was produced by this fusion.

The subordination of one clan under the protectorate of another, which we have observed among the Gaels, was fully developed among the Gauls; it played an important part in their development and in the attempts to secure supremacy which were made by the stronger clans. Preponderance was based upon momentary power, and clans occupying a leading position at one moment are found in opposition at another; the best known instance is the succession of the Arverni, Ædui, and Sequani. Before these political confusions and complex rivalries could be reduced to a settled system the violent despotism of Ariovistus began; it was followed by the conquest of Cæsar, which put an end to the ferment of native constitutional development, though the partisan tendency was not abolished. It was not merely the spirit of faction, but also the system of plutocratic landlordism which destroyed the equality of many who were socially independent, and facilitated the task of the conquering

Romans. If in the face of these divergencies the Gauls had a sense of national or ethnographical relationship, which they extended to include the other Kelts, and if there were any general assembly representing the whole of the Gallic nation, the initial formation of such an institution must be largely ascribed to the Druids. They are also found among the Gaels, though they reached their full importance only in Gaul. They were not a caste, but a privileged professional class, who combined the three callings of poet, teacher, and priest. The subdivision of political power, and the general partisan spirit which pervaded Gaul, allowed this class to attain an influence of which scarcely a trace can be recognised among the Gaels.

The Druids were exempt from all burdens of taxation or personal service. Apart from their professional occupations, they were the guardians and the transmitters of the "science" perpetuated by oral tradition; that is to say, of the historical legends, the physical, medical, astronomical, and astrological knowledge of the nation, of law, of poetry, and of all superstition that might be turned to account. They exercised a spiritual and moral power of supervision and punishment, and this was developed into a judicial force, both criminal and civil, which could successfully rival the secular jurisdiction. The Druids had reached a point of organisation which was entirely unknown in the secular politics of Gaul. They were a uniform and coherent body with identical objects, under a hierarchical government, which made them a national society, far above the limits of clan or federation. This hierarchy culminated in the office of supreme arch-Druid, who was chosen for life. Their order maintained relations with Britain, and attempted to found a Pan-Keltic union based on religion and culture. EDOUARD HEYCK



WARRIORS PRESENTING TO THE DRUID PRIESTS SPOILS TAKEN FROM THE ROMANS
One of the notable series of paintings by Professor Prell in the town hall of Hildesheim.



PEOPLES OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

UNLIKE its neighbour the Apennine peninsula, the vast mass projecting from South-western Europe gets its name, Pyrenæan, not from the mountains that traverse its interior, but from the mighty snow-capped barrier that separates it from the continent. The name may be purely accidental; and yet it is an accident not wholly devoid of interest and significance. The rampart of the Pyrenees cannot rival the vast Alpine ranges in height or extent; but it divides Spain from its neighbour, France, more sharply than the Alps divide the plains of Upper Italy from that country. It is the best and the most definite natural boundary in the whole of Europe. Moreover, the Pyrenæan peninsula is more isolated than Italy for another reason: only the smallest portion of its seaboard looks upon that highway of communication, the Mediterranean Sea. The other and the larger portion is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, so solitary in early times, over whose foaming waves the Spanish ships at last found their way to the wonderland of America. Hence, a number of Spanish characteristics are due to the position of the country lying, as it does, upon the outskirts of European civilisation. It turns its back, as it were, upon other nations; and thereby it obliged its inhabitants to go their own way and to be sufficient to themselves, while other European peoples, stimulated by the interchange of the arts of civilisation, were forced to greater uniformity of thought and action. It is only at rare intervals that a migrating horde can pass the barriers on the north, and bring fresh life into the fixed seclusion of this country and its people.

Isolation of Spain from Civilisation

Not only the geographical position of the country determines its isolation, but also its physical configuration, which is not inviting to strangers. Almost rectangular in form, it rises stern and massive from the waves, offering only small harbours, and stretching forth no sheltering peninsulas to welcome the mariner. The rivers of the country run low in summer, and are flooded in the winter months; they offer no facilities for communication with the interior, and empty themselves for the most part into the Atlantic Ocean. A spirit of African rigidity and retirement broods over the land.

In fact, the country resembles Africa in more than this. Spain, like the huge continent to the south of it, is, broadly speaking, a high tableland, surrounded by mountains and separated here and there from the sea by fruitful strips of coast. With good reason may this tableland be compared both to the burning Sahara desert and to the colder regions of Europe. Rain falls but rarely on the thirsty soil; in summer the rivers become rivulets, and scorching heat quivers on the wide plains; in winter roaring storms from the north burst over the highlands and the mountain ranges grow white with snow. Where the land falls away to the sea-level, and the streams pouring down from the mountains provide sufficient moisture, tropical vegetation flourishes, as in the enchanting *Huerta* of Valencia or in blessed Andalusia. And just as Spain resembles the neighbouring coast of North Africa, both in climate and configuration, so it appears to turn a friendly face towards this region in particular. Only a narrow strait divides the Pillars of Hercules from one another, and the rich lands of Andalusia offer their treasures as reward to the adventurer who should pass this boundary. That allurement has not been presented in vain: there have been times when Spain seemed to be no longer a part of Europe, when its inhabitants stood side by side with the peoples of North Africa against the Aryan race and the Christian faith, and it is a significant fact that this was the period when Spain played a part in the development of human civilisation such as it never equalled before or since.

Spain a European Africa

Spain's Most Splendid Age Was African

The interior of the Pyrenæan peninsula displays the same unfriendly character. The mountain ranges which traverse the plateau and divide it into regions of

considerable strategic importance, notable in history, form no cheerful upland country with green pastures, shady woods and smiling valleys. They rise sheer above the plain; gorge and cleft impede the traveller's progress; and if ever the forests crowned the mountain tops, the woodman's axe throughout the centuries has laid them low. Above these ranges brood the memories of a wild and bloody past, and in their valleys were enacted the splendid deeds of the Spanish chivalry. Whoever was at enmity with the rulers of the fruitful lowland plains, but felt too weak to cope with them in open fight, fled to the mountains and turned bandit or guerrilla, became champion of Christendom or of Islam, patriot defender against the French invader, or Carlist, according to the circumstances and the time. Many a riddle of the Spanish character can be solved by taking into account this strange school of stubborn independence and self-reliance, which was always open as a last refuge to the unfettered son of the soil. The greatest conqueror of modern times made trial, to his sorrow, of the spirit thus evolved by the natural configuration of the country.

The Wild Iberian Mountains

Stubborn independence is manifested not only in the individual, but also in the various nationalities inhabiting the peninsula. Their efforts were directed not towards union but towards division, and only the peculiar development of the country since the Middle Ages has brought about a unity which is rather apparent than real. Portugal stands gloomily aloof and jealously guards the complete independence of its political life; the Catalonians keep their own language and look upon the Spaniards proper as their worst enemies; while the Basques have opposed the complete incorporation of their territory and the destruction of their ancient rights in many a bloody battle. It was only because the old Castilians were the first to take up the struggle with the Moors, to drive them out and to colonise their territory, that their speech has gained preponderance and that they have been able to impress their peculiar characteristics upon Spanish civilisation. The reserved and punctilious Spaniard, with his exaggerated idea of honour and his unbounded devotion to his prince, as foreigners are wont to imagine him, is in reality only to be found in the Castilian, the sun-burnt, storm-buffeted inhabitant of the tablelands, whose character has little in common with the light-hearted Valencian, or the bluff and faithful inhabitant of Galicia. The Castilian is at once harder and prouder than these, but he it is who gained the ascendancy and created the Spaniard of modern times.



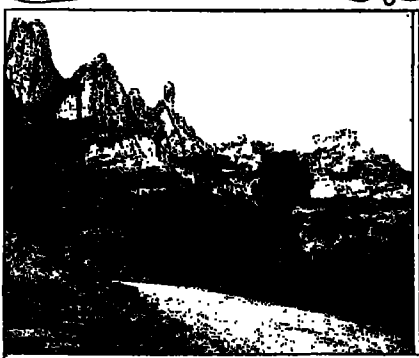
KELTIC SWORDS FROM SPAIN

Relics of the advanced Iron Age, represented by the Keltic civilisation.

Many of the national characteristics of the Spaniard are thus to be traced to the physical peculiarities of the country; if these characteristics appear both in the earliest and the latest inhabitants of Spain, we must not on that account infer a close blood relationship. These natural influences could not but have made themselves felt upon immigrants from foreign countries. But the similarity is sufficiently remarkable. The Spaniard of Strabo is essentially the brother of the Spaniard of to-day; and, in fact, we may assume that the main stock of the people has remained the same to the present time, though it has experienced many additions and admixtures.

In the earliest antiquity we find Spain in the possession of a people of uniform character and language, the Iberians. In this, however, we have merely the result of a long period of development, carried on in isolation; we do not go back to the original condition of the country. Unfortunately, inquiry into early Spanish history has advanced far too slowly to be able to contribute any solution even of the most important problems. We may, however, conclude that, as everywhere in North Africa, South Europe, and Western Asia, so also in the Pyrenæan peninsula representatives existed of that short-skulled, dark-haired, and light-skinned race generally denoted by the name of Armenoid. The people finally known as Iberians were, however, in all probability a mixture of this old population with the long-skulled, light-haired,

Iberian Peoples in Spain



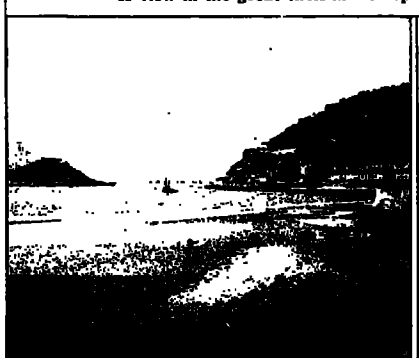
In the mountains of Montserrat.



A mountain torrent near Archena.



A view in the great tableland of Spain, below the mountains of Archena.



Sebastian, one of the small Spanish harbours.



The Tagus in the mountains of Toledo.

NATURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PYRENÆAN PENINSULA

Cro-Magnon race, which came down from the north and appears in France and North Africa, and whose entrance into the intermediate country of Spain we may therefore assume, even though no remnants of their civilisation are at hand to certify our assumption. The large proportion of light-haired people which, contrary to the general opinion, is found in Spain and Portugal, may be traced back, perhaps, to those earliest migrations from the north, which were followed by two others in course of time. Possibly, the new races imposed their language upon the original inhabitants, and it may be that those Iberian traditions which speak of inimigrations of ancestors from Gaul allude to the invasion of this light-haired population. Related to the Iberians were the Sican, and Siculi of South Italy, who also inhabited districts in the neighbourhood of North Africa.

The Kelts Enter Into Spain

The second immigration from the north, that of the Kelts, falls within the very earliest period of historical times, so that we know but little of the circumstances that preceded the event or of the event itself, and can specify only the results. It is impossible to decide definitely whether the entrance of the Kelts into Spain coincides chronologically with the great movements of the Keltic races towards Upper Italy and South Germany, movements which, in the case of smaller bands, went as far as Asia Minor and Greece. It is, at any rate, probable that these migrations were coincident. The Kelts brought a new civilisation into the country lying south of the Pyrenees, since they represent that more advanced Iron Age which succeeded the Age of Bronze. Agriculture was in its infancy before their arrival. The native Iberians, even in later times, continued to cling to the rude manners of the earlier era. They lived upon the produce of their flocks of goats, upon edible acorns from the mountain forests, and to some small extent upon grain grown in cultivated soil. Like most conquerors, the Kelts despised agriculture as being unworthy of a free man, but they forced their subjects to till the soil regularly and to deliver to their masters a share of the produce.

The wave of Keltic invasion flowed over only one part of the peninsula. A race, known later as Keltic, settled in the district in Central Guadiana of which the modern Badajoz is the central point. The Artebrians inhabited the north-west coast, and mingled very little with the natives. A numerous mixed race, known later as Keltiberians, existed in Old Castile and subdued the neighbouring Iberian races, both the agricultural and unwarlike, as well as the highlanders It is not true that the Kelts ever had the whole peninsula under their power; and there was no permanent bond between the different Keltic races themselves. The highlanders, properly so-called, such as the Lusitanians on the west, the Asturians, the Cantabrians and Basques on the north, maintained their complete independence. Southern Spain, where a milder climate had in early times developed a more advanced civilisation, remained undisturbed by Keltic attacks; but other and more welcome strangers came to its coast—namely, the Phœnicians, who found there the fullest scope for their commercial activity. At any rate, the Phœnicians had been preceded in their visits to those coasts by other pirates and merchants. Etruscan commerce must have reached Spain. To what an extent piracy was prevalent in the Mediterranean in prehistoric times is evidenced by dumb but intelligible tokens, the Nurhags, those strange fortified towers which appear especially numerous upon the coasts of Sardinia, and must at one time have served as places of refuge for the people when threatened by a descent upon their coast. The only country which then possessed historical records, the Nile valley in Egypt, often saw these piratical bands upon its coasts. More than this we do not know of those early times.

Independent Spanish Highlanders



AN ANCIENT REFUGE FROM PIRATES
One of the strange fortified places of refuge on the Spanish coast, which give dumb evidence of the extent of Mediterranean piracy in prehistoric times.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



THE OUTER TRIBES: SCYTHIANS, CIMMERIANS, AND SARMATIANS

NORTH of the Danube and east of the Elbe—which may be taken roughly as the European limits of the Roman empire—there were other races, with some of whom we shall come into contact in the latter part of our first European period. Of these, however, the Teutons, Slavs, and Huns may be more conveniently treated under our mediæval divisions; while of the Dacians our knowledge hardly enables us to say more than that their tribes belonged to the great Aryan stock.

More, however, may be related of the Scythians, of whom our account may conveniently be given in completeness in this section. We have met them already, when they poured into Western Asia, either under the general title of Scythians or the specific one of Cimmerians. The name of Scythian was indeed generally applied to nomadic barbarian hordes, and was sometimes given to tribes of Mongolian origin. But, in the main, that term is appropriated to nomads of Aryan stock, whose normal habitat may be vaguely described as the lands bordering on the Black Sea, from the Caspian Sea to the Danube.

Scythian Nomads of the Black Sea

Sometimes these peoples were called Sakæ, sometimes Massagetæ. The Chinese called them Sŏk, the Indians Saka, which is the same word as Sakæ. But however different and numerous the names which were given by the ancients to the nations who inhabit those vast regions, one feature is common to all—they were nomads, just as are now the Turkomans, Kirghiz, or whatever they may be called, who have succeeded them. And, further, it may be now noted as a universally established fact that all these nations of the steppes were Iranians—that is, they belonged to the same stock as the Persians and Medes in Iran proper.

The nomads of South Russia, called Scythians in the narrowest sense of the word, were formerly held to be Mongolians. The most important authority for this was the description of the Greek physician Hippocrates, according to which their appearance was thick, and so fleshy that the joints were buried in fat, flabby and soft, while their complexion was ruddy. Hippocrates notices also in the Scythians what is often noticeable in nations of a low grade—they all looked much alike. But the life on the steppe stamps a certain similarity on all the nomad nations confined in them; outside of that the points of resemblance noted are not so characteristic that we must necessarily consider the Scythians to be Mongolians. The remains of the Scythian language bear rather an Aryan stamp, and show in their roots and endings a close relationship to that spoken in Iran. The close observation of the customs and habits of the steppe, which is shown in the lifelike Greek representations of Scythian life, is a guarantee to us that the men, no less than the animals and separate scenes, are accurate reproductions of careful studies of life. Their eastern neighbours, the Sarmatians, divided from them by the course of the Tanais, spoke a dialect allied to the Scythian, as Herodotus tells us; and the Sarmatians were undoubtedly Iranians—a fact which did not escape the ancients.

The Origin of the Scythians

This great nation of Iranic origin, roaming from the Oxus and Jaxartes—the Amu Daria and Syr Daria—to the mouths of the Danube, was split into many tribes and hordes. The one which pushed farthest westward, the Skolotai, or Scythians in the narrower sense, is best known to us, because Herodotus, the father of history, made it the subject of a detailed description. The Greeks knew that the Scythians had not always lived in South Russia, but had immigrated thither from Asia. In their wanderings the Scythians came across the Cimmerians. They did not drive out this people all at once in one mighty onslaught, as Herodotus thought, but gradually and slowly

What Herodotus Says

pushed them back. The effect of this pressure by the Scythians, who came from the east and pushed onward, is seen in the pressure of the Cimmerians on the Thracians of the Balkan peninsula, and in their driving a way for themselves through Thrace to new settlements in Asia Minor, whither they swept many Thracian tribes with them. This movement in South Russia and on the Balkan peninsula lasted many centuries. It is certain that a great part of the Cimmerians, owing to the pressing onward of the Scythians, left their land and sought new homes elsewhere. Another part was certainly subdued by the new people and fused with them, as happened later to the Scythians themselves, owing to the pressure of nations from the east.

A Migration Lasting Centuries

A last remnant of the Cimmerians preserved their independence in the Crimea, protected by the mountains, which they either had previously inhabited or to which they had fled for refuge from the Scythians. These were the Tauri, in the mountains of the Southern Crimea, who in the accounts which have come down to us are always sharply marked off from the Scythians inhabiting the rest of the peninsula. They were notorious for their piracy, and their custom of sacrificing strangers who fell into their hands through shipwreck or in any other way. The story of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia is well known. She came to them by divine decree, and, being appointed priestess of Artemis among them, was confronted by the necessity of sacrificing her own brother, Orestes, and his friend, Pylades.

The migrations of the Cimmerians, their invasions of Asia Minor, and their final overthrow have already been related. On the other hand, the country originally inhabited by them, the Cimmerian Bosporus, so called after them—the present straits of Kertch—and some fortifications which presumably owe their origin to them, and therefore were called by the ancients "Cimmerian," still preserve their memory. The Scythians then inhabited the whole of the Crimea, with the exception of the mountainous south, and the South Russian steppe from the Don to the Dniester. The district that owned their influence certainly extended so far. The "agricultural" Scythians in the districts watered by the Dniester, Bug, and Dnieper were, indeed, from their occupation contrasted with the ruling nomad stock, the "royal" Scythians in the wide plain between the Dnieper and the Don, but in other respects were not different from them. And as farming was possible only in the immediate vicinity of the streams which flow through the steppes, we may well assume that it was not practised by all members of the tribe, but was restricted to some few sections, who, as inhabitants of fertile well-watered plains, and influenced by the neighbouring Greek colonies on the north coast of the Black Sea, had made the transition from nomad life to agriculture. Similarly, as the kingdom of Bosporus expanded under efficient rulers, the Scythians on the east side of the Crimea became subject to them, and at the same time became agriculturists instead of nomad herdsmen.

Relics of the Ancient Cimmerians

But, with the exception of these "agricultural" Scythians, all the rest, and especially the ruling tribe of the "royal" Scythians, were, in consequence of the nature of the country in which they dwelt and roamed, nomads and herdsmen. They did not cultivate the land and did not live on the products of their labour. They had no villages and towns, no citadels or fortified places, but were cattle-breeders and wandered with their cattle and their goods from one pasturage to another.

The Royal Nomad Scythians

From this there soon resulted the division of the people into innumerable small sections, to each one of which was assigned a district, generally well defined, but without any hard-and-fast boundary-line in particular, on which they found pasture for their herds; and this district, the life of which centred, we may imagine, round the heap of brushwood with the iron sword planted on it, which we shall mention later, must have also been large enough to offer new pastures when those already discovered provided no more sustenance. We can surmise that disputes and strife were common, and that war often broke out when one section fed their cattle on the land apportioned to another. To change their abodes quickly and to protect themselves against the inclemency of the weather, the Scythians had learnt to construct tents, which, consisting of laths covered over with felt or skins of wild animals and placed on heavy, four-wheeled or

six-wheeled waggons, served them as a dwelling-place. These waggons afforded shelter against rain, snow, and storm, and, drawn by teams of oxen, were used to transport the women, children, and chattels on their wanderings, while the men and elder boys rode and drove the cattle. The chief wealth of the Scythians consisted in horses, cattle, and sheep. In war and in peace the men were for the most part of their life on horseback. The breeding, care, and taming of horses was their chief occupation; mare's milk, and cheese made from it, served them as food. The cattle and sheep supplied them with meat, and they used the skins for clothing or barter, as these were eagerly sought by the Greeks.

Their religious customs and ceremonies corresponded to the primitive state in which the Scythians evidently lived. The sky and its wife, the earth, who received from it the rain and sunshine necessary for her fruitfulness; fire and water, with some other natural phenomena which Herodotus identifies with Apollo, the celestial Aphrodite, and Heracles, without enabling us to arrive at their real signification—these were the objects of divine worship, to whom they offered sacrifices, and whom they invoked in their sacrifices. But to none of their deities did they erect temples and altars, any more than they fashioned images of them. They did not slaughter the sacrificial victim, but strangled it by a noose. After it had been skinned and the flesh stripped from the bones, the flesh was again fitted into the skin and cooked, the bones serving as fuel for the purpose.

Peculiar, too, was the worship paid to the sword as the noblest weapon of the Scythian, who lived always on a war footing, ready for defence or for attack. In every tribal section a pile of brushwood was heaped up, which was replenished every year on account of the sinking caused by the weather; and on this brushwood-heap, which presented a flat surface at the top, was planted a sword, to which horses and cattle were annually sacrificed. In perusing Herodotus' description we are involuntarily reminded of the mounds of the American Indians. Even human sacrifices were not unknown to the Scythians. They sacrificed to their god of war one out of every hundred prisoners. After wine had been sprinkled upon his head, the victim was slaughtered in such a way that his blood was caught in a vessel. The corpse of the victim was left lying in the open after they had hewn off the right shoulder, which was thrown high into the air, while the blood which had been caught was taken up to the top of the pile of brushwood erected in honour of their god of war, and there poured over the upright sword of the god.

Characteristic also was the conduct of the soldier towards his slain enemy. The Scythian drank the blood of the first man whom he killed. But he severed the head of every enemy he killed from the body and brought it to his king, for only he who brought home the head of a slain enemy could share the booty. The more heads he possessed, the more respected he was among his countrymen. The severed head served not only as a title for him to a share of the spoil, but the skin was stripped off it, tanned, and hung as an ornament on the horse's bridle, or, sewn together with other human skins, was used as an article of dress. Human skin was esteemed not only as being thick and strong, but also extremely beautiful, white, and glossy. Besides this, the skull, stripped of the skin, was sawn in two and a drinking-cup made



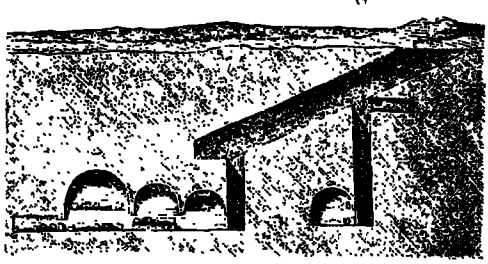
THE SACRIFICE OF ORESTES BY HIS SISTER IPHIGENIA

The Tauri, a remnant of the Cimmerians, were noteworthy for their custom of sacrificing strangers. Thus arose the story of Iphigenia, who, appointed priestess of Artemis among the Tauri, was confronted with the necessity of sacrificing her own brother Orestes and his friend Pylades, an incident depicted in this Grecian sarcophagus relief.

of its upper portion, which was ordinarily covered outside with oxhide, while rich Scythians gilded it also inside. The Scythians scalped even their own countrymen, like enemies, if they had been at feud with them and, after a complaint, had vanquished them in the presence of the king. At the head of the tribes were chiefs; at the head of the whole Scythian people a king. The government was despotic. We see that very clearly from the ceremonies at the burial of the kings. If an ordinary Scythian died, his corpse was carried round to all the neighbours for fourteen days, and every one gave a funeral feast. The embalmed body of the king was taken from tribe to tribe, in each of which the men inflicted cruel wounds on themselves and joined the funeral procession until it reached Gerrha ("the walls") in the territory of the "royal" Scythians, where the tombs of the kings were. Here the king was buried, and with him one of his wives, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his lackey, his horses, and all sorts of gold and silver vessels.

Barbarous Scythian Customs

A gigantic sepulchral mound was heaped up over all. On the first anniversary fifty more horses and fifty servants of the dead king were strangled: the horses were stuffed and fixed on stakes and the servants placed on them as guards for the dead man. Many such sepulchral mounds, usually called kurgans by the Turkomans, have been found in the vicinity of the Dnieper and opened. They held concealed in their chambers, besides the bones of men and animals, all sorts of implements, among which the works of Greek artists in gold and silver are conspicuous, and deserve special attention. They show, indeed, the friendly intercourse which must have existed on the north shores of the Black Sea between the Scythians and the flourishing Greek colonies.



A SUBTERRANEAN GREEK GRAVE

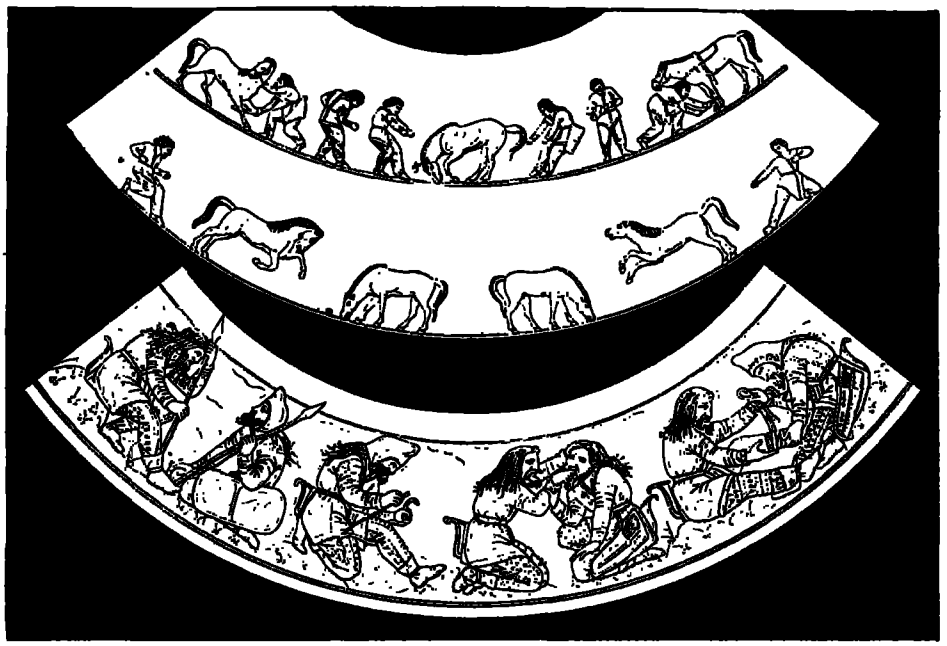
One of the extraordinary funeral chambers of Panticapæum, used by Greek colonists, following the custom of the Scythians.

The Greeks, and especially the vigorous and enterprising Ionians of the coast of Asia Minor, began very early to navigate the Black Sea, in order to procure for themselves the products of those parts and open up markets for their own goods. They therefore sent out colonists to establish emporiums in suitable localities. Such settlements may have often been recalled, but very often prosperous and powerful towns grew up out of them. There were Greek colonies on the coast of South Russia, as Olbia at the mouth of the Hypanis; Tyras on the river of the same name in the Crimea; Panticapæum, or Bosporus, now Kertch; Chersonesus, now Sebastopol, and Theodosia, founded by the kings of Bosporus, now Feodosia, and finally Tanais on the Sea of Azov, near the mouth of the Don.

The oldest and originally the most flourishing of these was Olbia. From here ran a trade route over the Dnieper and the Don, through the territory of the Sarmatains and Budini, first up to the Volga, where lay the factory of Gelonus, founded by the Greeks on account of the fur trade, and then over the Ural and the Ilek, down into the heart of Asia. At a later period the Asiatic trade passed through Tanais, which flourished under the Roman emperors. Panticapæum deserves to be mentioned with Olbia. From small beginnings it developed into an important commercial town and the capital of a kingdom which comprised the whole eastern peninsula of the Crimea and the peninsula of Taman, which lay opposite on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

Greek Colonial Towns

We are told how the Greek colonists made themselves masters of the Scythian settlement of Panticapæum, and how they had to fight with the Scythians until they gradually increased their territory, brought the neighbouring barbarians into subjection, and made peaceful agricultural citizens out of them, a process repeatedly followed by these Greek colonies. The barbarians did not willingly give up their territory; it had to be fought for, and only gradually were trade relations formed with them and put on a firm basis. Very often the Greeks had to draw the sword in order to repel the attacks of rapacious and plundering Scythians, until they at length were strong enough to keep them in check. So long as the citizens of



CONTEMPORARY PICTURES OF SCENES IN THE LIFE OF THE SCYTHIANS
In consequence of the nature of the country in which they dwelt and roamed, the Scythians were nomad herdsmen dwelling in tents and breeding cattle and horses. These scenes from Greek vases are accurate studies of their life.

Olbia, on the one side, and the kings of Bosporus, on the other, understood this, their trade flourished. The Crimea was the chief granary for Athens; from here, as from the other Greek colonies, hides, furs, and fleeces were sent to the mother country. Everywhere on the coasts, especially on those of the Mæotis, or Sea of Azov, sprang up settlements for the numerous fishermen who followed their calling there, catching great quantities of fish, which, thanks to the abundance of salt to be found, they at once salted and sent away by ship.

Scythian slaves also were eagerly sought after, and in Athens the phylakes, or police, were mostly Scythians. In return the mother country exported, besides oil and wine, all sorts of fabrics, gold and silver ornaments, and other articles of luxury. The products of Greek manufacturers which are found in such quantities in the Scythian tombs show us that the Scythians were good customers for Greek wares. In return they furnished slaves, hides, wool and many like things.

Barbarian Commerce With Greece

The relations, therefore, between the Scythians and Greeks were varied. But even if so many germs of a higher culture reached the barbarians, making many of them agriculturists, even if Scythian kings, like Ariapeithes and his son Scyles, had Greek wives, and were attached to Greek customs, the Scythian nation, as a whole, remained on a low plane of civilisation and resisted Greek influences. Scyles, for instance, was expelled on account of his frequent visits to Olbia and his taking part in the Bacchic revels. They remained a warlike, nomad people, trained to arms, but not strong enough to withstand the shock and the pressure of the nations pushing forwards from the east.

Scythians at War With Persia

Our earliest knowledge of the Scythians is the record of the greatest danger which they ever faced. In the year 513 B.C. Darius of Persia went against them with 700,000 men and 600 ships. The nature of their country stood the Scythians in good stead. When Darius led his army over the Danube on a bridge and marched forward, the Scythians retreated before him, avoiding every pitched battle, filled up the watering-places and laid waste the pasture-lands. Thus the Persian king was enticed into a desert, and the Scythians appeared at once on his rear and his front. Darius had to turn back, after suffering heavy loss, to save his army

from perishing miserably from thirst. As a set-off to this expedition of Darius, the Scythians undertook some years later, in 495 B.C., a raid through Thracia into the Thracian Chersonese. It is said, indeed, that they had intended to cross into Asia Minor, but they did not get so far. For a long time after we hear nothing of the Scythians. But if it is certain that no Attila or Timur arose among them, as among the other nomad peoples of Asia, and that they did not become formidable to the world through a triumphant invasion, yet an uninterrupted movement must have taken place among the nations of Southern Russia; naturally not such as is incongruous with nomad life, but a movement rather marked by the intrusion of one tribe into the territory of another, the transfer of power from the conquered to the victorious people, and the occupation of the land left vacant by the victors by another people still.

Miserable Failure of Darius



A MASTERPIECE OF GREEK COLONIAL ART

A beautiful vase, overlaid with gold and silver, found in a tomb at Panticapæum in the Cimmerian Bosporus.

According to Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C. the Scythians, or Skolotai, were the ruling nation between the Bug and the Don, and their neighbours on the east were the Sarmatians; the boundary between the two was formed by the Tanais, or Don. By the third or second century the state of affairs had changed. The Tanais no longer divided the two nations, but the Sarmatians ruled the greater part of the steppe westward of the Don; and where formerly the "royal" Scythians dwelt the Sarmatian tribe of the Rhoxolani were now settled. Before this result was attained many a battle must have been fought and the blood of many a nomad have been shed. Of this we hear nothing; but it is certain that in the long wars by which the Sarmatians became the masters of the steppe of Southern Russia the Scythians were by no means exterminated. An isolated record of their long struggles and counter-struggles may have been preserved for us in the story of the Scythian king, Ateas. About the middle of the fourth century B.C. we find him to the south of the Danube and actually at war with the Greek colony of Istrus in the Dobrudzha, having already fought and defeated the Triballi, who lived to the south of the Danube. Pressed hard by the king of Istrus, he asked help of King Philip of Macedon, promising in return to appoint him his heir.

Soon afterwards, however, when the king of Istrus died, Ateas sent back the Macedonian auxiliaries, with whom he could now dispense, and returned a flat refusal to Philip's request that in compensation he would defray a part of the cost of the siege of Byzantium. After the raising of the siege Philip began war with the Scythians, marched to the Danube, and won a complete victory over them. Ateas himself was killed, and many women and children and countless herds—it is reckoned that twenty thousand mares alone were brought back to Macedon—fell into the hands of the victor. If Ateas could be reduced to such straits by one small Greek town as to be forced to seek foreign assistance, we cannot believe that he invaded a foreign country at the head of a powerful force with a view to conquest; but we are more inclined to assume that, being himself hard pressed by more powerful nations in the east, he hoped to find new permanent settlements



THE HEAD OF CYRUS PRESENTED TO THE BARBARIAN SCYTHIAN QUEEN

The custom followed by the Scythians of severing the head of every enemy killed and presenting it to the king is exemplified in this incident depicted by Rubens of the presentation of the head of Cyrus, the great king of Persia, who was killed in an invasion of Scythia, to the Scythian queen Thomyris, who orders it to be dipped in a bowl of blood.

south of the Danube—a prelude, as it were, to the movements of the German races in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Another part of the Scythians remained in their old homes, in the Crimea and in the immediately adjoining districts of the South Russian steppe. Towards the end of the second century B.C., when the Rhoxolani were already settled between the Don and the Dnieper, a Scythian king, Scilurus, attained such power as to threaten the Greek towns of Chersonesus and Bosporus. Energetic and powerful kings no longer, indeed, ruled in Bosporus as formerly, and even in Chersonesus the old rigour seemed to have relaxed and to have given place to a certain effeminacy and weakness. In any case, these towns no longer held the Scythians in check. Scilurus pressed them hard, demanded and obtained payment of tribute to ensure their immunity from invasion, and brought them to such a condition that they began to look

round for foreign help. Mithradates the Great, the king of Pontus, the mighty and dangerous opponent of Rome, sent his general, Diophantus, who defeated the Scythians under Scilurus in several campaigns and forced them to refrain from further attacks on the territory of the Greek cities. Bosporus and Chersonesus paid a high price for the service rendered to them; they had to give up their independence and became Pontic towns.

After the death of Mithradates and the end of his dynasty, Rome assumed the foremost and leading position in the Crimea. Although in Bosporus the royal line which had been established by Rome still nominally ruled, and even in the time of the emperors successfully kept guard on this farthest frontier of the empire against the nomad barbarians of the South Russian steppe, just as had formerly the Leuconidæ, yet in reality Rome was here, as everywhere, the supreme power, setting up or deposing monarchs and sending her troops to ensure peace. In the first half of the first century of the Christian era a Roman general liberated the town of Chersonesus from a siege by the Scythians. These were the same Scythians of the northern half of the Crimea and the adjoining parts of the steppe who formerly had been repulsed by Diophantus. That is the last time that we meet the Scythians here. In the broad steppes of the Don and the Dniester the Sarmatians, and especially the Rhoxolani, were predominant; and the last Scythians must have been absorbed and subdued by them.

Like Bosporus and Chersonesus, Olbia, that once flourishing and powerful town on the north shore of the Black Sea, declined in importance. About the time when Diophantus brought help to the Greek towns on the Crimea, or perhaps a little earlier, Olbia was also hard pressed on all sides; and, although the public treasury was drained and the help of solvent citizens had to be called into requisition, it was compelled to pay tribute or give gifts of money to the numerous chieftains of the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure their good-will and to keep them from taking actively hostile measures. But distress reached its culminating point when the Gauls and the German Sciri, who joined them, advanced from the district of the Vistula and seemed to threaten the town; and though that was avoided, and the united army of the Gauls and Sciri seems to have withdrawn, Olbia soon afterwards had to fight against new enemies, for, some twenty or thirty years later, the town was taken and destroyed by the Getæ, who dwelt on the Danube, and under an energetic ruler had become a great power. Olbia, it is true, was rebuilt; but, involved in continual wars against the neighbouring barbarians, it never regained its former prosperity.

These plundering expeditions, first of the Gauls and Sciri, then of the Getæ, are, as it were, a prelude to the scenes that were to be acted on the Southern Russian steppe in the succeeding centuries; that is, in the uninterrupted flow and crush of nation upon nation. After the kingdom of the Getæ had broken up, the Sarmatian Iazyges advanced over the Danube and pressed hard on the Greek colonies there until they took possession of the country between the Theiss and the Danube; here they were settled during the entire period of the empire, and often proved dangerous enemies to the Romans.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



A GROUP OF SARMATIANS

The Sarmatians were a Black Sea nomad race of Iranian origin, who practically exterminated the whole Scythian race.



THE INFLUENCE OF GREECE ON THE WORLD

BY PROFESSOR RONALD M. BURROWS

SOME day, perhaps, when a new History of the World is being written for a thirtieth century Japan, it will contain a chapter with a title something like the present one, only with the word "Europe" instead of "Greece."

The historian will tell how before the Armageddon that broke up the twentieth century world Japan was faced by a homogeneous civilisation, which went by the name of European. This civilisation, he would explain, was a unity, not merely so far as an observer could generalise about it after the event, but as it struck its contemporaries. Dress, food, houses, government, religion were curiously uniform. It mattered not at all to young Japan whether it was a German or an English professor that it brought over for its literature or its engineering; they had all the same way of looking at things. It was the similarity of point of view that made the difference of dialect of such minor importance; Shakespeare was almost as much a German as an Englishman, and Ibsen much more of an Englishman than a Norwegian. The historian would add, however, that, in spite of this essential unity, it was important to notice that there were real differences in detail. It was unscientific, for instance, to use the word English or British instead of European; nor should the great alliance against the yellow races, that dominated the latter part of the twentieth century, blind the reader's eyes to the fact that Europe consisted of a number of independent states of varying size, each one of which constituted a political unit.

How Japan Will View Europe

This is probably the safest point of view from which Greek history can be approached by those who come to it fresh from the study of modern life. To the barbarians, or "stammerers," among whom they lived—for the word denotes wildness of tongue and not of morals—all Greeks must have seemed the same kind of people, whatever state they hailed from.

True Point of View for Greek History

It would be a refinement of personal observation or political knowledge to know an Athenian from a Corinthian or an Argive. And the Hellenes themselves—for Greek, like German or Allemand, is not a native word, but a name given by one nation to another—realised their spiritual unity in face of the barbarian world. The difference between their dialects was not great enough to make them unintelligible to each other. Megarians and Bœotians could be brought upon the comic stage at Athens not merely for a few short sentences, to amuse by the unintelligible, but for long scenes, where unintelligibility would have been a poor joke. In the sixth or fifth centuries B.C. the analogy for the Greek dialects is not so much English, French, and German, as Aberdeen, Lancashire, and Somerset, with living literatures of their own. Just, too, as we can imagine that behind such living dialectical literatures the language of the



PLUTARCH
Whose "Parallel Lives," written to foster public spirit in Greece, is perhaps the finest political tract ever written.

authorised version of the Bible would represent a unifying force, so in classical Greece the epic saga, themselves the result of a long compromise between different dialects and a record of their life-history, served, when once formed, as a common basis for literary expression. Though, again, the outward forms, or ritual, of religion varied more in the Greek than in the Christian world, they were made unimportant by an attitude of mind determined to harmonise and reconcile them. The Hebraic "Thou shalt have none other gods but me," which survives so markedly in the Christian attitude to detail, was alien to the Greek mind. The Hellenic First Commandment was rather, "Thou shalt see me in every god, and find acceptance with me in every act of worship." That is the secret of Greek religion, with its strange mixture of polytheistic, pantheistic, and monotheistic elements. Even politically Greece was capable at times of common action in face of a common danger. The "alliance against the Mede," which marked the beginning of the fifth century B.C., meant a greater sinking of political differences than anything that Europe has done since the days of the Crusades.

The really difficult thing for us to remember is that these political differences existed. From the earliest settlement of the Hellenes in the Eastern Mediterranean down to the end of the fourth century B.C. their world consisted of a vast number of small city states. Grouped and regrouped in leagues and alliances, they not only fostered to the end a passionate ideal of independence, but in the great majority of cases attained it. Local patriotism means local characteristics, and a German is no more like a Frenchman than a Spartan was like an Athenian. The instance, indeed, suggests that for great sections of the Greek world other influences have to be allowed for besides political independence. The Greeks were a mixed people, a blend of northern and southern elements, and the blend was



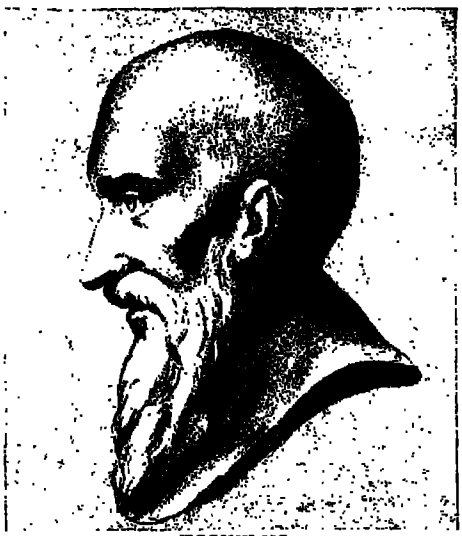
SOPHOCLES, THE CLASSIC TRAGEDIAN
Sophocles is the only one of the three great Greek tragedians who represents the classic spirit in Greek tragedy. From the statue in the Lateran Museum at Rome.

different in different places. The southern element was almost as completely under control at Sparta as the Northern was at Athens. In attempting, therefore, to estimate Greek influence as a whole we must remember that we are dealing with a complex civilisation and a long life-history. We need not, of course, attempt to get a composite photograph of what a Greek was like by eliminating differences and emphasising the residuum. Influence depends upon dominant characteristics, not upon average ones, and it is partly because of the variety in Greek life and the range of Greek thought that they have loomed so large in the history of the later world. Just as each age has its own translation of Homer, bringing out the essence of the poetry in terms of its own poetical style, so Greek life as a whole means something different to every generation. To the Romans of the later republic Greece stood for the refining influence of art and literature. On this side the Romans owed more to Greece than any nation since has ever done.



EURIPIDES

One of the three great Greek tragic poets, who is as full of problems as Ibsen, though tradition makes us regard all Greek poets as classicists. From the Vatican statue.



ÆSCHYLUS

The earliest of the three great Athenian tragedians, Sophocles, Æschylus and Euripides. He was not a classicist, but is as full of romance as Shakespeare.

How great the debt was in direct borrowing and imitation we cannot fully estimate, as only a fragment of the Greek writings that appealed to them most is preserved to us. We are content to judge by the frank acknowledgment of the Romans themselves. Even the freshest of their poets, Lucretius and Catullus, bear the stamp of Greek inspiration. Greek culture was assimilated by the nation as a whole, and not only by a few individuals. By the Augustan Age the process is complete, and the resultant type, the Hellenised Roman, is normal; the poems of Virgil and Horace give a supreme expression to the meaning and value of the new civilisation, but they do not themselves create it.

Culture, however, is a limited word, and the Hellenised Roman of this central period of Roman history, the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., is at pains to show that he owed nothing at all to Greek character. This was partly due to a real superiority of Roman over Greek in the qualities that make for government,

strength of purpose, and grit and staying power. It was true, as Virgil said, that

"Others may beat the bronze as soft as flesh,
And mould the marble to the living face,
Plead causes better, pencil out the heavens,
And tell the story of the rising stars.
To rule the world—that is thy mission, Roman,
Thy art is to lay down the law of peace,
Sparing the conquered, trampling on the proud."

There was something else, however, besides this. Virgil and his world judged Greek character by the Greeks they saw around them. The detractor of the modern Greek can at least shelter himself behind Fallmerayer, and plead mixture of race, when he is tempted to judge the past by the present. Virgil's contemporaries were, without doubt, the actual descendants of the Heroes. Their weakness of moral fibre, their very cleverness and versatility, damaged their ancestors. The typical Greek was taken to be a kind of Themistocles, at his worst, and as his enemies thought of him.

Rome Denies her Debt to Greece

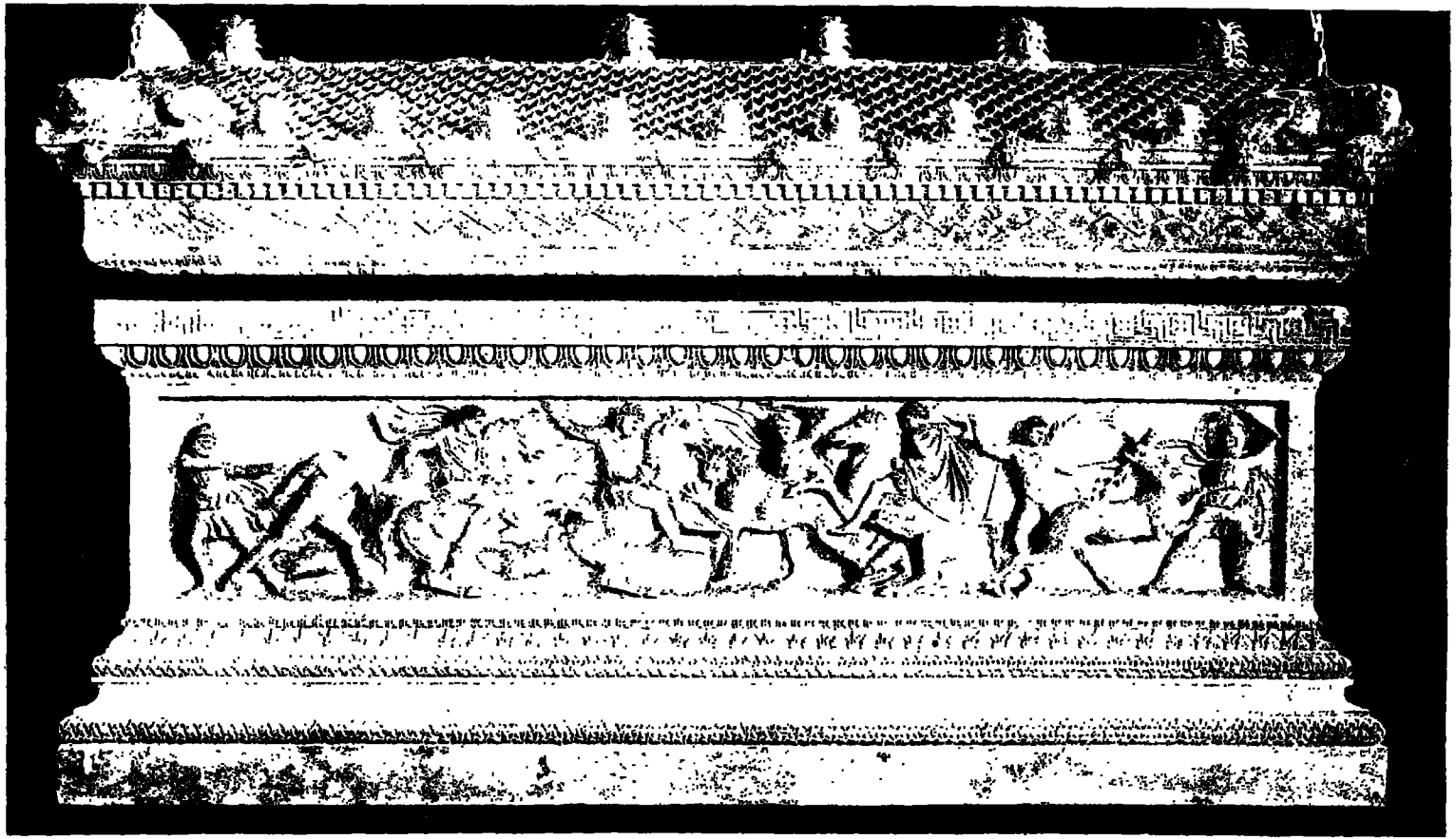
Hardly two centuries passed before there was a change. A drought-wave was passing over the steppes of Central Asia, and the means of subsistence began to fail throughout that huge area. There was a shifting of the population westward, just as, thousands of years before, a similar pulse of climate had driven the first Indo-Europeans into South Russia and Central Europe. A pressure was felt on the eastern frontiers of the Roman empire, and it was the Hellenised East that stood in the way of invasion. How was it that the Greeks were equal to the emergency, and that though the pressure came from the east, it had to pass westwards along the northern front of the empire to find the line of least resistance? The answer is that the Greek conquest of Asia Minor and Syria under Alexander was more thorough and permanent than the Roman conquest over his successors. The assimilation by these countries of Greek civilisation, and the evolution of what was practically a new racial type, had gone on quietly and unchecked during the centuries of war which brought them within the Roman empire. Christianity may be said to have been primarily the religion of this new race, a religion half Greek, half Oriental, fitted to strengthen its character, and to brace it for life. When the danger came, the very responsibilities of the situation, the fact that once again, as at Marathon and Salamis, they were the acknowledged bulwark of civilisation against barbarism, helped the Greeks to realise their new political importance. The mainland of Greece had itself already done something to foster energy and public spirit. Plutarch's book of "Parallel Lives," written at the beginning of the second century A.D., is the finest political tract ever written. On the one side he justified the character, the political capacity, of the ancient Greeks, forgotten in the course of the centuries. He set the two races, Greek and Roman, man for man, one over against the other, and showed that Greeks too could fight and govern. On the other side he made his countrymen feel that there was glory to be won in adapting themselves to new conditions and taking their share in the government of the Cosmopolitan Empire. He saw well enough, as Christ saw for the Jews, that nothing was to be won by impracticable aspirations for national independence.

Greece a Bulwark of Civilisation

Even our best historians are apt to smile pityingly at Plutarch, and sneer at the vapidity and pettiness of the life of municipal activity which he counsels. "The world," says Mommsen, belongs not to reason but to passion." But it is just the passion which Plutarch throws into the limits of his narrower fate, his search for "a man of fire" to prove equal to it, that turns the edge of all such criticisms. "For before now a great suit well judged, and a steadfast advocacy of a weak man against a mighty, and a fearless speech to a wicked governor on behalf of justice, has been the beginning to some men of a glorious public life." If this is bathos, was there ever in the world's history a nobler protest against fortune? In point of fact, there is no bathos, and we may find a truth in Plutarch's words deeper than he dreamed of. Before a century was out Greek officers were commanding Roman troops in a border war, and a Greek was governor of a province. It was this deep-seated and indomitable public spirit that made possible the long history of the Byzantine empire, Roman in organisation, Christian in religion, Greek in language.

Plutarch's Call for a Man of Fire

Meanwhile, throughout the ages which were therefore dark, Western Europe had to do without Greece. In Italy alone there was some contact with contemporary



THE MAGNIFICENT SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER, ONE OF THE MASTERPIECES OF GREEK ART

Modern Europe has made great contributions to the interpretation of the Greek spirit, and it was not until the nineteenth century that the originals of the great periods of Greek art were discovered. This so-called sarcophagus of Alexander is the most intact of all the Greek masterpieces, both as regards the modelling and the delicate charm of the colouring.

Greek civilisation. The influence of Byzantium on the earliest Italian art was a real one; but it was not till the spirit of renaissance had touched literature as well as art that there was a return to Ancient Greece. It was in Tuscany that the spark caught fire—just that part of Italy where the artistic temperament of the old Mediterranean stock had been reinforced by kindred Etruscan blood. When once it caught, it spread through Europe with a freshness and a mastery that meant a new world and a new delight in life. Wordsworth's line

Sublime Joy of the Renaissance

"The senselessness of joy was then sublime,"

could have been applied as truly to the Renaissance as to the French Revolution. Robert Browning's "Grammarian's Funeral" is no exaggeration. For the men of that day, Greek stood for more than what we ordinarily mean by culture and art. Knowledge and truth are words that better represent the sum total of its worth to them. The cry of Ajax in the Iliad:

"Slay me, Lord, if thou wilt,
Let it but be in the light,"

appealed to them as the typical utterance of the Greek spirit; and it was the attitude in which they themselves were ready to face life. The painting of pictures, and the singing of poetry, and the laborious study of the shades of meaning of a particle were accepted without surprise as aspects of the same love of truth.

"He was a man born with thy face and throat,
Lyric Apollo!"

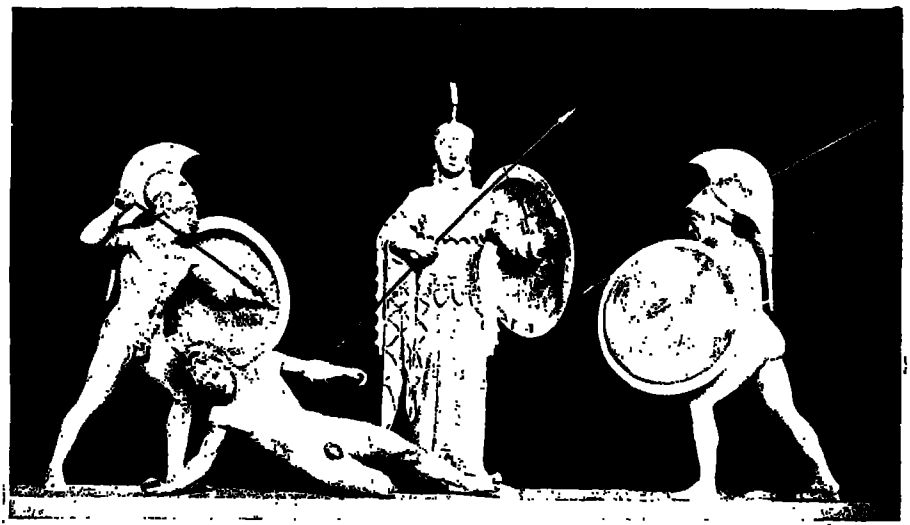
was the natural thing for his scholars to say of a Grammarian. That is why the re-discovery of Greek contributed to movements like the Protestant Reformation, which is not an obvious product of an artistic revival. The quickening spirit, once roused, filled all the avenues of thought. It would be interesting to discuss how far, from that day to this, movements that have made for light have been inspired by Greece. We should find early in our inquiry that we must not confuse Greek with classical. The classical spirit, in literature and art and life, with its canons of dignity and order, and its shrinking from waywardness and eccentricity, is only accidentally associated with Greece. We can find it there, as we can find most things, in a civilisation so full and many-sided, but it cannot be said to be dominant. A name like Sophocles naturally occurs to us as representing it at its best, and the example is a fair one and illustrates the point. Of the three great tragedians he is the only one who can be quoted on the classical side. Æschylus and Euripides are as romantic as Shakespeare and as full of problems as Ibsen. The fact is that European tradition makes us study Greek along with Latin, and that we are in danger of applying to one literature what is true only of the other. There are exceptions, of course, even in Latin; Lucretius and Catullus in early days caught the breath of Greek romance, and men like Apuleius found it again centuries later.

Greece the Inspirer of Reformations

In the main, however, it is true that the Romans were a nation of classicists; to point out, as has often been done, that their dominant quality was "gravitas" is but to say the same thing in Latin. In the first flush of the Renaissance there was no confusion; the world was near enough to the remains of Roman civilisation to realise what a new and different thing this was, this return to Greece. The danger came when men forgot that the return was for inspiration, and began to hold up Greek and Roman styles in art or literature for mechanical imitation. This was peculiarly fatal in regard to architecture. The Greek temple, beautiful as it is in its own environment, is, at its best, limited in range, and is little fitted for the climate of western Europe and the needs of its public worship. Architecture was, indeed, the one department in which the natural evolution of Greek art had never been broken. The Gothic cathedral, far from being a barbarism, as some of the Renaissance builders held, had the bluest blood in its veins. It traced its pedigree back through Romanesque and Byzantine, not merely to the Roman basilica, but to the Hall of Judgment of the king-archon at Athens, and the Pillar Hall of the Minoan priest-king in the Royal Villa at Cnossus. Though individual details of Greek temple ornament could be, and have been, used with charming effect in every departure of architecture, slavish reproduction of the general style has led to lamentable results.

The Danger that Came when Men Forgot

The same is largely true of literature. In the ever recurring battle between the



THE ARCHAIC PERIOD: SCULPTURES OF THE TEMPLE AT ÆGINA



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES



THE DELPHI CHARIOTEER

The modern discovery of the originals of Greek masterpieces has given us a great insight into the development of Greek art, an idea of which may be gained from the reproductions illustrating this chapter. One of the best examples of the archaic period, the Ægina sculptures, is reproduced at the top of the page. At the bottom are examples of what was, perhaps, the finest period—the famous Hermes by Praxiteles, the beauty of the execution of which no photograph can give an adequate idea, and the charioteer, lately found by the French at Delphi.

ORIGINALS OF GREEK MASTERPIECES DISCOVERED IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

classicists and the romanticists the former have often claimed, and claimed with sincerity, that the Greeks were on their side. In reality they were looking at Greece through Roman spectacles. When Sir Philip Sidney and Corneille wished to argue for the observance of the unities of time and place, they appealed to Aristotle's "Essay on Poetry." But it is significant that they were obliged to misquote him. In point of fact he does not mention the unity of place, and lays down nothing that could fairly be called a "precept" about the unity of time. The Elizabethan drama was itself the true child of the Renaissance, as Sidney's own lyrics were, and its earliest masters acknowledged the debt. Marlowe saw well enough that it was just because he had "made blind Homer sing to him," and was "immortal with Helen's kiss," that his poetry was free and daring. The drama, happily for England, developed there while the spirit of Greece was still fresh in the world, and had not been Latinised away.

The Spirit of Greece and English Drama

When, again, the classicist tyranny fell at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century it was realised by not a few of the romanticists that a return to Nature must in Europe inevitably mean a return to Greece. Winckelmann's re-discovery of Greek sculpture, and his passionate enthusiasm for it, were limited by half-knowledge and the still dominant influence of classicist conventions; but it was the Greek in him that inspired Goethe. In the group of men who worked round Victor Hugo and stormed that last stronghold of formalism, the French drama, we find the same feeling. When they rebelled against "les grisâtres," the grey men, the colourless element in literature and life, and asked for light and movement and audacity, they were conscious, so Théophile Gautier tells us, that they were returning to "the great periods of the Renaissance, and the true ancient world." Byron, indeed, was one of the few romanticists who realised that the revolt from classicism, necessary as it was, had a danger in it, with its go-as-you-please tendency, and its contempt for form and rule. There was a certain sense in which Pope was more Greek than Scott, or Wordsworth, or Byron himself, and Byron was not inapt when he compared Pope to a Greek temple. In Greek poetry, too, there was the temple element, and it is the lack of it which is the weak point of movements that issue from a conscious revolt against formalism.

The Revolt from Classicism

Byron's attitude to Greece suggests a further point. For both him and Shelley, Greece stands for political as well as for intellectual freedom. Contemporary Greece has come once more on the scene, as it did in Roman days, to interpret its ancestor. The struggle for liberty, which began in 1790, and went on intermittently throughout Byron's life, had a profound influence on western Europe, and brought into prominence the political and moral side of ancient Greek civilisation. Greece was still the land—

"Where burning Sappho loved and sung;"

but, beyond all that, it was the home of "Lacedæmon's hardihood," the ground where

"Standing on the Persians' grave,
I could not deem myself a slave."

It is no slight tribute to modern Greece that it inspired such thoughts. It is true that it met with plenty of trenchant criticism in Byron's earlier writings; yet, even in 1810, when he prophesied in "Childe Harold" that freedom would come only "when Grecian mothers shall give birth to men," he never doubted that the time was coming. His "Thoughts on the Present State of Greece," published at the same period, show that his criticism is from the inside, not the outside, and that it made for encouragement and inspiration, not for despair. When the War of Independence definitely broke out, in 1820, only a year after the publication of "The Isles of Greece," Shelley eloquently defended the insurgents in the preface to "Hellas," while Byron was aroused by his enthusiasm to a personal self-devotion that was the finest thing in his life. The last lines that he wrote on Greece before he died for her are not critical:

The Finest Thing that Byron did

"The sword, the banner, and the field,
Glory and Greece, around me see!
The Spartan, borne upon his shield
Was not more free."

Nor must we forget that this ideal of ancient Greek freedom has from first to last been the inspiration of the modern Greeks themselves. In no country has the past a stronger hold. One can only hope that Greece will take warning from

western Europe, and not let tradition stiffen into classicism. There will never be a great modern Greek literature until the false antithesis between the spoken and the written word is dropped, and a national language allowed to evolve freely and naturally by interaction and competition between popular dialects.

When we turn from modern Greece to modern Europe as a whole, we find that we, too, have made our contributions to the interpreting of the Greek spirit. This is largely due to the fact that we know more about it than any generation has known for 1,500 years. Winckelmann and Lessing had to judge Greek art mainly from Roman copies, and the originals to which they had access were of the decadence. It was the nineteenth century that rediscovered the originals of the great periods. First there were those that were still above ground, the sculptures of the Parthenon and of Ægina; then the results of excavation, the Hermes of Praxiteles from Olympia, the grave reliefs from Athens, the sarcophagi from Sidon, the Charioteer from Delphi. With the insight thus gained into the development of Greek sculpture and the methods of its various schools, we have turned with new eyes to the statues already contained in the museums of Europe. One of the most fascinating chapters in art criticism has been the mental reconstruction of lost masterpieces from the study of Roman copies and the use of the comparative method. More than once, too, we have been able to distinguish actual originals, such as the Leconfield head of Aphrodite, or the Bologna head of Athena, from the mass of later work in which they had lain unnoticed. In literature our discoveries have also been considerable, though not as epoch-making as they have been in art. It is partly that we have less way to make. Many of the greatest things the Greeks wrote have been known to us since the Renaissance. Homer and Thucydides, Herodotus and Plato, have always been with us, and the same is true of at least some of the best fifth century tragedies.

Our Discoveries in Greek Art



THE BOLOGNA HEAD OF ATHENA
This head is believed by some to be an original work of the best period of Greek sculpture

We have never been ignorant in literature, as we were till lately in art, of the heights to which the Greeks could rise. Our last instance, however, shows how woefully fragmentary our records are. Of perhaps nearly 300 plays written by Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, we have but thirty-three, most of them selected by no finer canon of taste than the need of a safe text-book for a Byzantine schoolboy. Of their minor contemporaries we have not a single play, while detached verses, quoted by later writers, are all that remain of the brilliant group of comedians who competed with Aristophanes. Of the early lyric poets, the pre-Socratic philosophers, and the fourth century historians, we have mere fragments. Excavation has in this matter rather whetted our appetite than satisfied it. It is a long time since we have had any considerable find of vellum manuscripts. We depend on the unearthing of papyri in Egyptian tombs or on Egyptian rubbish-heaps. From one point of view the change is for the better. Instead of late mediæval transcripts, many times removed from the truth, we have the actual products of the ancient book-trade, written by and for men who spoke the language as their mother tongue.

Greek Plays Preserved in a Schoolbook

Many of the papyri we have found were written in the first or second century B.C., some in the third. In the case of a fourth century lyric poem of Timotheos, the copy we possess may actually have been carried in the pocket of one of Alexander the Great's soldiers, whose father may have met the poet. The light that is thrown on the text of authors whose works we already possess in mediæval copies is considerable, even if the papyrus is but a fragment. We realise, for instance, that the order of lines, and perhaps of incidents, in the Iliad and the Odyssey, was far less fixed in ancient times than the uniformity of our later manu-

scripts would lead us to suppose; while, on the other hand, we get unexpected confirmation for the received text of Thucydides. Though papyri have been of great importance from this scientific point of view, not even the dryness of the Egyptian air could save such delicate material from damage when buried for 2,000 years, and, at the start, perhaps thrown away as rubbish. They are terribly torn, and hardly a single new work that they offer us is intact. The lyric poems of Bacchylides, and a tract on the constitution of Athens, written for Aristotle by his pupils, have been, up till this last year, their chief contribution to Greek literature. These have now been challenged by some poems of Pindar, fragments of a new historian, Theopompus, perhaps, or Cratippus, dealing with the events of the first years of the fourth century, and about 1,200 lines of Menander. The last is poor stuff, and justifies the worst that has been thought of him from the half-translations, half-imitations of Terence.

Greek Poetry Found in Egypt



THE GREEK'S LOVE FOR A DOG
As expressed in Greek art.

We have spoken of discoveries made last year. Here we have another side on which Greek is of interest to the modern world. Greek studies are alive and progressive, and touch the scientific as well as the literary spirit of the age. Whole new regions of history are being opened up. Egypt under the Ptolemies, Sparta in the sixth century B.C., Crete in the sixteenth, are all having a flood of light thrown on them by British scholars, indifferently supported, it is sad to say, by British money. It is not only that our knowledge of Greek evolves under our hands and is a fitting subject for scientific research. The Greeks themselves were the pioneers of the scientific spirit, and invented nearly everything. Their speculations cover physics, mathematics, and medicine. They are the parents of practically all known forms of literature, tragedy and farce, epic and drinking song, history and novel. Our metaphysics, our ethics, our politics, are still written in terms of their philosophy, and new schools of thought succeed mainly in bringing into prominence some aspect of it that their predecessors had ignored. The stage owes to Greece its existence, and has acknowledged the debt by borrowing from it all its technical terms. Drama, theatre, tragedy, comedy, scene, proscenium, orchestra, chorus, choir, music, poetry—all are Greek words.

But it is not only the student of origins who is affected. There is so much in Greek thought that impresses us all as modern. There are no adequate discussions of socialism, for instance, or the woman question, between Greek times and our own. For the attitude of a higher civilisation to a lower, the duty of an empire to its subject races, we can find no nearer parallels, or warnings, than in Greek history. Above all, the problem as to how a democracy is to govern an empire and yet remain true to its humanitarian ideals has never been put, except in fifth century Athens and in Britain to-day.

Even so significant a trait as love of animals has to jump the centuries. Except, perhaps, under the inspiration of St. Francis of Assisi, how little we have of it in European literature till quite modern times! Where have we another Argos, the hound whom Odysseus had hunted with in his youth before he went to Troy? When Odysseus came back in disguise as a beggar no one knew him but his dog. Argos was lying on a dung-heap, past his work, and full of vermin; he had no master, and no one cared. When he caught sight of his master, he wagged his tail and let both his ears fall, but was not strong enough to get nearer. Nor did Odysseus dare go near either, but asked questions about the dog, hoping that the others would not notice the tears in his eyes. But Argos died—"the fate of black death overtook him, even in the hour that he looked on Odysseus in the twentieth year."

RONALD M. BURROWS



THE STORY OF ANCIENT GREECE

By Professor Rudolph von Scala

IN THE HEROIC OR LEGENDARY AGE

THE Mycenæan civilisation, which has become known to us through recent excavations, is on a plane higher than that of the culture attained by the early hordes of the North, and its development may be most easily explained by the intercourse between the Greek tribes of the Southern and Central Balkan peninsula and the peoples of Asia Minor. The latter brought to the Greeks the civilisation of Egypt and the East; the Greeks developed this culture on lines of their own, and in some respects improved on it.

The civilisation of this period takes its name from Mycenæ. In addition to Mycenæ, its chief centres were Tiryns, Orchomenus, the citadel of Gulas at Lake Copais, the early acropolis of Athens, and the sixth stratum, or city, of Troy. Other districts also have demonstrated the wide diffusion of Mycenæan culture: Nauplia, Vaphio in Laconia, and Campus in Messenia, Spata, Menidi, Halyce, Thoricus, Aphidna, Eleusis in Attica, Salamis, Ægina, Goura in Phthiotis, Delphi, Demini in Thessalia, Thera, Therasia, Calymnus, Melos, Crete, Rhodes. Both the Greeks and the peoples of Asia Minor had acquired at that time a uniform civilisation; the vast development of culture led to an increase of population and an increased need for land, and, consequently, to a great wave of emigration over the sea. The Æolian and partly Ionian conquest of Asia Minor, the invasions of Egypt by the "nations from the north," and the spread of Mycenæan civilisation over Sicily and Egypt, are the natural offshoots of the Mycenæan culture at its height. In consequence of recent excavations at Mycenæ and Tiryns, it is no longer a matter of great difficulty to obtain a fair idea of the life of that time. Although it rises no higher than from forty to sixty feet above the plain, the citadel of Tiryns, with its massive walls and prominent towers, gives an impression of great strength and magnificence. The walls themselves were to the Greeks mysterious tokens of a long-forgotten past, and were attributed by them to the Cyclops.

Birthplaces of Greek Civilisation

Massive Citadel of Tiryns

Some of the gigantic blocks of stone are hewn into complex forms, and others are covered with ornamentation. Along the approach, past the lower citadel, we may walk between the walls of the ancient town and the fortress to the main entrance of the upper citadel, or acropolis, where the walls reach the astonishing thickness of fifty-seven feet. Arches or casemates are built into them, such as have been discovered in the ruins of Phœnician cities. Indeed, the same proportion between length and breadth is to be seen here as in far-distant Carthage and in other ancient towns of Northern Africa. Passing through the doorway, the propylæa, ornamented with pillars, and proceeding over the fine lime floor of the great court, in which an altar to "Zeus of the enclosure" once stood, and, finally, through a vestibule and ante-room, we reach the great court of the men, the megaron, in which there was once a fireplace thirty-eight feet nine inches long and thirty-two feet two inches wide.

This hall was lighted from above, and was built at a higher level than the neighbouring apartments, just as the central hall of the Temple of Solomon was raised above the surrounding rooms, and, later, the halls of Roman dwellings and the naves of mediæval churches. The walls were brightly painted with rosettes, blossoms, pictures of pastoral life, and conventional designs, such as we now see in Oriental rugs. Such a pattern in red and blue was traced on the lime plastering of the floor. Doors with one and two wings, in part hung with curtains, led to the women's quarters, consisting of rectangular courts with columns and porches, a great main hall, and corridors and passages of great length, all copied from the palaces of Egypt and Syria.

Palaces of Ancient Greece

At Mycenæ a street eleven and a half feet wide, hewn out of the cliff and supported by cyclopean rocks, passing over stone bridges pierced for the flow of water, led to the walls of the citadel. The entrance was the Lion Gate, so called on account of the two lions standing opposite one another with their forepaws resting on an altar, in the middle of which a column is erected. The upper classes of the Mycenæans, judging from pictures on vases and remains discovered in the tombs, were in the habit of wearing pointed beards and their upper lips shaved. Ornaments of gold-plate with palm leaf and lotus designs glittered upon their clothing.

They carried sword or dagger, richly inlaid with metal in various patterns; the handles terminated in fantastically shaped knobs, of which one example is a dragon's head in gold with glistening eyes of cut rock-crystal. The blade of one dagger recently discovered is ornamented with a representation of lions pursuing antelopes; another shows four men, protected by shields, setting forth on a lion hunt; on a third are represented ichneumons in chase of waterfowl in a papyrus landscape. Heavy gold signet-rings were also worn. The inner walls of the houses were inlaid with precious metals and amber, as in later times were the walls of the Temple of Solomon. Articles of furniture were in part covered with thin gold as well as with plates of artificial lapis lazuli. Amber beads have been found in the ruins, as well as a gigantic ostrich egg. Women of the nobility and ruling classes wore many gold ornaments; their upper garments were somewhat scant, the breast being partially uncovered; their hair strayed in ringlets over the forehead from beneath a low round turban, and was allowed to fall behind in a thick braid, the end of which was turned outwards and enclosed in a spiral of gold. A diadem of thin gold ornamented the forehead. Large, golden breast-pendants, and neck-chains, earrings, bracelets, and finger rings, and the tight-fitting garment pleated in horizontal folds below the waist and decorated with gold, contributed to an appearance less pleasing than showy. It is hard to conceive this people as Greek, or as living upon the soil of Greece, for their civilisation was so deeply influenced by the customs and artistic genius of the East that not only their appearance, but also their manners and customs were almost wholly Oriental.

Personal Magnificence in Mycenæ

Chariots, both in battle and in hunting expeditions, were used in the same manner by the Mycenæans as by the races of Western Asia. The fallen warriors were embalmed in honey, according to the primitive Babylonian custom; their faces were covered by masks of gold, and in their hands were placed double-edged axes, exactly similar to those which we may now see pictured in Assyrian bas-reliefs.

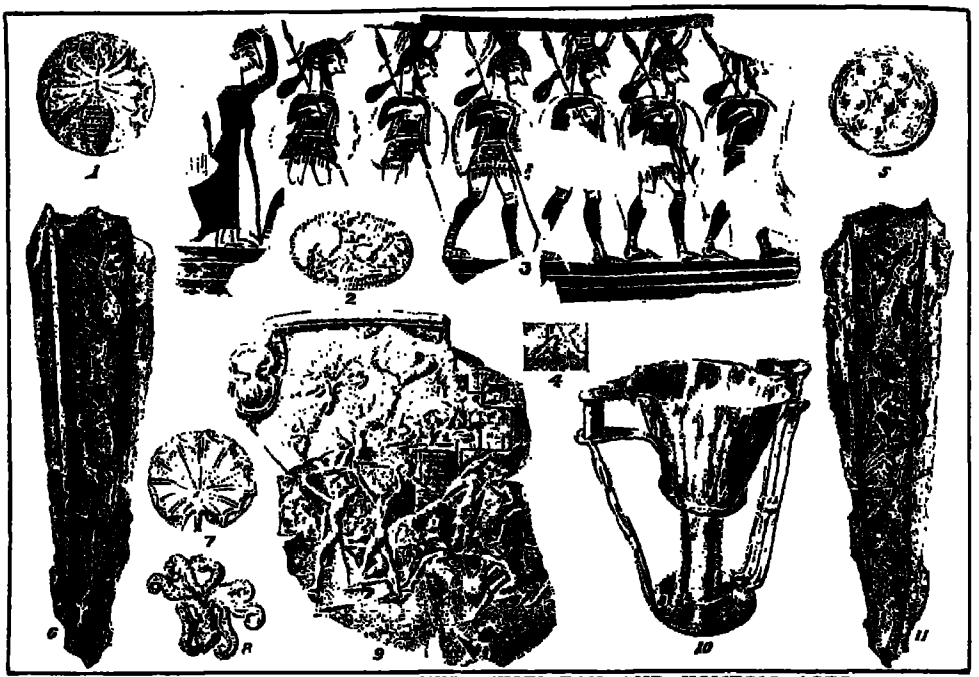
Oriental Customs of Mycenæ

Belief in the power and influence of the soul led at an early age to the worship of the dead. Members of royal houses, heavily laden with ornaments, were laid on the ashes of the burnt sacrifice which had been offered up to them, in the same manner as the deceased are found to have been placed in the barrows and *tumuli* of the North. Sacrifices were offered because of the general belief in the power of the dead; and for the same reason the movable possessions of men were laid in the graves at their sides.

Such sacrifices were made not only at the time of burial but also afterwards. Above the fourth burial pit at Mycenæ a round altar, hollow in the middle, has been discovered; and through this altar, as through a tube, the blood of the sacrificed animal flowed directly down to the dead. Thus it was a permanent funeral altar, pointing to the permanent worship of souls, for the residence of which in the later sepulchres the entire chamber was designed. The so-called dome tombs, which are evidently family sepulchres, have an



MYCENÆ, THE CENTRE OF THE EARLY GREEK CULTURE, AS IT APPEARED IN THE HEROIC AGE



GREEK ANTIQUITIES OF THE MYCENÆAN AND HOMERIC AGES

In spite of the Oriental love of splendour which was evident in the life of the Mycenæan Greeks, the Greek genius prevailed in their art, as may be seen in these beautiful relics from Mycenæan tombs. The keen observation of Nature is shown in the conventionalised designs of the gold plates which decorated their clothing (1, 2, 4, 5, 7 and 8), and in the dagger-blade (6 and 11) representing an ichneumon chasing waterfowl. Homeric warriors are shown in the fragments of a vase (3) and of a silver goblet (9). Very beautiful is the double-handled goblet (10) from Mycenæ.

approach sometimes 115 feet in length and twenty feet in breadth, consisting in part of carefully laid hewn stones. There is also a short entrance or vestibule, with richly ornamented walls—slabs of red, green, or white marble; slender, embedded columns of dark grey alabaster, and pieces of red porphyry—and a beehive-shaped dome upwards of fifty feet in height. One of these domes is constructed of thirty-two superimposed circles, each smaller than the one below, and is ornamented with bronze rosettes, fastened with nails of bronze to blocks of bluish marble. The great development of technique is shown by the fact that in one tomb a stone weighing 240,000 pounds was let into the wall for the support of the lintel of the inner door; the floor of the baths at Tiryns consisted of one slab weighing 40,000 pounds.

Colossal Family Graves

Many treasures have been brought to light in the domed sepulchres; finger-rings, silver ladles, and bowls, swords with gold nails and gold ornaments, necklaces with richly decorated clasps, and, finally, two golden goblets, discovered at Amyclæ. These cups are made of two layers of gold-plate, the inner smooth, and the outer, to which the handles are attached, ornamented. The decoration is artistic, and consists of a representation of shepherds in pursuit of wild African cattle, amid a landscape of tall palms and olive trees with knotted trunks. The shepherds are naked, except for the loin-cloth and girdle with hanging ends; their feet are encased in Syrian sandals with sharp toes; their faces are smooth shaven after the Syrian fashion, and, notwithstanding an unmistakable Semitic trace, are Egyptian in cast, with prominent pupils of the eyes.

In Mycenæ the age of bronze attained its highest development—a development that could not have been reached except through the instrumentality of a powerful centralised government. The excellence of the art and the difficulties overcome in building can but lead to the conclusion that a division of the population into classes had already taken place. Such tremendous results are attained, in primitive societies possessed of but few mechanical appliances, only by the enslavement of workers through the power of a supreme ruler. Social inequalities must

Tremendous Achievements in Mycenæ

have developed spontaneously; and, as may be seen from an examination of the numerous sepulchres of the ruling classes. not only were the princes and chieftains of higher station than the mass of the population, but there must also have been many men of lower rank—a numerous class of nobles who already resided in the town. and who no longer merely lived in the country upon their estates.

Differences in the extent of possessions brought with them economic inequality, a condition that must even at an early time have led to inequality of rights. The possession of landed property conferred certain privileges, and these privileges led to territorial dominion. Together with the magnificence of the daily life of the nobles. the monuments and antiquities also show us the political form of a society ruled by a powerful kingship. It is possible that the earlier inhabitants. when conquered. were enslaved; at any rate, it is certain that slaves stood at the command of the sovereign and nobility, or, at least, that the majority of the population was socially far removed from the minority, and



THE FAMOUS LION GATEWAY OF MYCENÆ
The entrance to the great citadel of Mycenæ was by a gate with two lions resting their forepaws on an altar.

ministered to the love of ostentation and display of the sovereign and nobility.

Nevertheless, the Greek genius prevailed over this Oriental love of splendour. From the primitive gold masks moulded from the features of the dead one can recognise the Greek type: regular features, finely cut noses, and smoothly arched brows, in the very midst of an environment foreign to the Greek spirit. Even in the external forms of life. which Oriental influence had so largely pervaded. certain



THE ANCIENT GALLERIES OF TIRYNS
A view inside the cyclopean walls of the citadel of Tiryns, which reach the astonishing thickness of fifty-seven feet.

characteristic Greek traits survived. Although the rulers resided in palaces, built after Asiatic models, the rest of the Mycenæans lived. not under flat Asiatic roofs. but under European pitched roofs with gables. Vases of Mycenæ, the earlier ones with glossy surfaces. the later with dull surfaces, predominated in the entire basin of the Mediterranean. The early, as well as the later, Greeks made use of the fabulous animals of the East in ornamentation; but. on the other hand, their observation of the life of the sea is truly Western. Shells, starfish, corals, cuttlefish, and argonauts, drawn upon the vases. prove at what an early time the manifold life about and in the sea was observed by Mycenæan eyes. Butterflies were modelled in gold; plant life, too. was accurately observed and imitated. Designs of tendrils and leaves drawn after Nature and not conventionalised appeared for the first time on Mycenæan vases. The continuous as well as the interrupted designs so familiar in friezes, and put to so many decorative uses by the Greek artists, had their origin in the Heroic Age.

The high plane of development indicated by the style of the Mycenæan vases was coincident with the culminating point of Mycenæan culture: and from this fact we are enabled approximately to fix the date of a civilisation that otherwise, so far as time is concerned, would remain indefinite. Some years ago the discovery in the lower city of a porcelain image of an Egyptian scarabæus bearing the name of an Egyptian king of the fifteenth century B.C., coupled with the finding in the acropolis of Mycenæ of another scarabæus, inscribed with the name of the wife of this king, tended to determine the date of Mycenæan civilisation. Nevertheless, there is still the objection that the scarabs may have been dropped there by a trader or collector at a much later period; although, strangely enough, a similar scarab, bearing an inscription written during the reign of the same king, has been found in similar Mycenæan strata on the island of Rhodes. It has also been determined that the princely gifts which were brought to another Egyptian king by the inhabitants of "The Islands of the Great Sea" are similar in every respect to the antiquities—small ornamental goblets, and silver cows' heads—that have been found in Mycenæ. Thus the heroic civilisation must have spread over the Grecian Archipelago and, above all, over Crete. Finally, conclusive evidence has been established by the discovery of Mycenæan vases and goblets in Gurob, an Egyptian town, which was destroyed during the fifteenth century B.C. We do not go so far as to determine the nationality of the settlers in this town from the signs scratched in various metal objects which have been found, but so much is certain: they possessed the Mycenæan civilisation, and must have penetrated into Egypt as early as the fifteenth century B.C.

Antiquities and remains have borne their testimony; let us now hear what men have to say. The utterances of Mycenæan kings are audible to us only as a faint murmur echoing in the stories of tradition; for this people had no written language, and have left to us no written records. But the historical documents discovered in Egypt speak for them. During the days of King Rameses I. warriors whose dress was European appeared in the Syrian army; they were Javans—that is, Ionians—and they wore the feather plume that has served as a distinctive mark of the Asiatic Greeks. During the reigns of Meneptah and of Rameses III. there were invasions of "men from the north," as we are told by Egyptian inscriptions, and the weapons of these wanderers were those of the races of Europe and Asia Minor. On water and on land, in ships and in ox-carts, bringing their wives and children with them, hordes of northern peoples, against whom the native forces could defend themselves only with the greatest difficulty, burst like a storm over Egypt. The names of these peoples, the Aquaivasha and Danauna, but half conceal the words Achæans and Danaans.



ACHILLES, HERO OF GREECE
The greatest of the heroes of the Iliad of Homer, the embodiment of impetuous strength of the Greeks.

The development of the Mycenæan civilisation must have led to a great increase in the populations of the oldest centres of culture, and have given the people occasion to embark on expeditions for the conquest of new territory. Since the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago were settled by the Greeks as early as the year 1000 B.C., it follows that the earliest of these Greek settlements, those of the Æolians, must have taken place during the Heroic Age, the age of the Mycenæan civilisation. The entire process of the Æolian settlement, and perhaps of a part of the Ionian, is connected with the teeming population and the high phase of culture of the Heroic Age. The many islands formed bridges, as it were, from one people to another, and joined them all together in closer union with the Asiatic mainland.

The first settlement was made by the Æolians, whose dialect was spoken in Thessaly, Bœotia, and Lesbos, and was nearly related to the languages in use in Arcadia and Cyprus. The Æolians were closely connected with those inhabitants of Attica and Eubœa who gradually detached themselves from Bœotia and later developed into the Ionian race of Asia Minor, where they came to forget their earlier relationship to the Bœotians. The North-western Greeks, usually known by the name of one stock, the Doric, included even in historic times the Epirots, Ætolians,



HELEN AND MENELAUS

From a Greek vase painting representing Menelaus leading his wife Helen, the cause of the Trojan war, back to Sparta.

chieftains, assisted by the princes of Mycenæ, to Asia Minor, where they burnt the city of Troy, for the sixth city upon the acropolis at Hissarlik, constructed in complete harmony with the Mycenæan style of architecture and provided with flying buttresses in the same manner as the citadel of Gulas at Lake Copais, was sacked and destroyed by fire, as we have learned from recent excavations. Thus, traditions come to life again after a lapse of thousands of years. It would be too much, however, to claim the possibility of extracting historical details from



THE FINAL TRAGEDY OF THE ILIAD OF HOMER: THE DEATH OF PRIAM

Priam, the aged father of Hector, the great Trojan hero of the Iliad, was killed by Pyrrhus at the fall of Troy after attempting to revenge the death of his son Polites. From one of the famous Polygnotus vase paintings.

and Acarnanians, the inhabitants of Phthiotis, the Phocians, Locrians, and peoples of Achæa. To the Æolians belonged the inhabitants of the towns of Mycenæ and Tiryns, and also the tribes that emigrated into North-west Asia Minor and Cyprus, and there engaged in long wars with the original inhabitants. The Trojan War must be looked upon today as a great military expedition of Greek



THE FLIGHT OF ÆNEAS

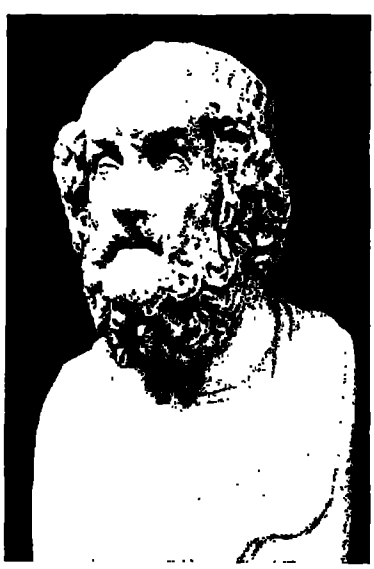
Another Greek representation of incidents from the greatest of Greek poems. Here are seen the flight of Æneas after the fall of Troy, and Ajax, the Locrian, and Cassandra in the temple of Minerva at Troy.

Homer; that would be equivalent to reading the minor events of the wars against Attila the Hun out of the Niebelungenlied. The second group of Greek races, the Ionian, settled the greater portion of the western coast of Asia Minor, where they established large city colonies. It was there that the Ionian stock developed its versatility, freedom of spirit, and rich and manifold interests. Composed as it was of various sections of

the Greek people, it also absorbed elements from Asia Minor and transmuted the Asiatic civilisation into Greek culture. Thus, the Ionians gave a higher dignity to the old hero epics, and made the beginnings of Greek science. Finally, the third group, the North-western Greeks, continued to live in their northern home in single tribes, and indeed remained longer than any other Greek race in connection with the Italian stocks; whence the curious resemblance between Doric and Roman towns and town government observable in the three gateways and the doubling of officials.

Beginnings of Greek Science

A portion of this group, the Dorians, soon settled in Central Greece, then crossed the Bay of Corinth at its narrowest point, and colonised the northern portion of the Peloponnesus. As their progress was obstructed by the mountains of Arcadia, they swung off partly to the west, occupying Elis, and partly to the east, where the inhabitants of Argolis, with a highly developed but decadent civilisation, were forced to yield to their greater vitality and superiority in arms, sinking, in a great measure, to the position of serfs, but leaving the greater part of their civilisation to the conquerors. Thus, the power of the primitive inhabitants fell. Of the fortresses at Mycenæ and Tiryns nothing but ruins remained; and not until the seventh century B.C. were temples again erected there to the worship of the gods. The wave of Dorian invasion now flowed out over Crete, Melos, Thera, Rhodes, and Cos, where faint traces of an earlier Æolian substratum are still to be recognised, forced its way as far as Pamphylia, and finally penetrated to the south-eastern part of the Peloponnesus. Legends have adorned the Doric migration with a thousand details; not only the folk-sagas, that tell us of the deeds of heroes, but also the traditions of historians, who endeavoured to explain how each tribe wandered into its ultimate territory. The fact of the Doric migration is not to be disputed; but all details regarding it are worthless, and, not being supported by later discoveries, must be cast aside as of no historical value.

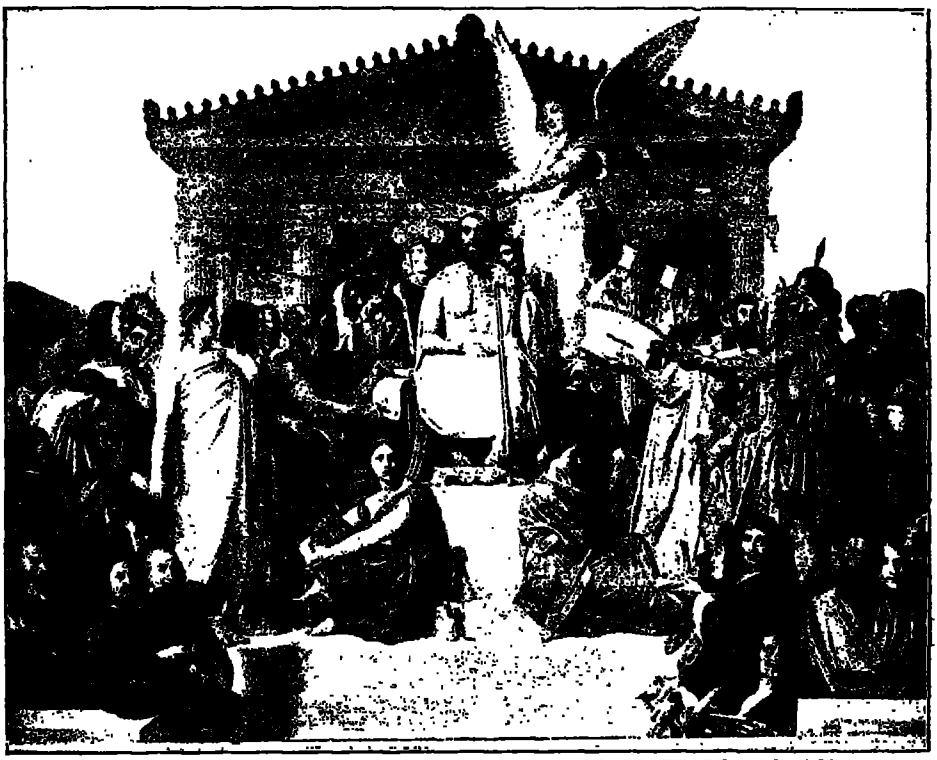


HOMER, THE FATHER OF POETRY
The traditional author of the great heroic epics. From the bust found at Herculaneum.

The Æolian settlers took with them to Asia Minor the remembrance of their daring voyages, of their advance towards the East, of the centuries of battle and foray, and of their earlier domination over golden Mycenæ.

Even in the Homeric poems there is still an echo of the great migrations. "As on days of sunshine masses of cloud follow the mountain ridges, but seldom take their form," so have myths and legends followed the general course of history; but they have covered it over with clouds of the imagination. The traditions of wars on the soil of Asia Minor have been perpetuated in the epic poems, the sublime productions of the next age. How did poetry, how did the Homeric epics, arise? As a rule, the speech of men flows along queitly and without method; but when the soul is shaken with emotion, when the heart is uplifted in happiness or oppressed by pain, when men are overwhelmed with an emotion of reverence for the gods, when joyful events lead to outbursts of delight, then utterance becomes rhythmic. Songs are transmitted from mouth to mouth; their subjects are supplied by the remembrance of great days and of great battles; they are filled with recollections of the shining forms of the heroes of olden times. At first men of high birth themselves sing in alternating verse, as did Achilles and Patroclus; and, later, with the increasing tendency to form classes in society, and with the introduction of the division of labour, a poet caste comes into being. In particular, men who are blind take to the minstrel's art; to them the joy of combat and the glory of war are closed, and, lyre in hand, they wander from court to court, spreading abroad the fame of heroes in song. Such a minstrel was the blind Demodocus, who,

The Homeric Epics



THE APOTHEOSIS OF HOMER: THE HOMAGE OF POETS OF ALL AGES
From the picture by Ingres in the Louvre, representing the homage of poets of all times to the great blind father of song.

in the Odyssey, sang to the Phæacians; such men were the blind gleemen of Chios, who figures in the Homeric hymns; Bernlef, the blind Frisian, and the blind bards of the Slavs, among whom the word "blind" (sliepac) became a generic name for minstrels, even when they did not happen to be blind at all. Thus to Homer, the traditional author of the heroic epics, blindness was attributed.

These poems, which first came into being among the Æolians, and were inherited and enlarged by the Ionians, required hundreds of years for their growth, developing from short and simple compositions, treating of the wrath of Achilles, into vast heroic epics, celebrating the glory not only of single heroes, but also of entire races. Hundreds of minstrels, journeying from palace to palace, co-operated, and although hampered by the limitations of a set form, were, nevertheless, skilled in the art of improvisation. They delved into the life of the people and into the wealth of stored-up legends, reciting for the pleasure of the ruling nobility, adding new songs to old in honour of single families and in praise of the model aristocratic state. Thus they composed songs which reflect the knightly lives, the philosophy, and the highest thoughts of the greatest men of their time.

Whether these older forms were merely edited into the connected shape of the two great epics, known to us as the Iliad and Odyssey, or were reconstructed by a few great artists whose work was then so re-edited, or were but the sources from which one master-mind drew his glorious inspiration, remains an open question among scholars to this day. It is claimed that the pre-eminent artistic abilities of several individuals are plainly visible, and that the greater creations of particular minstrels may be separated from the mass of inferior work. It is also claimed that the work of a single triumphant genius is manifestly dominant throughout. In any case, the Homeric poems had their beginnings in Mycenæan times, when there had already developed a universally understood literary language that reached its zenith in the ninth or eighth century B.C. The youthful strength of heroes and their resourceful wisdom, the entire scale

of emotion, from the gentle stirring of sentiment in the love-dream of the young princess to the sad farewell of wife to hero, and the melancholy compassion of the victor for the aged father of his fallen enemy—all this we find in the Homeric songs. Nothing could be more touching than the lines in which Hector takes off his shining helmet to soothe the fear of his babe and bids farewell to all, or those in which Odysseus is recognised by his faithful dog. With his last breath the poor animal greets his master, wags his tail, and dies.

Nature in the Songs of Homer

All Nature lives in these poems—the changing moods of the sea in storm and in sunshine; the fire that roars through the forest; the lightning that shatters the strongest oak into fragments; the leaves of the forest which put forth and grow and fall before the wind, as races of men increase and wither and disappear in the storm of life; the cranes that fly through the air in compact ranks; the lion with flaming eye and lashing tail; the bird which perishes of hunger that its unfledged young may eat—all this lives in the pages of Homer. The character of the human race, at a time when the individual is as yet unborn and only the class exists, is drawn with the most affecting simplicity. Here are those great, restful outlines which move us so deeply in the works of the Italian masters. Whether it be a knightly combat, undertaken in a spirit of chivalric daring, or the quiet, domestic life of the housewife that is represented, the imagination is free to wander whithersoever it will, and movements and actions are deprived of none of their natural and living charm.

In those parts of the Iliad which had their origin in Æolia, Achilles, the greatest of the heroes, is represented as the embodiment of impetuous strength, a composite figure that, in truth, portrays all the unrestrained emotional changes of an uncivilised people. The art of writing was still regarded as a kind of evil enchantment, to be mastered only by the few. Not until later, when the legend of Odysseus, the Odyssey, was developed, does the conception of a cultured society, the Phæacians, arise, a community of harmoniously developed, serene, almost ideal beings, where woman, like man, is allowed to attain to complete intellectual development. In Odysseus, the archetype of sagacity, skilled in handicraft, in music, and gymnastics, a man who excels all minstrels in harmony, and all masters in artistic narration, in whom there is a union of calm lucidity and quiet renunciation, the Greek spirit had already created the lofty conception of the free and perfect man. In later times philosophy developed this ideal in masterly fashion. The problem of right living and the careful development of personality, in other words, the relation of the individual to the race, has never been more wisely treated than by the Greek philosophers.

Greek Ideal of the Free and Perfect Man



THE CHIEF OF THE GREEK GODS
Zeus, father of the gods, under whose care and protection the Homeric monarch ruled and from whom his power was derived.

The degree of civilisation attained is clearly reflected in the various sections of the epics. An entirely different world meets us in the oldest poems, which treat of "The Wrath of Achilles" (a portion of the Iliad), in all probability products of the tenth century, from that pictured in the Telemachiad (a portion of the Odyssey), which came into being perhaps as late as the seventh century. The finest portions of the Odyssey belong to the eighth century B.C. Tradition, religious myths, and stories that read like fairy-tales are mingled together in ever-varying form.

The age that is described to us in the



THE GLORIFICATION OF THE FATHER OF POETRY BY THE ANCIENT WORLD

In the beginnings of poetry, after speech became rhythmic and songs were passed from mouth to mouth, a poet caste came into being, largely drawn from the blind, among whom the early simple compositions dealing with the wrath of Achilles developed into vast heroic epics celebrating the glory of entire races. Whether these older forms were edited into the two great epics of the Iliad and the Odyssey or were the sources from which one master mind drew his glorious inspiration remains an open question. From a sculpture attributed to Archælaus of Priene found in the Appian Way.

Homeric poems is no longer affected by the pomp and display of the Mycenæans. The towering fortresses with their Cyclopean rocks have yielded to smooth walls of brick and earthen embankments with wooden bulwarks. The interior arrangements of palaces have become greatly simplified, and of the intricate network of courts and corridors, antechambers and halls, only the most necessary parts remain in the homes of Homeric kings. The walls are no longer covered with bright paintings, but with a simple coating of lime: the gaily decorated plaster floors, too, have disappeared, and their place has been taken by floors of smooth-beaten clay. Instead of burying the dead in enormous domed sepulchres—in the latest tombs the use of masks for the dead had gradually been given up—men hoped by burning the body to banish the spirit for ever. Simple graves conceal the ashes of Homeric heroes.

Homeric Age of Simplicity

The despotic kingship, which plays a prominent part in the older portions of the Homeric poems, gradually declines in power, and disappears as the strength of the nobility increases. To be sure, the Homeric ruler is always a powerful, hereditary monarch, whose power came from Zeus, father of the gods, under whose care and protection he stood. But advisers were always by the side of the king, and upon their decisions great weight was laid. The council of nobles became stronger with time; the upper classes were differentiated from the masses. The former were distinguished from the latter by the fact that, after chariots fell into disuse, they fought on horseback. The connection between large estates, aristocratic government, and knight service, is ever inseparable. In the Homeric poems the power of the nobility becomes more and more evident, until, finally, the king appears as only the first among his peers, who, like him, levy tribute, meet in council at their own initiative, and invite the king to attend. The council seems constantly to have increased in power until it finally put aside all prerogatives of the sovereign, leaving him only his name and his office of high priest. To perform the real duties of kingship, a number of high officials were chosen. Thus the Oriental influence constantly decreased, and, naturally, the more representative rule of the nobility was less despotic. In spite of this, however, it would be a great mistake to look upon the Homeric Age—the age in which the germ of elevated intellectual life first began to develop—as one in which the genuine Greek spirit was nationally personified. Oriental influence still played the chief part.

Decrease of the Kingly Power

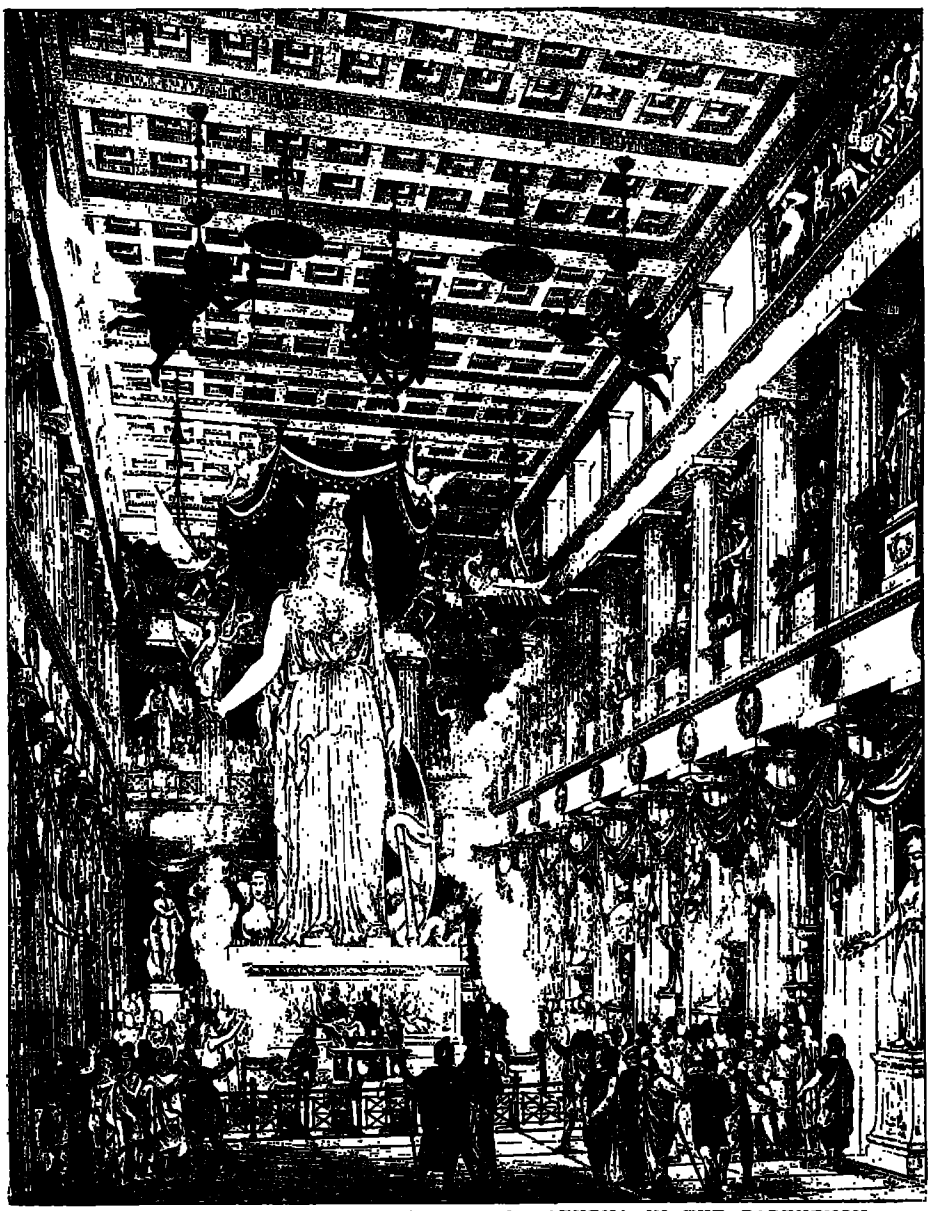
Were we to reproduce that charming scene from the Iliad of Helen and the old men at the gate after the model of the Age of Pericles, we should absolutely destroy the picture that appeared before the mind of the poet. As the poet must have pictured it, Priam and the aged Trojans were dressed in close-fitting garments that extended to their feet; the folds were stiff; there was nothing loose or flowing; the red cloaks fitted smoothly over the under-garments, and were in part richly decorated in bright colours. Even Helen would have resembled a Greek woman but little. According to the poet, she would have been dressed in a tight-fitting, gay-coloured, intricately-patterned robe, fastened by clasps and by a girdle, adorned with tassels and knots, according to the Oriental fashion. Her arms were free; the peplum, or mantle, was looser than in Mycenæan costume, covering a greater portion of the body, as more adapted to the climate of the Ægean Sea. The veil used in the Orient to conceal the countenance hung down over both cheeks; a cloth worn with a hood, and fastened in front by a glistening diadem, covered the far-famed head.

A Woman's Dress in the Homeric Age of Greece

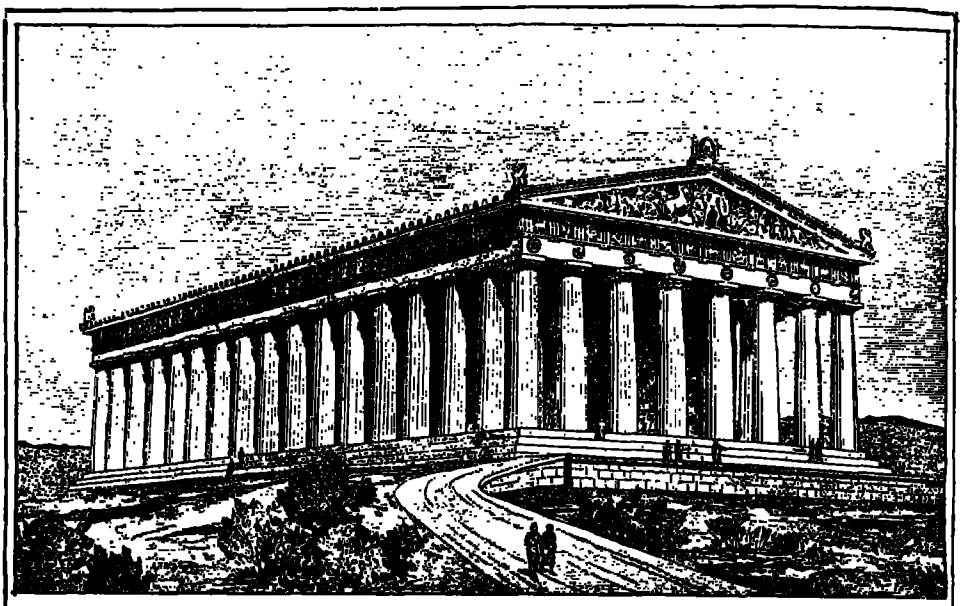
Religion attained to an extraordinary development during the Homeric Age. In the epics the gods were endowed with human qualities, and were supposed to have endured all the hardships and trials of humanity. The entire pantheon of later times was popularised through the epics. The Homeric minstrels made a place for even the various tutelary deities of cities in their poems, and thus contributed to the formation of the Greek mythology. Demi-gods also came into being through the epics, as a result of the poetical custom of conferring the highest rewards on heroes after death, and allowing them to approach the rank of deities. The gods were worshipped by means of altars under the open sky or in temples set aside for the purpose, and they were represented in the form of men—a great advance on the fetichism of earlier times.

"THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE"

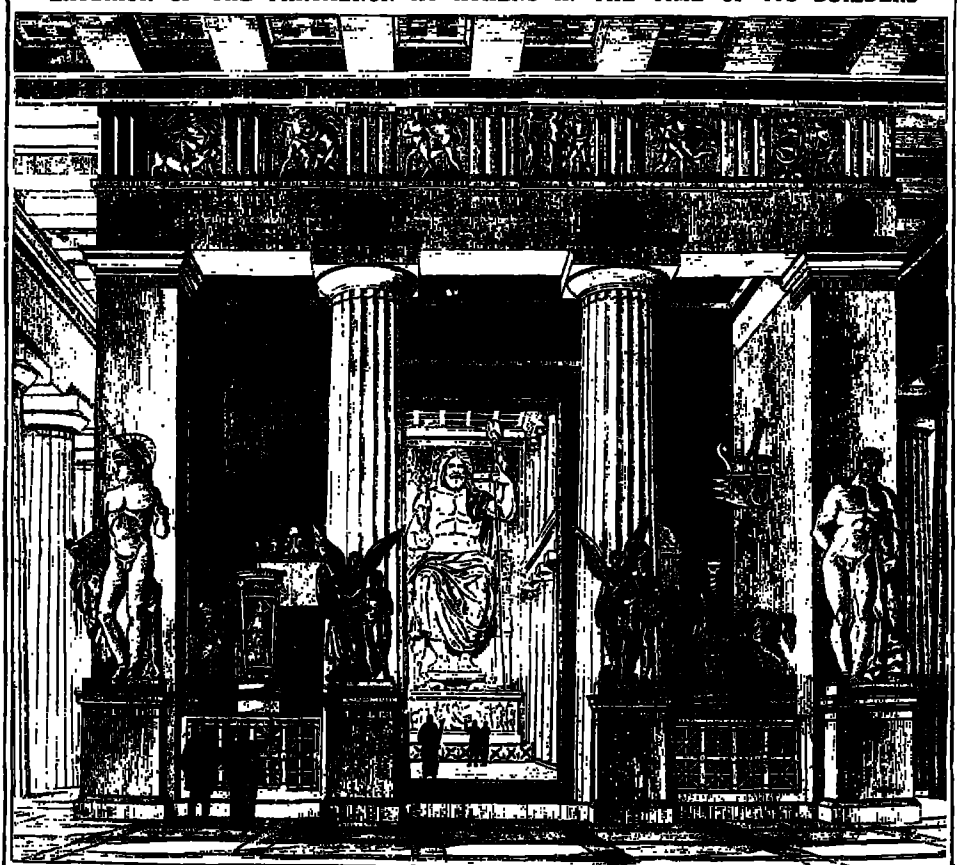
ILLUSTRATED IN A SERIES OF REMARKABLE RECONSTRUCTIONS OF HER MOST FAMOUS MONUMENTS



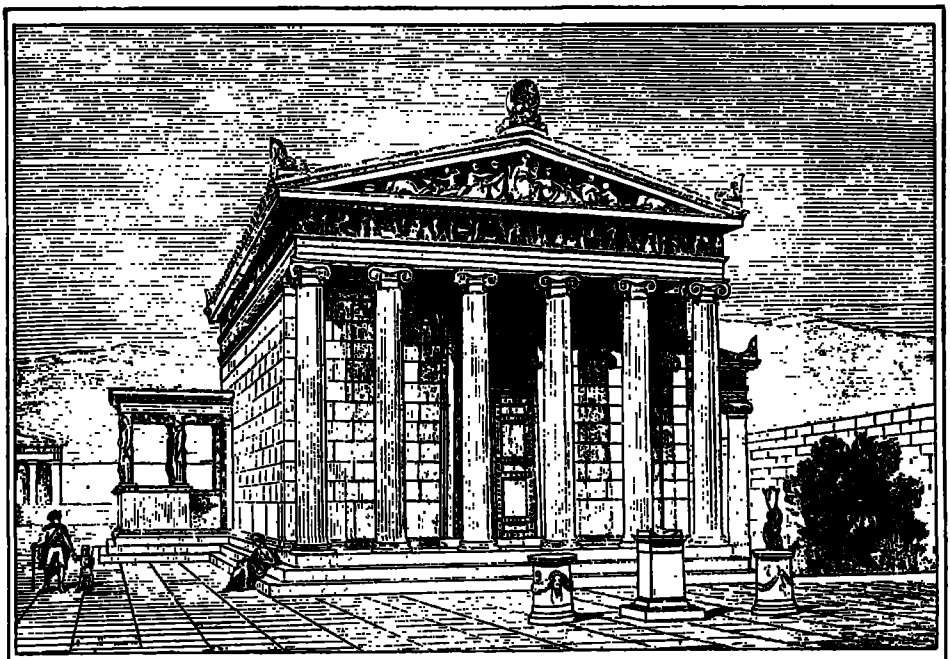
THE GREAT IVORY AND GOLD STATUE OF ATHENA IN THE PARTHENON



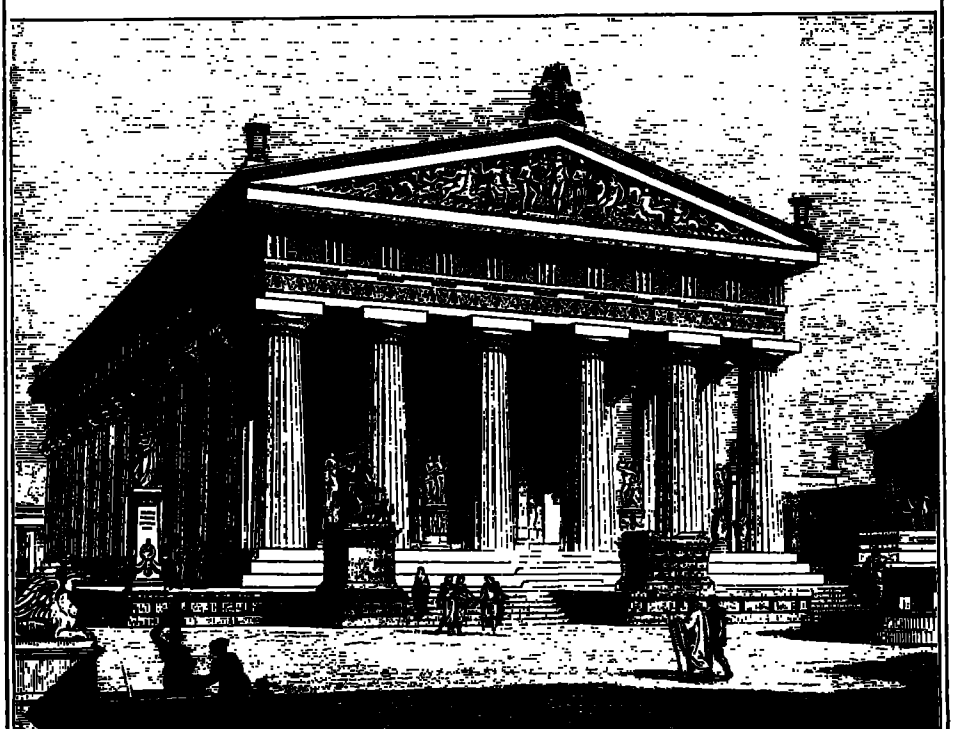
EXTERIOR OF THE PARTHENON AT ATHENS IN THE TIME OF ITS BUILDERS



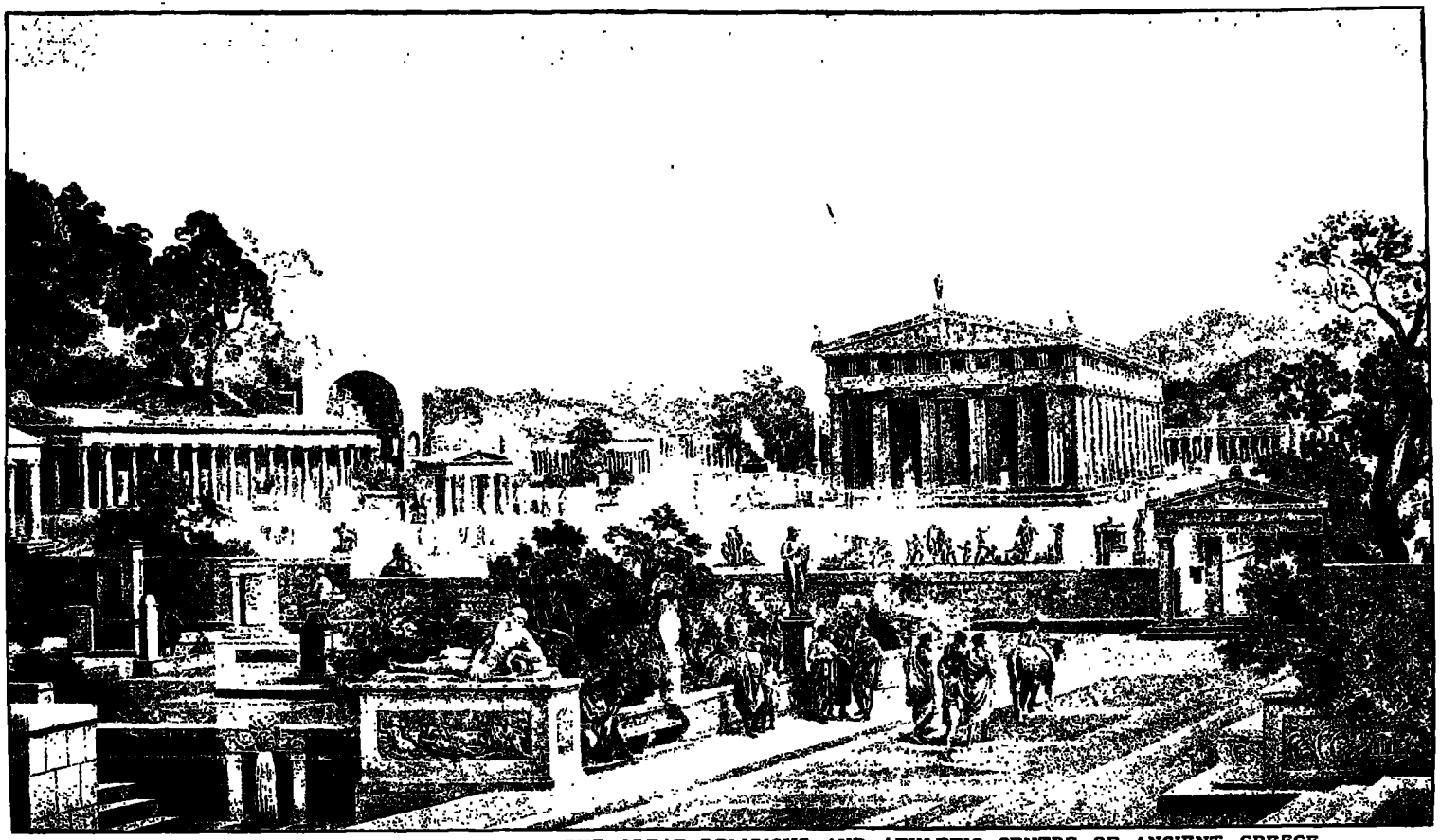
INTERIOR OF THE SPLENDID TEMPLE OF ZEUS IN OLYMPIA



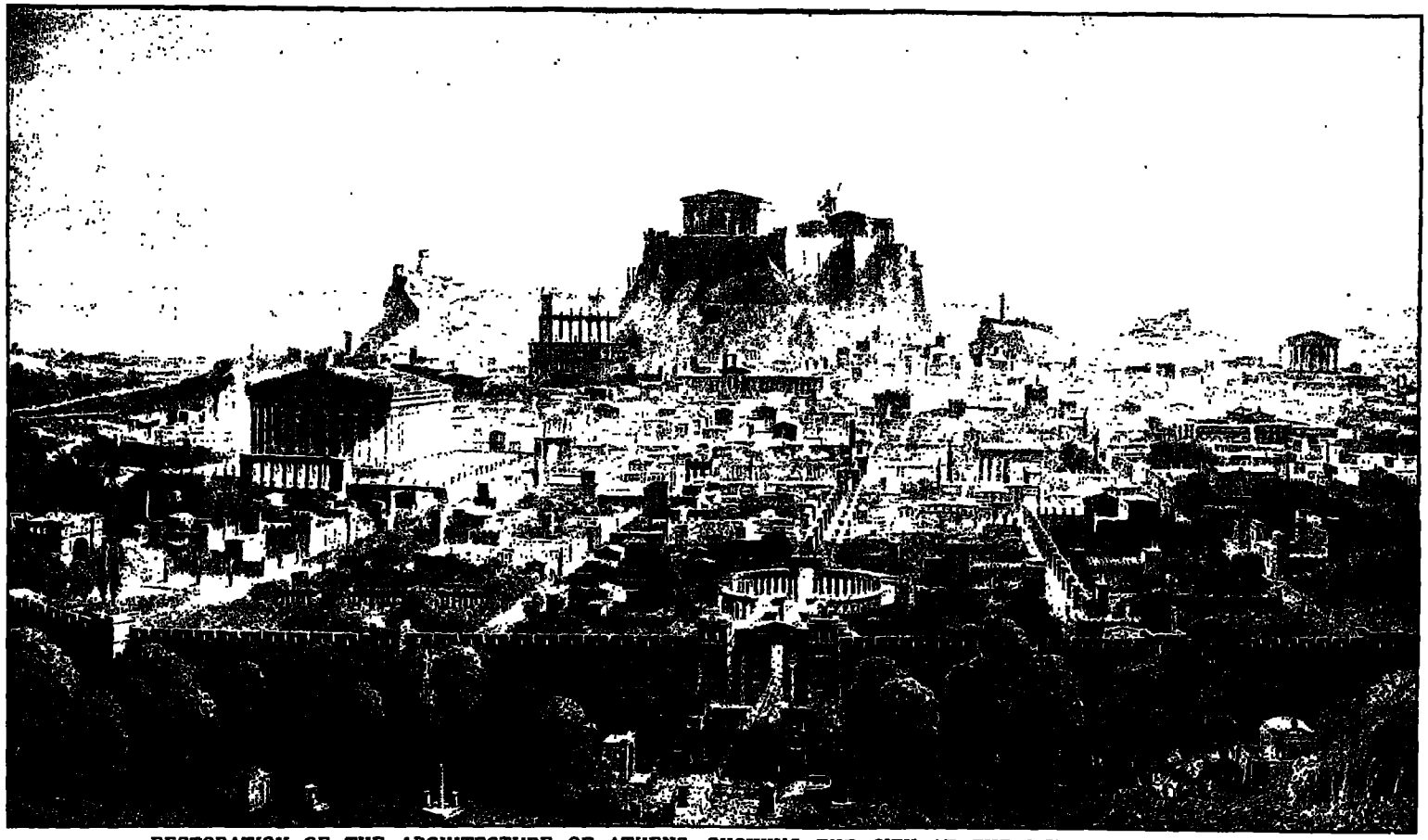
THE ERECHTHEION, A FAMOUS TEMPLE AT ATHENS TO THE HERO ERECTHEIOS



AN EARLY DORIC TEMPLE: THE SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON AT PÆSTUM

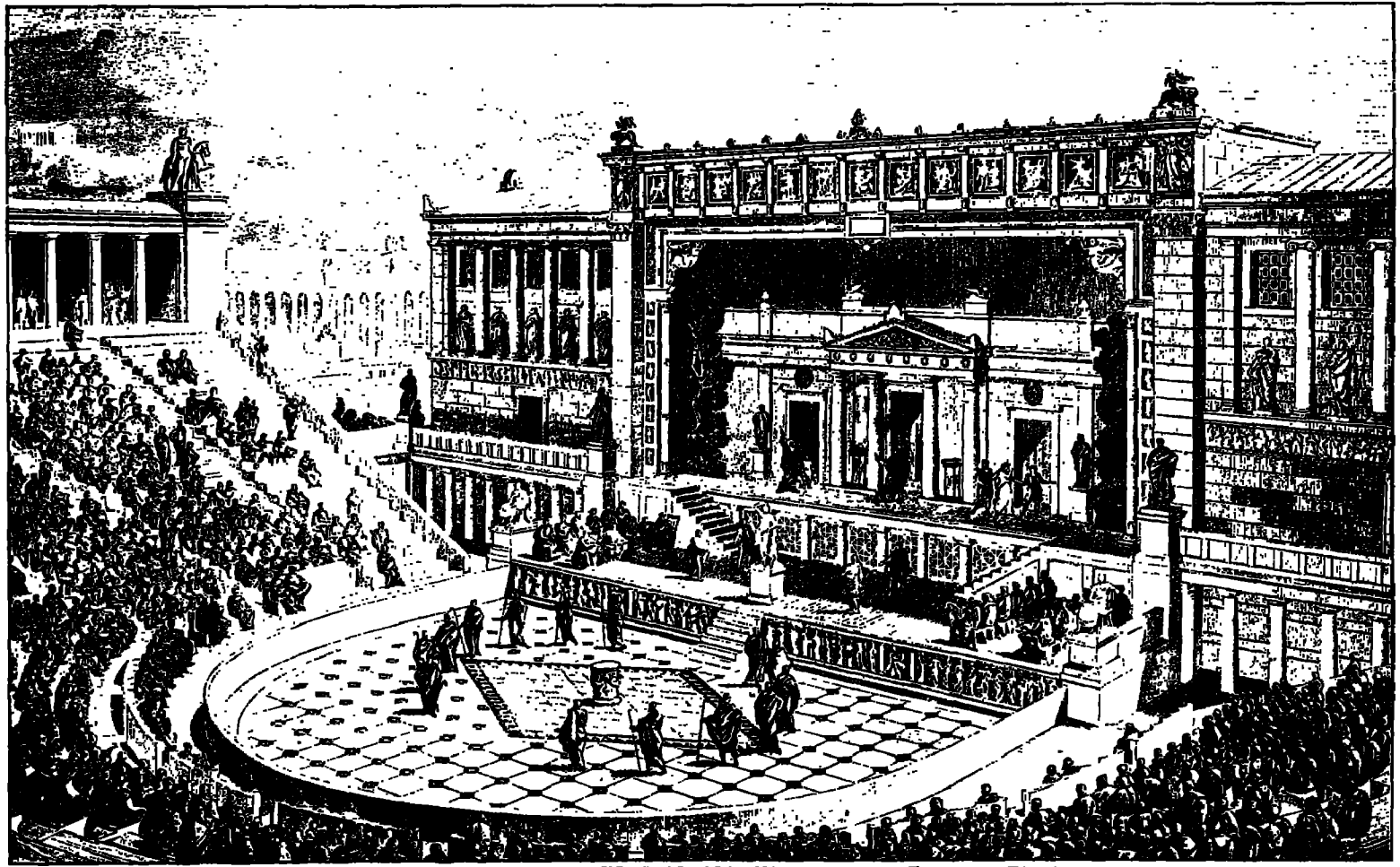


THE SACRED ENCLOSURE AT OLYMPIA THE GREAT RELIGIOUS AND ATHLETIC CENTRE OF ANCIENT GREECE

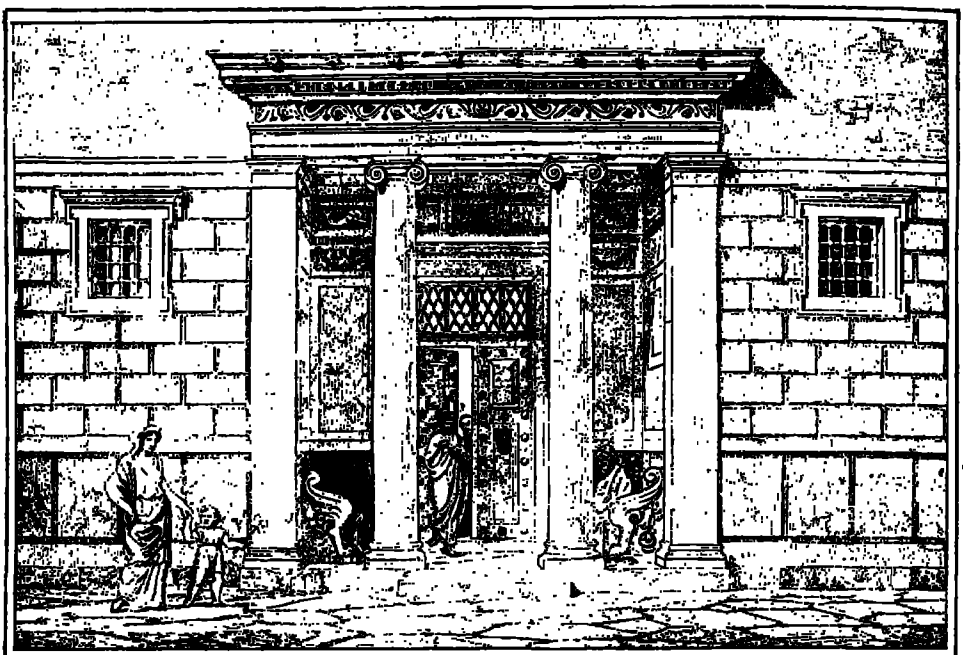


RESTORATION OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF ATHENS, SHOWING THE CITY AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS GLORY

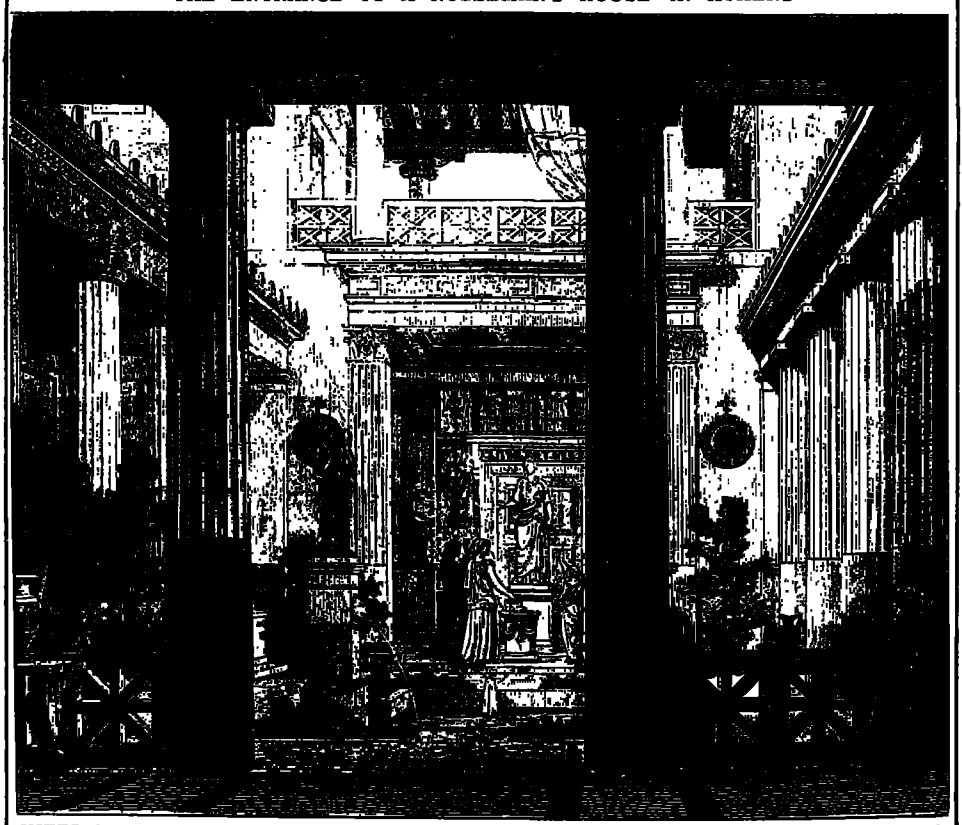
THE TEMPLE OF DEMETER, THE FAMOUS SANCTUARY OF THE SACRED MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS



THE CENTRE OF GREEK DRAMA: THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS, WHERE THE GREAT TRAGEDIES WERE FIRST PERFORMED



THE ENTRANCE TO A NOBLEMAN'S HOUSE IN ATHENS



INTERIOR COURT OF A GREEK HOUSE WITH A STATUE OF THE GODDESS HESTIA

GREEK STATES IN THE MAKING

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HELLAS

SOCIAL conditions led to a second migration of the Greek races, which took place at the time the later epics were written, from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the seventh century B.C.

A rapid increase of population gave rise to emigration. Political dissatisfaction occasioned a centrifugal movement, and a surplus of energy led to new enterprises. Religious feeling consecrated the new settlements, and even before the habitations of the new town, located and planned under divine guidance, were built, the altar to Apollo was erected. Thus, the colonies of the Greeks—whether on the rivers that water the Russian steppes, or on the coasts of Africa, on the lava-covered slopes of Ætna, or on the fruitful plains of Southern France—remained parts of one people, honouring the same gods, speaking the same language, and applauding the same poets; the Athenian, far away in Italy, among the Etruscans, felt himself to be one with his countryman who had been born and brought up in Cumæ. Thus, the necessity arose for designating all the members of the race by one name. The word Hellene was taken from the small tribe that Achilles had governed in Thessaly, whose name went back to the time of their halt at the Gulf of Janina. In the fifth century B.C. this term was applied to the entire Grecian people. The name Greek, or Graeci, on the other hand, a latinisation of the tribal name of the Graei, who dwelt on the Euripus, and who once lived in the north-west, was first introduced into Greece from Italy during the days of Aristotle, as shown by the Latin termination.

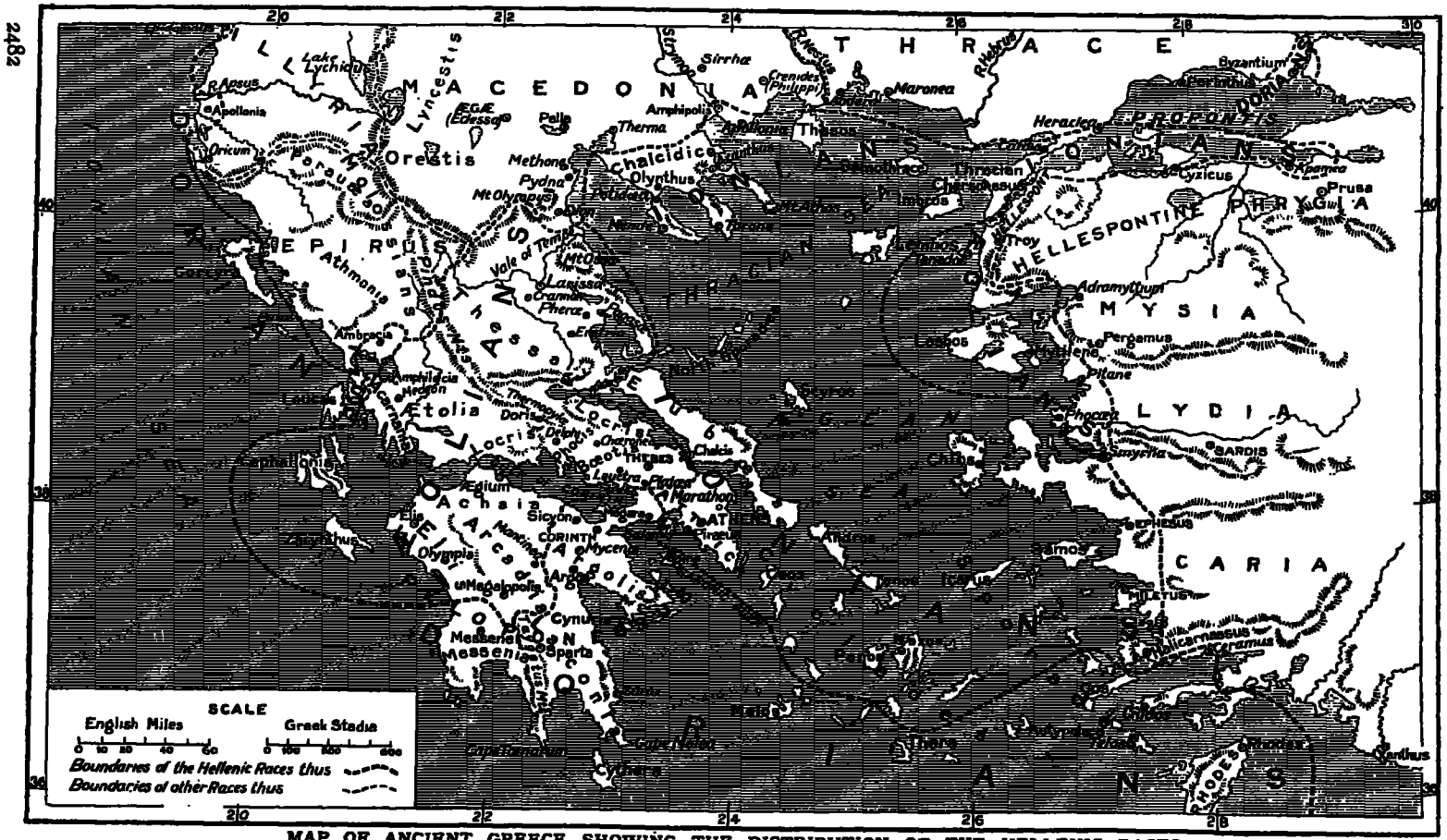
Overseas Spread of the Greeks

Miletus, Corinth, Megara, Chalcis and Eretria took the lead in the great movement. Miletus became queen of the sea, the mother of more than eighty city colonies. The entrance and the coasts of the Black Sea, Sicily and the southern part of Italy were all colonised. And as the Ægean Sea formerly, so now the Mediterranean, became an inland sea of Greece through the activity of this enterprising age. All these colonies flourished, whether they were trade depots, like the towns on the Black Sea, or agricultural settlements, as in Sicily and Southern Italy, or centres for cattle-breeding, as in Cyrene. In colonies there is a beneficial union of economic conditions seldom found together elsewhere. In lower stages of civilisation we find a superabundance of land, but a great lack of labour and capital. In higher stages the opposite is true. But when highly developed races settle down on virgin soil all three necessary conditions are present. The immigrants bring with them capital, and occupy the land; the original inhabitants of the country supply the labour. Hence comes the wealth of all city colonies.

An Age of Colonial Prosperity

According to Thucydides, the Chians were the richest of the Hellenes. The inhabitants of Cyrene were envied because of their "costly rings," worn by everybody; and it was said of the inhabitants of Agrigentum that they built as if they hoped to live for ever, and dined as if they expected to die the next day. A modern parallel, that may give some idea of the financial prosperity of the colonies of Greece, is the development of North America, where, with an increase of thirty-three per cent. in population in ten years, there was an increase of eighty-two per cent. in the quantity of specie. Even bodily stature and strength become greater, as shown by the giants of West Virginia, for example, compared with the dwarfed inhabitants of Southern Italy to-day. To be sure, the strength and freedom of thriving colonies do not always find the most agreeable forms of expression. Colonists are conscious that the basis of their power lies only in themselves; and enthusiasm

Growth of Colonial Independence



MAP OF ANCIENT GREECE, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE HELLENIC RACES

This map shows all the places of importance in the history of ancient Greece, including the sites of the chief battles, and covers Greek and Macedonian history to the time of Alexander the Great. The boundaries of the three great Hellenic races, the Ionians, the Dorians and the Æolians, and the spheres of their colonial settlements, are shown by thick dotted lines.

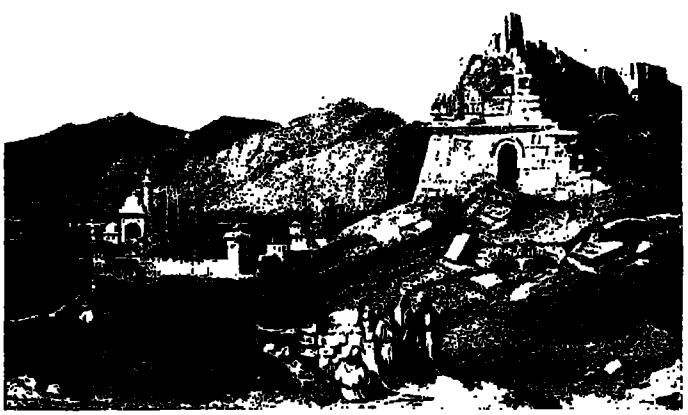
for the mother country, historical gratitude, as it were, is known as little to America as it was to the Greeks of Sicily, who regarded the mother country with contempt, conscious of their own superiority in the useful arts. The insolence of the Sicilian Greeks was almost incredible; they wrote parodies on the poetical masterpieces of the mother country. It is characteristic that after the first sea-fight of the Greeks, when Corcyra broke loose from Corinth, a description of which event has come down to us in the shape of a very primitive chronicle, the daughter town entirely ceased to fulfil any of the so-called duties of piety to the mother town. What Turgot said to Louis XVI. applies to the history of the colonies of Greece and to the gratitude they showed towards their founders: "Les colonies sont comme les fruits qui ne tiennent á l'arbre que jusqu'á leur maturité; devenues suffisantes á elles-mêmes, elles feront ce que fit depuis Carthage, ce que fera un jour l'Amerique." "Colonies are like fruit, which cling to the tree only until their maturity; once become self-sufficient, they do what Carthage once did, what America some day will do."



Underwood

RUINS ON THE SITE OF ANCIENT CORINTH
Remains of a temple of old Corinth, one of the oldest Doric structures of Greece. Modern Corinth is about four miles distant.

Owing to the process of colonisation which began in the eighth century, the agricultural inhabitants of Greece developed into a trading and manufacturing race. In earlier times manufacture had supplied only local necessities; and not very long before, the importation of goods from the East had been general. Now, however, the colonists in distant countries had even a greater need for weapons and other metal implements, for woven materials and pottery, than the Greeks who stayed at home. The barbarians of the inland regions had been made acquainted with such products and had grown accustomed to their use. Thus, an increase in commerce led to a heightened activity in manufacturing. The Greeks of the colonies soon needed new and trained labour, and this was supplied from without. Slave labour began to a great extent in Chios, and increased with such rapidity that finally some states found it necessary to legislate against it. As early as the time of the Odyssey we hear of iron being exported; the manufacture of metals was carried on



MILETUS, QUEEN OF THE SEA IN ANCIENT GREECE
In the great colonising movement which began in Greece in the eighth century B.C. Miletus took the lead and became queen of the sea, the mother of eighty city colonies.

in the mother country at Chalcis and Corinth, and cloth-weaving at Megara. Pottery was made at Corinth and at Athens, where a potters' quarter was established. The resources of the East were exploited. Greek commerce became dominant in the north-east of Spain, in Egypt, and on the Adriatic and Black Seas, in spite of the fact that Greek ships were still of the old fifty-oared type, and that mariners were so exceedingly cautious as to suspend all traffic during the winter months. Only such cities as were able to carry on trade came to the front. Towns in the interior lost their prosperity. Suburbs, in which all sorts of trades were carried on, arose everywhere about the seaports, the original town often being transformed into a citadel. In this way the great cities, great according to the ideas of the time—we must remember that we are speaking of the very beginnings of Greek history—such as Miletus, Corinth, and Sybaris, grew until their populations numbered from 20,000 to 25,000. Everywhere the country was tranquil; peaceful occupations were the rule, and men of various countries were appointed in towns to act as hosts and protectors to strangers of their own nation. It is true that the Greeks did not give up piracy so readily, for this was carried on vigorously until the middle of the fifth century.

Dominance of Greek Commerce



ARGUS BUILDING THE ARGOS

In the expansion of culture in Greece following the introduction of writing the intellectual horizon was greatly broadened, the extended range of the legend of the Argonauts being an indication of this change.

The Babylonian system of weights was adopted, with some alterations. 1 talent equalling 50 shekels, or 100 half shekels or drachmas. And, as in earlier times cattle and metal had been used as a medium of exchange, men now employed uncoined bars of iron or copper in trade. These rods of iron were called *obeloi* (spears); and six, the number that could be grasped in the hand at once, were equal to one drachma. The actual striking of standard coins arose first in Lydia [see page 1799] and afterwards in Phocia. An alloy of gold and silver—*electrum*—was coined in the early days, and, later, gold. From this time on, the ratio of gold to silver, 1 to 15½, continued constant. Two standards of value were in use in Greece, that of Ægina and that of Eubœa. The western countries did not as yet require minted coins, for they had not passed beyond the stage of barter. Field labourers were still paid in products of the soil.

The First Coins

It was with difficulty that agriculture maintained its place as an industry during this total revolution of economic conditions. The small farmers of Southern Greece were unable to compete, products flowing in from the wonderfully fertile regions of Southern Russia. The greater number of farms in Greece were divided upon the owner's death among his sons, degenerating into mere kitchen-gardens, and becoming so heavily burdened with debts that 18 per cent. was looked upon as a low rate of interest. Piles of rocks, showing the amount of the mortgage, rose about the land like gravestones of prosperity. In the meanwhile, however, a change of the utmost importance for the Greeks had come about. In some regions—we are not positive in which, but, at any rate, in several places at the same time—the Phœnician-Syrian alphabet was adapted to the Greek language. The Semitic alphabet, owing to its method of designating consonants only, was syllabic; and thus, although much more convenient than the primitive Cretan hieroglyphic, or picture, writing, was still very imperfect. The Greeks, however, introduced improvements, changing the Semitic aspirates to the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and creating a new sign for *y*, so that there were now twenty-three symbols, or letters. In later times the Greek alphabet developed into the most varied forms, and not until the fifth century did it become uniform, through the general adoption of the Ionian letters.

The enormous transformation brought about in the intellectual life of Greece through the introduction of writing found



WHERE THE GREEKS FIRST LEARNED TO STRIVE FOR AN IDEAL: THE NATIONAL GAMES AT OLYMPIA

In the contests of the famous games at Olympia, for the wreath of olive, the Greeks learned to strive for the ideal "that possession was nothing, meritorious acquisition everything."

expression, first of all, in matters pertaining to legislation. The day of the Homeric nobility, when writing was unknown, was gone forever, and with it had disappeared to a great extent the conception of unequal rights and privileges. Written law protected all citizens alike. The old tribal organisation had become too weak to protect the members of the tribe, and there was need of a power to watch directly over the safety of the individual. Thus the age of individualism in this case coincided with the expansion of governmental power. It is quite evident that the city colonies were as advanced in their development in this respect as was the mother country, for the fact that, together with Corinth and Thebes, Locri and Catana also appear among the cities which adopted a written law is no less well established than the backwardness of Sparta, where the introduction of any law other than traditional was resisted on principle. The new codes were compilations of old customs. In part they were strictly conservative; but they were also favourable to progress, and endeavoured to secure the results of previous development. The written law protected the lives and the property of all citizens, subjected the blood-feud at least to the regulations of the state, determined penalties, and sought to influence public morality by numerous commands and precepts.

Effect of the Written Law

The attempt to effect an improvement in the calendar is closely connected with the introduction of writing and the written law. Time was reckoned according to periods of eight years (*octaeteris*), divided into five years of twelve months each, equal to 354 days, and three years of thirteen months each, equal to 384 days, so that the count became wrong by one month at the end of every 160 years. Finally, the century had the effect of broadening the intellectual horizon of the Greeks. This can be seen from the legend of the Argonauts, which was born of Milesian discoveries in the Black Sea region, and from the removal of the gates of Hades from the western coast of the Peloponnesus, which had sufficed for the narrower views of earlier times, to the extreme end of the greater Syrtis, and later to Iberia, the Islands of the Blest lying somewhere beyond in Oceanus.

Intellectual Horizon Broadened



Underwood

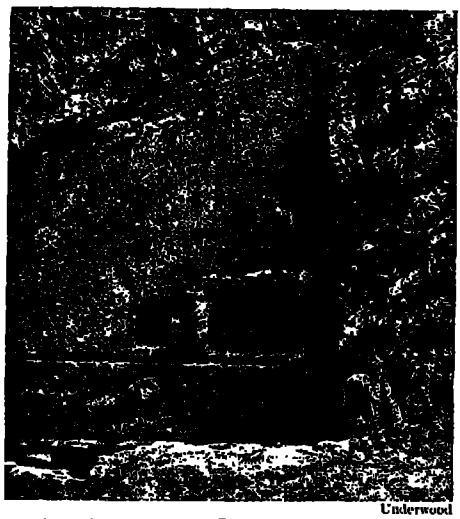
RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA
This great temple abounded in statues of ivory and gold.

From the extreme north-east of the Greek sphere of civilisation, from the city of Olbia, which lay among salt lakes and swamps, knowledge finally came to the Greeks of the ancient caravan road that led to Central Asia. This road ran from the mouth of the Danube, near the swamps of the Biclosero, through the wooded plains of Kama to the Thyssagatæ—perhaps the Tschussawaia of modern times—crossing the Ural Mountains between Nisse, Tagilsk, and Ekaterinburg. Thence it dropped into the region between the Irtish and the Obi, where the Iruks, the ancestors of the Magyars, dwelt; following the Irtish, past



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RELIGIOUS CENTRE OF ANCIENT GREECE
All that remains to-day of the sacred precincts at Olympia.

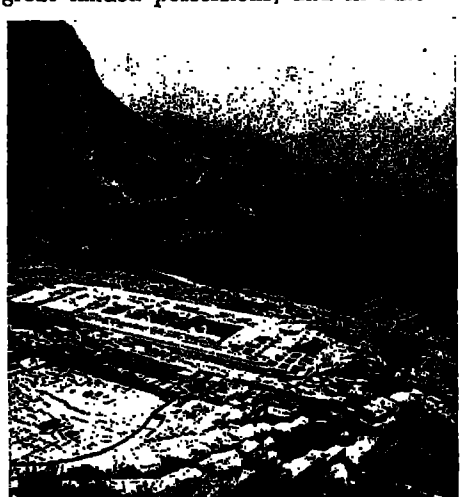


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WHERE GREEK POETS WERE INSPIRED
Remains of ancient fountain at Delphi, sacred to the Muses.

the Semipalatinsk of to-day, and ending on the other side of the Altai. At that early time information had already come to the Greeks of the Turkish races, the Arimaspi, or Huns, as well as of the Chinese, as is shown by Aristeas, the author of the epic of the Arimaspi.

The Greek community had developed in a surprisingly short time from a feudal into a manufacturing and trading state. The kingship lost its leading position in the greater number of towns, and a powerful nobility had been evolved, whose strength in time of peace consisted in great landed possessions, and in time of war in military service. But the course of development pressed onwards irresistibly without stop or stay. With the rise of trade and manufacture and the creation of an enormous sphere of commerce through the agency of the colonial centres, with the introduction of new intellectual ideals and standards through the art of writing, and of new material values through a minted coinage, a new and flourishing town population, rich in personal property and spurred on to activity by a full knowledge of the world, arose in place of the old inhabitants, divided into tribe and clan. Personal property won an important position in the Greek state.



Underwood

RUINS OF ANCIENT DELPHI
A view of the theatre and the famous temple of the oracle.

Greece, with the exception of some of the mountain stocks of Ætolians and Acarnanians, passed at one step from the obscurity of her mediæval age into the clear light of history. Instead of landed property or cattle and metal bars, the ancient mediums of exchange, money became the measure of wealth, and by destroying ancient restrictions and creating new lines of action, furthered the growth of states. The spirit of economic activity, which had arisen on all sides, supplying work for thousands of hands, had one great effect in knitting men closely together. The necessity of co-operation, of finding helpers among one's fellow-beings, brought with it the need for joining still closer together those who already possessed common ties of family, language, and environment, and a common past. The city, which by reason of its vast influence, drew all the forces of the country to itself, assumed the position of leader; and towns, which, owing to their favourable situation for commerce, promised greater comfort in life to the dwellers in the country, increased in size and in prosperity to a far greater degree than their less favoured neighbours. Countries became more or less closely knit together internally, according to the degree of pre-eminence enjoyed by the chief centre. The impulse towards union was felt far beyond the confines of the district or canton.

Greece Steps from Obscurity

A flood of religious conceptions, preserved from time immemorial, lent its aid to the general movement towards consolidation. To pray to the gods in common, in the same manner as fathers and forefathers had worshipped together, to consult the oracles, not only in reference to political matters, but also for the

ordinary purposes of daily life, such as to discover a thief or to find out whether or not a journey should be undertaken—these were customs absolutely necessary to the Greek character. About the oracles and centres of cults new communities ever tended to grow up. The ancient religious centre, Olympia, in the country of Elis, had long played a prominent part in the gradual drawing together of all Greeks, of the mainland, of the islands, and of the west. In a quiet valley, far removed from the world, where the Alpheus, the tributary of the Cladeus, and the pine-clad hills formed a natural amphitheatre, the people of Greece, united in the exercise of body and of mind, learned that "possession was nothing, and meritorious acquisition everything." The Greek people, whose foremost representatives competed here for the wreath of olive, and, returning victors to their homes, received extraordinary honours, here learned to strive towards an ideal. Weapons were at rest throughout the whole of Greece when the games began, and the peace of the gods accompanied the pilgrims to Olympia. A common method of reckoning time, according to Olympiads, beginning with the year 776, was adopted. To be a competitor in the games it was necessary to be a pure-blooded Greek and a descendant of freemen. Moreover, it was taken for granted that no blood-feud, guilt of sacrilege, or the crime of refusing to fight for his country, rested upon a man who entered the lists. The contests were in leaping, throwing the discus, spear-casting, running (600 Olympic feet equal 210 yards) and wrestling; and in the chariot races (2·79 miles) an idea could be obtained of the progress of Greek horse-breeding.

Learning to Strive for the Ideal

During this period the art of sculpture advanced rapidly; and, instead of the rude, wooden figures of gods, familiar to us from the designs stamped on coins, images were made in bronze, and sculptors sought to obtain a true likeness in their statues of the victors in the Olympic games. The Heræum and the temple of Zeus Olympus abounded in statues of ivory and gold; and the treasure-houses of Byzantium, Sybaris, Cyrene, Selinus, Megara and Metapontum prove the close connection of all the regions of Greece with Olympia.

Beginnings of Sculpture

Delphi, the ancient seat of the oracle of Apollo and centre of the Amphictyonic League, was the most important of all the towns of Central Greece. Through the medium of the Amphictyonic League, international laws were introduced, thereby rendering war less cruel. The water supply of besieged cities, for instance, was not to be cut off, and no town, being a member of the league, was ever to be destroyed. Soon roads were built, leading to the mountain valley, far from the bustle of the world, from which as a centre the influence of the priests of Apollo went out over the whole of Greece through their oracle. It was in the sixth century that competitions in poetical composition and improvisation were introduced at the autumn meetings of the Amphictyony.

Centres of local interest sprang up on the isthmus of Corinth, in Nemea, and in Delos, where the inhabitants of the countryside united at the festivals, fairs, and games in honour of Poseidon, Zeus, and Apollo; and here, too, various competitions were introduced.

The feeling of the unity of all Greeks was furthered by common rites of worship, common aims, and common customs. At the same time, however, the different states increased in strength; and among them two were especially distinguished as being the most perfect embodiments of the Doric and Ionian races: the military state of Sparta and the commonwealth of Athens.

The Unity of All Greeks

The Doric race developed its peculiar form of state in the valley of the Eurotas, beneath the snow-caps of the Taygetus Mountains. Its character might be found expressed in the athletic competitions at the various festivals, the development of bodily strength and of will power. Whoever examines philosophically the form of the Spartan state as an aristocratic and despotic oligarchy imposed upon a conquered population of different race—the various gradations of the people remind one of the various relations of the population of England according to the Domesday Book—will at once recognise that it was the result of years of steady development; that it could not have been the outcome of that single lawgiver, the mythical Lycurgus, to whom it was attributed by tradition.

The unique characteristic of the Spartan polity was the dual kingship, which



THE ANCIENTS AND THE SECRETS OF THE GODS: CONSULTING THE ORACLE

In all ages man has demanded of the future its secrets, the most famous of the ancient oracles being that of Delphi. Reduced, by permission, from a painting by J. W. Waterhouse, R.A

suggests the dual consulship of Rome, doubtless originally a device to render despotism more difficult of achievement.

The kings were the high priests of the nation and the supreme commanders of the army. The ephors, who had the power of summoning even the king before their tribunal, stood as the embodiment of the people of Sparta, the ruling clan of the Spartiatæ. The council of the elders (*gerusia*), consisting of twenty-eight citizens of sixty years and over but including the kings, wrested the supreme judicial power from the ephors. In the Apella the free Spartans had the privilege of voting for councillors, ephors, and other functionaries, as well as of deciding political questions, such as alliances, declarations of war, and negotiations for peace.

The Dual Kings of Sparta

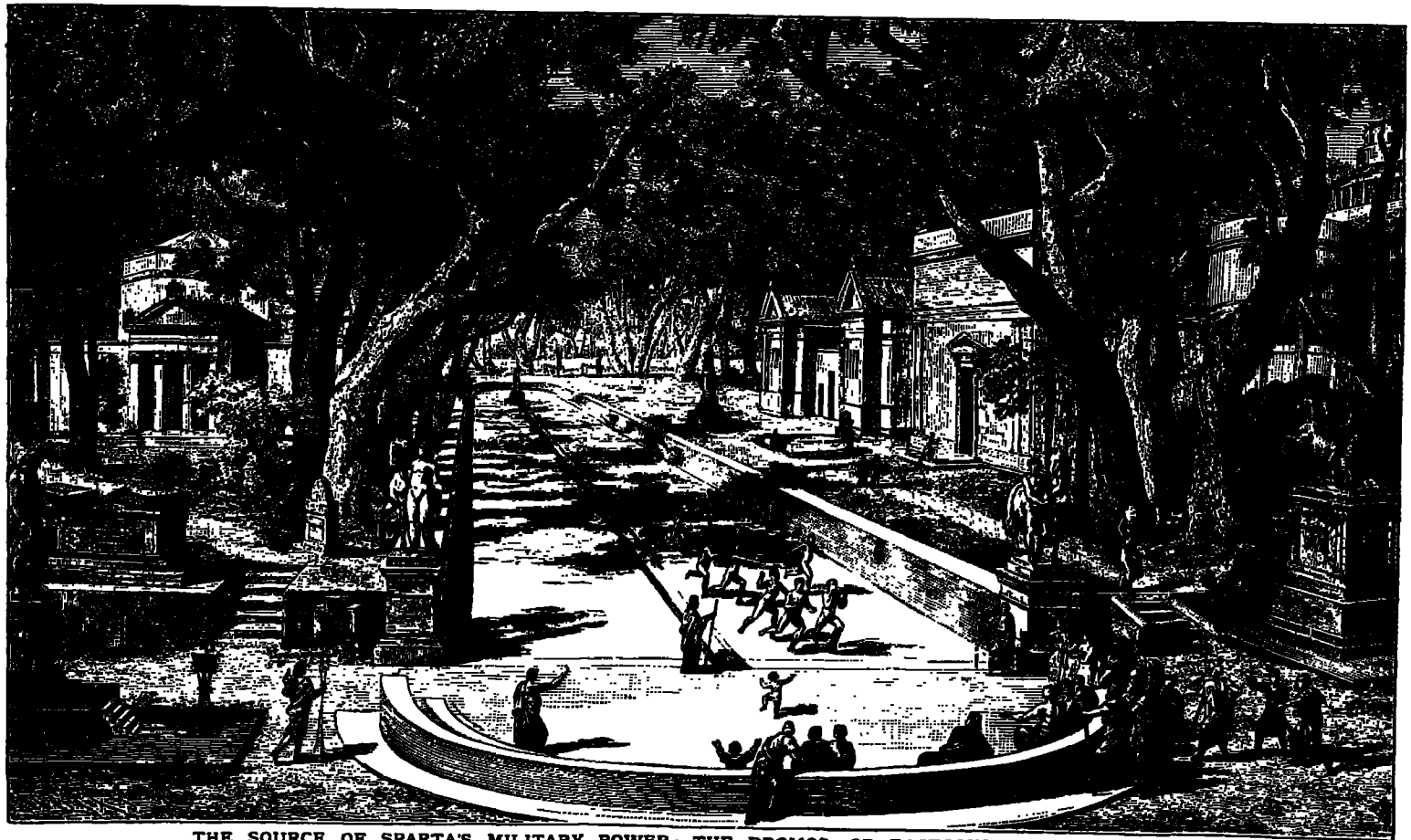
The land was probably at first portioned out into equal lots; but in historical times it was divided among such citizens as were possessed of full rights, the Spartiatæ, who dined in common, each furnishing a certain fixed contribution. This practice was entitled *syssitia*. In case of any member being unable to supply his quota, he was thrust out of the circle, and reduced to the rank of a man possessed of fewer political privileges. The pre-Doric towns, which had been peaceably won, were inhabited by *perioeci*, or small farmers, who paid tribute and rendered service in war. The conquered in battle became state slaves (*helots*), whose task was to cultivate the land of their masters. The Spartan education, which began so early and was devoted to producing a harsh, inflexible character, supported by the custom of dining in common, completely destroyed all possibility of family life. Men were wont to forget even their own parentage. But this disciplinary education meant everything to the Spartans. The diffusion of the Spartans over the fertile plain of Messenia and the subjection of the pre-Doric population was a result of the two Messenian wars, of which the poet Tyrtæus, who himself played an important part in the Spartan development by means of his spirited battle-songs, composed during the second war, furnishes the best description. Owing to the spread of her power over the southern part of the peninsula Sparta drew other states within her sphere of influence, and with the assistance of Corinth and Sicyon formed the Peloponnesian League, the fame of which—owing to the fact that two-thirds of the allied forces were placed at the disposal of Sparta, and to the splendid training of the warriors of that state, which assumed the leadership with unlimited power—penetrated as far as Asia, and procured an alliance with Crœsus, king of Lydia. Even an unfortunate campaign against Polycrates of Samos had but little effect on the renown of the Spartan people in battle; and the results of the Persian wars only proved what a tremendous advantage Sparta possessed over Athens—at least, as a military state.

Destruction of Spartan Family Life

The Ionians were characterised by remarkable versatility and the capacity of developing all their intellectual powers, thus standing in strong contrast to the Spartans, with their one-sided development of muscular power and of will alone. As Odysseus was to Heracles—the hero of the happy and serene mind and most varied of talents to the man of gigantic physical strength and iron will, who took all possible labours upon his own shoulders—so were the Ionians to the Dorians, excepting only that the individual of the latter race first laboured for the benefit of the community, and only later in the interest of his own person. Athens was at first a tribal state under the rule of hereditary kings; later, the royal office was distributed among three "archons," chosen every ten years. Finally, nine officials were elected each year—six *thesmothetæ*, in addition to the three already named—who, upon expiration of their term of office entered the state council, or Areopagus, which exercised the highest duties of supervision. Eligibility to office was restricted to members of the old tribes, who formed their own associations for worship, and upon whom during the very earliest times the right of ownership of the entire land of the state had devolved.

Versatility of the Ionians

The first important alteration in the form of the original tribal state took place, perhaps, in the seventh century—the exact date is uncertain—and was occasioned by financial and maritime considerations. Those propertied families, or tribes, which were not noble, although they had their own associations for worship, were now to all intents and purposes recognised as belonging to the nobility, and were united with the old aristocratic tribes



THE SOURCE OF SPARTA'S MILITARY POWER: THE DROMOS, OR RACECOURSE, AND GYMNASIA

The great expansion of Spartan power was largely attained by the disciplinary education of the Spartan youth, which, though it destroyed the possibility of family life, so that men were wont to forget even their own parentage, produced the harsh and inflexible character of the splendidly trained warrior to whom the military supremacy of Sparta was due.

in forty-eight revenue districts, called *naucrariæ* (from *naus*, a ship), on account of their maritime importance. Among these districts, the 360 tribes—divided, respectively, into four phylæ of three phratræ each—were distributed, eight tribes to each of twenty-four districts and seven tribes to each of the other twenty-four. In the distribution of tribes, the original homes of the various families were taken into consideration. The extreme wing of the old nobility endeavoured to prevent this breach in the ancient form of government, and, under the leadership of Cylon, rebelled, assisted by Megara, but without success.

Reforming the Greek Government

The introduction of written law in the codification of the old traditional penal regulations by Draco indicated a further step in development. It is said that Draco, in addition to being a law-giver, was also a political reformer; he determined that political rights should be extended to all men who were able to produce a complete equipment for war, while the possession of a certain definite income was necessary in order that a citizen might be eligible to hold office. The account of Draco's reforms has come down to us from partisans of the oligarchy who lived in the fifth century, and thus may, indeed, have been invented at that time.

The adoption of a financial system during the seventh century, and the attendant transformation of economic conditions, caused a great disturbance in domestic affairs. It occasioned much dissatisfaction among the smaller landholders of Attica. The poor were the debtors of the rich, and cultivated their land almost entirely for the benefit of the wealthier classes; the yield of the greater part of the land belonging to the hectemori—so called on account of their being permitted to keep but a sixth part of the harvest for themselves—fell into the hands of creditors. "Many a man, having lost all hope, fled from his creditors, and wandered far away, from land to land," said Solon; and others were sold as debtors "into foreign servitude."

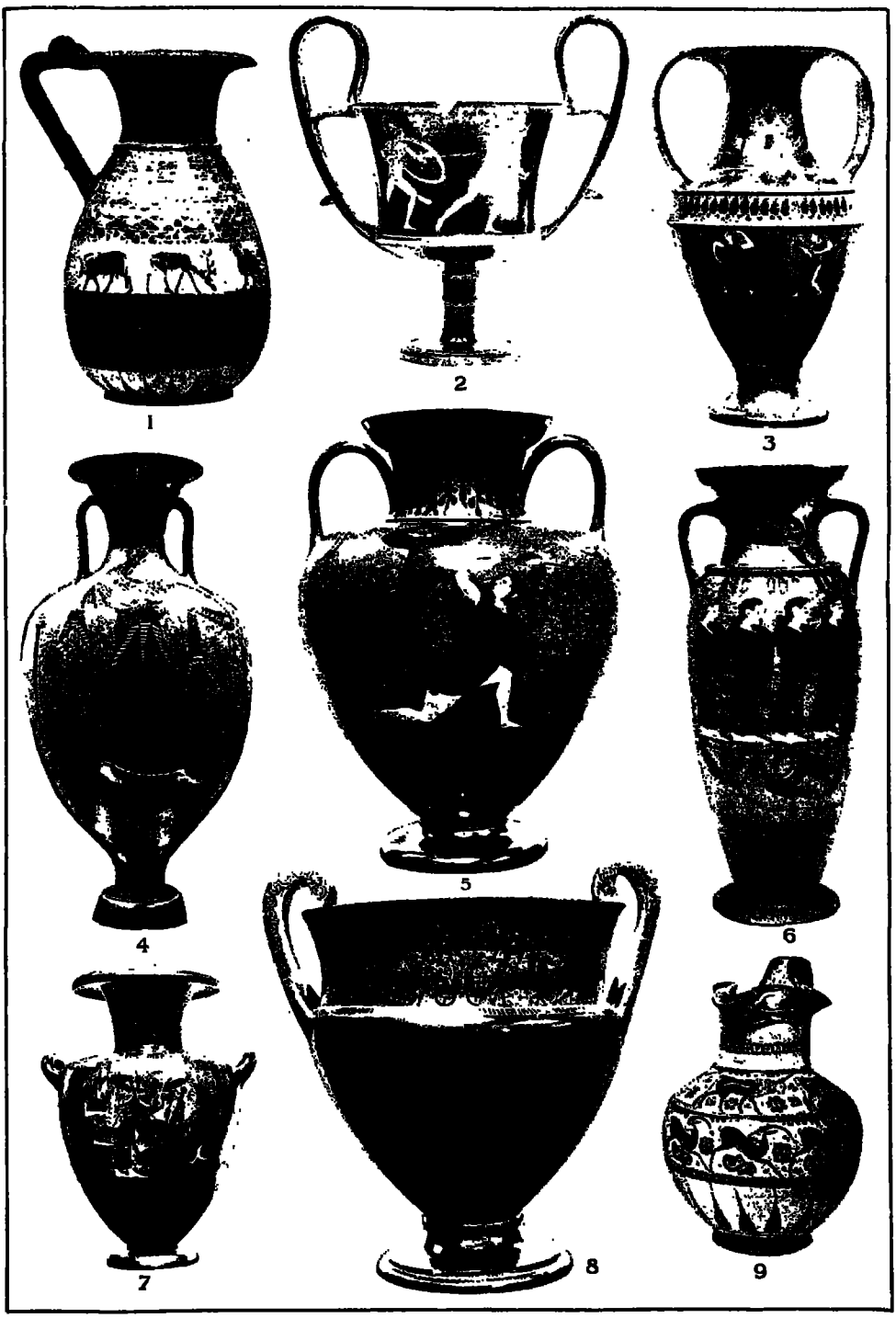
A Land of Hopeless Debtors

Solon, the first really clear-cut personality of Athenian history, was elected to the office of arbiter and archon in 594, and endeavoured to remedy the evil. From him emanated a truly refreshing breath of idealism; his elegies—addresses to the people in verse—show him to have had a luminous practical mind, and to have been aware of the needs of all classes: "Never have I allowed injustice to win the day."

The *seisachtheia*, emancipation from burdens, a sort of "encumbered estates act," freed debtors from the necessity of supplying their creditors with produce from the mortgaged estates. Borrowing money on the security of one's person was forbidden; and as this law brought with it the impossibility of any further borrowing, it is probable that Solon must have abrogated the law of tribal rights in property, and have made land the transferable possession of the individual. A limit was set to the quantity of ground that could be owned by any one man, in order to prevent the bulk of the property from falling into the hands of a few large owners. The enormous prices to which foodstuffs had arisen, owing to their free exportation—oil alone excepted—were reduced through a general law forbidding the exportation of food products; and, through the adoption of the Eubœan system of coinage, weights and measures, relations were established with the great commercial powers, Chalcis and Eretria. Political rights were divided proportionately among four classes, according to their incomes—500, 300, 200 measures of grain and less—and thus the classes of society were made up of wealthy men, leaders in politics or war, small landowners, and labourers. From the first class the highest state officials, archons and treasurers, were chosen; the fourth class was excluded from all office, but formed part of the popular assembly and the courts. The three upper classes were drawn upon for the heavy-armed soldiers; the fourth class composed the light infantry and also furnished the seamen. The council of the Four Hundred, to which citizens of the three upper classes were elected, was subordinate to the Areopagus, which now acted as the official censor and protector of the constitution. The privilege of appeal from the decision of any magistrate to the popular tribunals tended to increase the rights of the people. Officials were chosen by lot from a list of candidates.

Solon's Great Reforms

In spite of its good intentions, the body of laws instituted by Solon was unsatisfactory to the various classes—to the inhabitants of the coasts (*paralii*), who,



THE MATCHLESS ORNAMENTED POTTERY OF ANCIENT GREECE

The period of the consolidation of the Hellenic states was marked by great intellectual activity, and Athenian commerce, especially the trade in the matchless ornamented pottery of which some beautiful examples are given, prospered as never before. The earliest examples (1 and 9) were made in the 7th century B.C. The three beautiful amphoræ (3, 4 and 5) were made about 650 B.C., as were also the fine wine-bowl (8) and the water-jar (7). The situla from Daphnæ (6) was made about 620 B.C., and the vase from Cameiros (2) about 500 B.C.

for the greater part, were members of the middle class and possessed the largest industrial interests, to the landowners of the plains (*pediaei*), who were not prepared to support measures designed for the amelioration of the position of the lower classes, and, to the radically inclined mountain dwellers (*diacrii*), who pursued all sorts of miscellaneous callings.

It was owing chiefly to the support of the *diacrii* that Pisistratus was enabled to found his tyranny, which, twice interrupted, in 536 and 527 B.C., continued after the second date undisturbed until his death. Improvement in the administration of justice, internal colonisation, the establishment of external relations with Thessaly and Naxos, and a personal supervision of affairs, characterised the rule of Pisistratus. It must be remembered that the words Tyranny and Tyrant, in the Greek, refer to all forms of monarchy established by unconstitutional methods, and buttressed by mercenary forces. The period was marked by great intellectual and economic activity, by the unification of the inhabitants through a gradual reconciliation of class differences, and by an outburst of profound religious thought. Temples and aqueducts were built in Athens and Eleusis. Now for the first time solemn processions, in which representatives from Athenians dwelling in foreign countries—later, of all the citizen colonies—participated, ascended the acropolis in honour of Athena, and celebrated the pan-Athenian festival. A religious state, almost, arose from the national religion.



TYRTÆUS, A SPARTAN POET
The best description of the Messenian wars of Sparta is furnished by the spirited battle-songs of the poet Tyrtæus, who was also a warrior.

It was characteristic of the wise rule of Pisistratus that both the rural cult of Dionysus and the performance of tragedies, which were linked with it, were furthered and promoted. Athenian commerce, and especially the trade in the matchless ornamented pottery produced by Athenian masters, prospered as never before; and, together with external splendour, there came about a great refinement in character. Not without the assistance of the followers of Pisistratus was the worship of Orpheus carried on, and directly by their aid the Eleusinian cult of Demeter was raised to one of the most ardently cherished religions of the state.

Of the two sons of Pisistratus, one was murdered, and the other finally had to yield to the Alcmæonidæ, a family that had been banished to Sparta, and had there won the favour of the priests of the oracle at Delphi. The troubles that followed were ended by Clisthenes, who, as representative of the people, enabled Athens to take the greatest step yet attempted on the road towards a complete commonwealth. The tribal state of Athens was transformed into the Attic democracy. The whole country was divided up into *demes*, or townships, varying in population, each governed by its own demarch, who watched over the office-holders of his deme, and whose duty it was to convoke the assemblies of the citizens of the district. Every deme chose its own candidates for the council; and their number corresponded to the number of inhabitants, an entirely modern idea. The candidates were elected by lot. All demes of the coast, as well as the demes of the interior, and the city of Athens and its surroundings, were united into ten districts (*trittyes*). Every district of the coast was joined to a district of the interior and to one of the city, thus forming a *phyle*, with the result that the ten newly created phylæ were not made up by the union of noble families, as had formerly been the case, but constituted mere electoral districts, and became the foundation of the new territorial military system, according to which each of the ten phylæ was pledged to supply a regiment of foot and a squadron of horse.

At the head of the Athenian state stood the Council of Five Hundred, elected by the tribes, and entrusted with the duty of considering in advance all measures to be

laid before the popular assembly. The Five Hundred succeeded in narrowing the sphere of activity of the archons, in the same manner as the Roman senate later restricted the authority of the consuls. The minor affairs of the Council were administered by a committee of fifty, the *prytany*, and the rotation of these committees, ten in number, led to the adoption of a new calendar, by which the year of three hundred and sixty days was divided into ten prytanies of thirty-six days each (leap year, three hundred and ninety days). The preservation of the constitution was entrusted to the care of all citizens; for, by the institution known as "ostracism," any person deemed dangerous to the commonwealth might be banished from Athens for a period of ten years by popular vote. Athens vindicated its new constitution in two successful battles against Thebes and Chalcis. A brazen quadriga, portions of whose pedestal we still possess, and the fetters of the Chalcidians, which Herodotus saw in the citadel at Athens, testify to that happy war, in which Athens, freed from all fear of her Peloponnesian enemies by the refusal of Corinth to join them, defeated the Bœotians, and after a second victory over the Chalcidians, divided the land of Chalcis among its poor citizens (the first *cleruchia*).



SOLON
A great law-maker and the first clearly-cut personality in Athenian history.



STESICHORUS AND ALCÆUS
Two great poets of the period of Hellenic intellectual expansion.



PYTHAGORAS
In whose teachings the demand for purity in life was most deeply grounded.

According to this military and economic institution of the cleruchia, individuals to whom land was granted retained their citizenship, but did not possess the right to transfer the newly acquired property. They were not permitted to rent out the land, but were obliged to cultivate it themseves. They did not have the right to coin money; and this, together with the fact that they sent sacrificial animals to the Athenian festivals, demonstrated their dependence upon the mother country. We still possess the fragmentary remains of a popular decree respecting the despatch of cleruchs to Salamis. Their standing before the law was regulated by what became later the cleruchian canon.

Thus, in the sixth century B.C., Athens, proceeding in a very different manner from that adopted by Sparta, succeeded in utilising all the forces of the different classes of her population; and, by giving a broad foundation to her political system, ensured the utmost elasticity and endurance to her political and military life.

The work of civilisation, begun in the seventh century, was actively continued during the succeeding period of a hundred years. The striving after a moral ideal became general in the people; and their lives were influenced by the homely wisdom contained in the pregnant maxims of great men, "the Seven Sages," about whom tradition spun a circle of legends, just as it did about the heroes of the age. The idea that moral wrong is the foundation of misfortune became firmly fixed in the minds of men. Nowhere was the demand for purity in life more deeply grounded than in the teachings of Pythagoras, who founded his school in Crotona. There the youths of the upper classes listened to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls as well as to the explanations of mathematical principles. They learned that sounds imperceptible to sense could be explained and measured by means of the relations of numbers; and thus, finally, according to this primitive philosophy, numbers came to be looked upon as the elementary principle of the world of sensation. It was already known that the earth, like the other heavenly bodies, was a globe, revolving about a central point, which—according to Pythagoras—was the invisible eternal fire. In contrast to the mathematical exactitude of the Pythagorean teachings stood

the doctrines of Xenophanes, who seems to have been a complete sceptic. He would admit only the *probability* of human knowledge, and with special emphasis denied the pantheon of the epic poets, accepting but one deity.

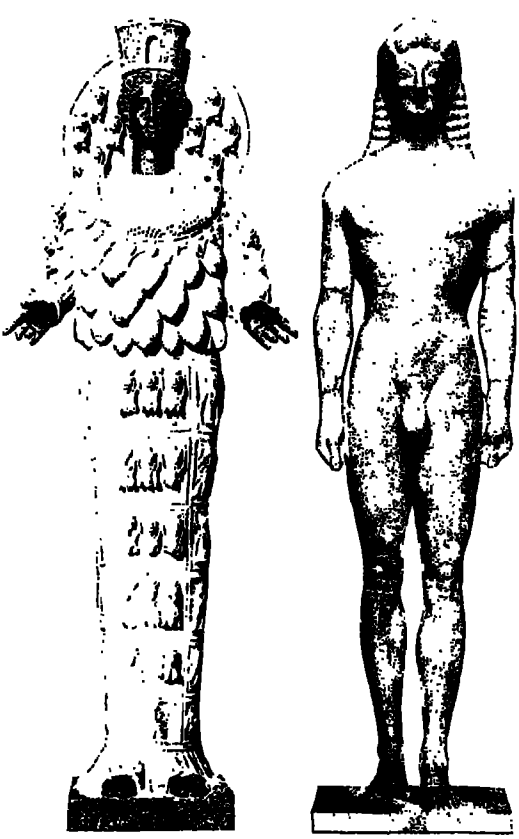
A multitude of new conceptions arose in the minds of this people, which ever endeavoured to fathom the secrets of the universe, and struggled on towards the discovery of universal laws.

The Ionians were especially distinguished as investigators and students; and, as a result of their fruitful activity, not only laid the foundations of philosophy, but made the beginnings of natural science and of the knowledge of different lands and races. By methods first employed in Babylonia, Thales was enabled to foretell the eclipse of May 25th, 585 B.C. Anaximander, by collecting and arranging statements made by seamen, traders, and colonists, endeavoured to construct the first map. He emphasised the contrast between the manifoldness of the world and the unity of the eternal infinite substance that lies at the base of all things.

Knowledge of human character was extended further and further. Passion and longing ring in the songs of Sappho and Alcæus, and, with increasing independence, poets ventured to tear the old legends from their epic frames, working them up singly, in the full exercise of their own imagination, as did Stesichorus of Himera. The artistic genius of men was unwearicdly employed, striving to free itself from Oriental tradition and from the old wooden technique. Powerful attempts at the delineation of facial expression and at the representation of muscular play were presented in the statue of Artemis in Ephesus, and also in the naked figures of youths — the so-called Apollos — of Tenea and Andros. Contemporary with this assertion of individuality, and with the escape from the fetters of tradition and untrained observation, was the tendency towards the unity of all the Greek races. In worship, custom, language, writing, poetry, and the plastic arts, the influences of the different tribes developed into a system of ramifications extending from country to country. The feeling of unity increased with knowledge of life. The moment came when it seemed that the danger of a great and common catastrophe to all the Hellenes might produce a united and consolidated Greek nation; but this was not to be. The wars with Persia, which was ever the enemy of Hellas, were the making of an Athenian empire, but not of a Hellenic state.



SAPPHO
The passion of whose songs extended the knowledge of human character in the early days of Greek intellectual development.



ARTEMIS OF EPHESUS **TENEA APOLLO**
The artistic genius of the Greeks in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. was unwearicdly employed in freeing itself from Oriental tradition and the old wooden technique. Powerful attempts at the delineation of facial expression were presented in the statue of Artemis in Ephesus and the Apollo of Tenea.



THE GOLDEN AGE OF ATHENS
AND HER SPLENDOUR UNDER PERICLES

AT the close of the sixth century B.C. the Spartan oligarchy was universally recognised as the leading military power among the Greek states, while Athens had vindicated her own claim to stand foremost among the cities whose polity rested upon free institutions and popular government. In the meanwhile, events had been taking place in Asia which were leading up to the grand dramatic struggle between Orientalism and Occidentalism, of which the first act was to be the Persian wars. During the last fifty years of the century, Cyrus the Persian and his son Cambyses had not only overthrown and taken possession of the ancient empires of Babylonia and Egypt, but had also brought under their sway the Hellenic and kindred Phrygian states of Asia Minor. Such empires must expand by continuous conquest, or fall into a state of disruption. Darius occupied himself not only with the organisation of his huge domain, but also, a few years before the century closed, in an unsuccessful attempt to bring into subjection the Scythian tribes on the west of the Black Sea. In the normal course of events, it was certain that sooner or later a serious effort would be made to include European lands within Persian boundaries.

The East and West at War

Sooner or later, then, the "great king" would assuredly have summoned Sparta, Athens, and the minor states to acknowledge his overlordship, and pay tribute. Submission would have meant the appointment of Persian satraps, and the disappearance of free institutions, even as Sparta understood freedom. The event was hastened first by the appeal of the Pisistratid Hippias for the recovery of the "tyranny" in Athens; secondly, by the revolt of the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, which ejected, or tried to eject, the rulers who found favour with the satrap, and to recover free institutions. In their revolt temporary assistance was lent by Athens, which had already openly defied the Persian monarch; and Athenian troops were present when Sardis was seized and accidentally fired. The Ionic revolt was completely suppressed in the course of five years. Darius then found leisure to contemplate the subjection of Hellas. The first move was made by Mardonius, who took command of a great expedition, which collapsed disastrously, the fleet being shattered by tempests off Mount Athos, while the army was roughly handled by Thracian tribes. Then the king sent to the cities of Hellas to demand "earth and water," the tokens of submission. The demand was at first generally obeyed among the islands, but Athens and Sparta took the lead in rejecting it with ignominy. Then Darius resolved to crush their presumption; and a great invading force was despatched by sea to Attica, commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, who were assisted by the exiled Hippias. After the punishment of the recalcitrant Eretria in Eubœa, Athens was the avowed objective. The plain of Marathon, well adapted for manœuvring a large force, was selected for the landing.

First Act of the Persian War

The jealousies which never ceased to hamper any concerted action on the part of the Greek states came into full play. Sparta, in her own eyes and in those of the world at large, the head of them all, promised help, but would not move a man till the full moon. Others took their cue from Sparta. Yet there was one little city which staked all for the sake of Athens. On the field of Marathon, in 490 B.C., the Athenians were joined by the whole force of the Platæans, who shared with them the imperishable glory of their triumph, and won a glory of their own to boot—for they had nothing to gain and all to lose by plunging into the contest. Legends gathered about the story of that

The Athenian Triumph at Marathon

great fight. This much of fact is clear. On the day of battle the mail-clad Athenians charged across the plain against the more lightly armed Persians, in extended line, with their strength on the two wings. Their centre was forced back: but on both wings they drove the Persians in rout, and then enveloped the Persian centre. The rout became a sauve qui peut. The barbarians were cut down in numbers as they endeavoured to embark; even of their ships seven were destroyed. The shattered armament sailed away to Asia. Such a repulse could be only the prelude to a more terrific onslaught, which was duly organised, not by Darius, but by his son and successor, Xerxes. Something again of legendary mist gathers about this

The Persian Rout



THE PLAIN OF MARATHON, THE ATHENIAN FIELD OF TRIUMPH

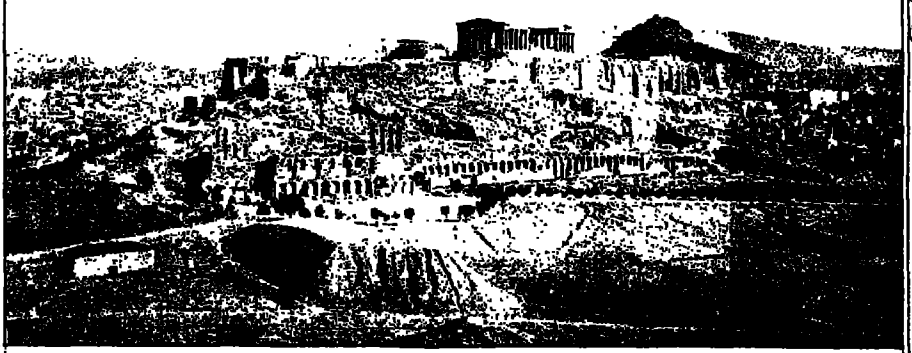
After the shattering of the Persian fleet in 492 B.C., the first scene in the great struggle was the battle of Marathon, where Athens and Platæa won imperishable glory, repulsing the Persian host and shattering their armament.

story, as we have it in the prose epic of Herodotus. To Herodotus, Xerxes is the archetype of what the Greeks called Hybris, the supreme arrogance which forgets, ignores, or defies the justice of the gods; which the gods visit with that blindness which prevents the insolent one from seeing that he is rushing headlong to his doom, the nemesis which awaits him.

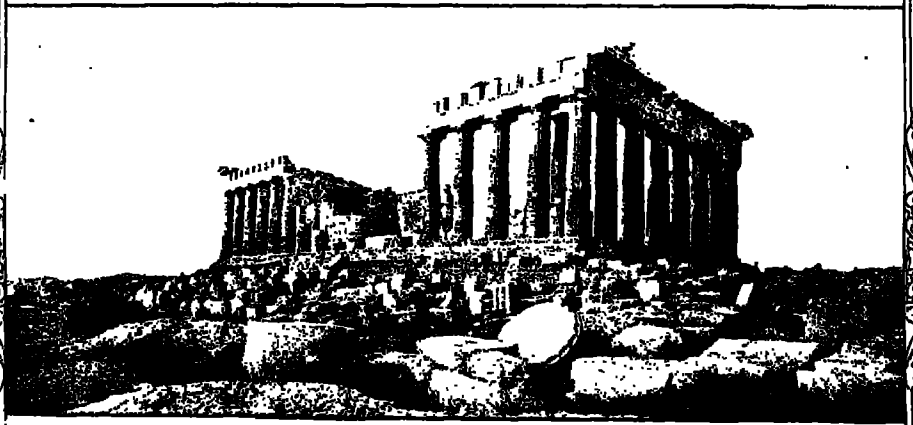
Hence we may fairly discount the frantic folly which is attributed to Xerxes without derogating from the splendour of the Greek triumph. On the other hand, we must modify the millions affirmed to have shared the Persian march—if for no other reason, because no possible organisation could have managed the problem of the commissariat. Thus, familiar as we are with the fact that troops under British discipline have repeatedly shattered Oriental armies of ten times their numbers, though composed of excellent military material, the victory of the Hellenes passes out of the realm of the miraculous. But, before the fight was fought out, successful resistance must have seemed as nearly impossible as the establishment of the East India Company's supremacy in India before Plassey.

Shorn of the accessories attached to it by the religious imagination and by patriotic exaltation, the story stands beyond challenge as one of the most heroic on record; and again it is Athens which claims the greatest measure of praise. This time, however, she did not stand alone. The mighty hosts of the "great king" were directed not only against her specifically, but against all Hellas; the danger was common, and Sparta herself dared not stand aloof. By sea and land the invaders came, their thousand ships manned by Ionian and Phœnician sailors, the best mariners of the time, their motley hosts assembled from the vast regions where the "great king" ruled, and having at least a powerful nucleus in the warriors who had carried the Persian arms successfully over all Western Asia. In the meantime a development of singular importance had been taking place at Athens. Urged on by Themistocles, the Athenians had been devoting an extraordinary proportion of their revenue to the

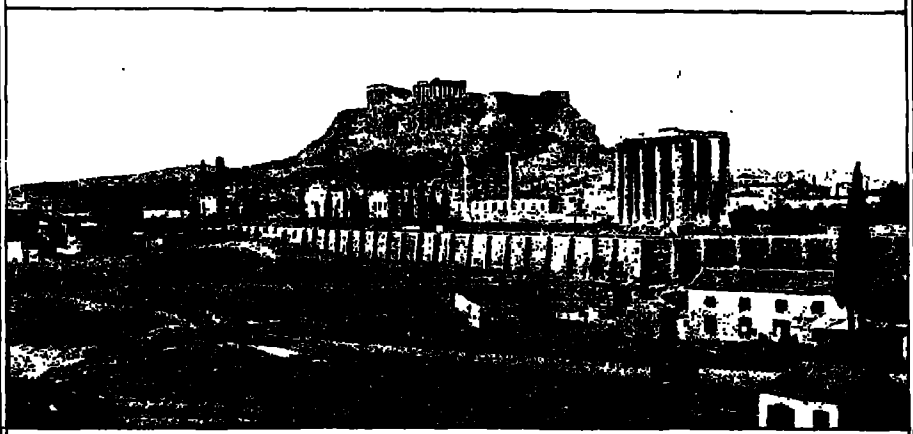
Greek Joins Greek Against the Persians



GENERAL VIEW OF ATHENS AND THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE SOUTH



RUINS OF THE PARTHENON, THE WORLD'S NOBLEST BUILDING



THE HILL OF THE CITADEL OF ANCIENT ATHENS FROM THE EAST

These photographs show what now remains of the glory of ancient Athens. The general view of the Acropolis, given at the top of the page, should be compared with the reconstruction facing page 2497. Note in this photograph the ruins of a great aqueduct. The ruins of the Parthenon, of which reconstructions are given on pages 2473 and 2474, are seen in the middle, and another view of the Acropolis at the bottom.

creation of a large and powerful fleet, and had realised that for them the way to ascendancy lay in naval expansion. Their seamanship was already of a high order. In spite of a conviction among the Peloponnesian states that they would be exempt from a naval attack, and could secure their own safety by making the isthmus of Corinth impregnable, it was recognised that some attempt must be made to protect the more northern territories. The first line of defence at the vale of Tempe was found to be untenable, after it had already been occupied; and a force was stationed at the pass of Thermopylæ, under the Spartan king, Leonidas.

The Immortal Defence of Thermopylæ

Though some of the details of the current accounts are evidently incorrect, the main facts appear clear. Thermopylæ could be held by a small, well-armed force against enormous odds, unless it could be taken in the rear by a turning movement. The defenders themselves were at first unaware that such a movement was possible for a large force. When the fact became known, it was also clear that nothing could save the holders of the pass from destruction except the arrival of large reinforcements to secure the upper pass, or an immediate retreat. Leonidas dismissed a part of his force, but resolved himself to die at his post, with his three hundred Spartans, in whose immortal exploit the share of the seven hundred valiant Thespians, who fought at their side, is apt to be overlooked. As a strategic operation, Thermopylæ was as futile as the last fight of Richard Grenville on the Revenge, or the charge of Balaclava. But the moral effect for all time has been past all measuring.



MILTIADES
Who led the Athenian troops in the rout of the Persians at Marathon.

Meanwhile the Greek fleet twice challenged the Persian armada off Artemisium, and both times had the better of the contest. But the news that Thermopylæ was lost meant in effect that all Northern Greece was at the mercy of the invaders, and the fleet fell back. Athens was doomed, but with her there was no thought of submission. The city became the fleet, and Themistocles persuaded the other allied states of the wisdom of preparing for a decisive engagement by sea, with the forcible argument that otherwise the Athenians must regard themselves as abandoned, and would seek a new home over seas. The story runs that, confident of victory, the Athenian leader deliberately arranged that retreat should be cut off while the allies were still hesitating whether they should retire.

The result was the battle of Salamis, which annihilated the Persian fleet, and vindicated the Athenian naval theory precisely as the overthrow of the Spanish Armada, two thousand years afterwards, vindicated the identical English theory—that the battleship should be employed not as a floating fortress for soldiers, but as an engine of war controlled by mariners. The effect was twofold. First, the morale of the Greeks was restored and raised to a far higher pitch than before; they were now filled with confidence of victory, and fought to win, while their adversaries were correspondingly demoralised. Secondly, the complete transference of the dominion of the seas to the Greeks left the bridge of boats over the Hellespont as the sole route of communication between the Persian host and its base in Asia, while the Persian army was in a hostile country which had suddenly recovered a lively hope of winning back its freedom. But the end was not yet. Xerxes retired with the bulk of his army, but he left behind him more than a quarter of a million picked troops under Mardonius to complete the subjugation of Hellas. With a force no longer unwieldy from sheer magnitude, and freed of encumbrance, the Persian leader was sanguine of success, and to attain it he was now ready to make extremely favourable terms with the state to which Greeks and barbarians alike now attributed the change which had come over the whole situation. Happily for the western world Athens rejected all overtures; she chose rather to let the Persian reoccupy the "City of the Violet Crown" than to betray the cause for which she had fought

Athens Rejects Peace Overtures



THE DEFENCE OF THERMOPYLÆ: THE IMMORTAL EXPLOIT OF LEONIDAS OF SPARTA

The terrific onslaught on the Hellene states, organised by Xerxes after the repulse of Darius at Marathon, was begun by the attack on the Pass of Thermopylæ, protecting the northern territories of the Peloponnesian states, where Leonidas with 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians kept a mighty host at bay for two days, dying to a man. From the painting by David.

so stoutly. Despite the dilatoriness of her methods, Sparta in the following year, 479 B.C., headed the advance of the Greeks to their final struggle with Mardonius in Bœotia. Meanwhile, the Greek fleet under Leotychides was taking the offensive by sea, and sailed for Samos, where the Persian admiral disembarked his forces at Mycale and prepared to do battle by land. On the same day, says tradition, the decisive battle was fought in Greece, in the neighbourhood of Platæa, and another decisive victory was won at Mycale. The army of Mardonius was outmanœuvred, out-fought, and in effect so completely cut to pieces that only a few thousands out of the whole number are said to have escaped alive from the field.

The Final Struggle

At any rate, the fundamental fact remained—the great invasion was irretrievably ruined. Henceforth, Persia was practically powerless for aggression; the Greeks became and remained the attacking party, though it was not till the time of Alexander that an invasion of the East by the West was organised. As the antagonist of Persia, Sparta yielded the leadership without regret to Athens, since it was to the Athenians—both as kinsmen and as sea-lords—that the Ionian cities and the islanders looked for aid. The confederacy of Delos was formed, with Athens at its head.



THE PERSIAN EMBASSY TO ATHENS
Mardonius, left by Xerxes to complete the subjugation of Hellas, sent an embassy to make terms with Athens, the only state which stood in the way of his success. Happily Athens rejected all overtures.

All the states which joined made themselves liable to supply their quota of men and money and ships to carry on the war. But this was no longer waged on the great dramatic scale of the struggle for liberty. Its most notable event was the great double victory by land and sea at the Eurymedon, won by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, in the year 466 B.C. The struggle terminated at length with the so-called peace of Callias in 448, when Persia practically surrendered all claim on the islands.

Matters were in the meanwhile working up to the point when Athens and Sparta were to enter on internecine struggles for the leadership of the states of Hellas, for the maritime "hegemony" of Athens, the natural outcome of the part played in the Persian War, was converted into a kind of empire when the members of the Delian League took to substituting money payments for the supply of ships and men. That empire did not produce unification; Athens did not adopt the Roman plan of absorbing allies into the ranks of her own citizens. Instead of combining as a great nation, the states of Hellas remained individual and distinct. But of these developments we shall speak later.

But the years which passed between the defeat of the Persians and the struggle between Athens and Sparta were years of splendid intellectual advance. The theatrical displays, originally choral celebrations, in honour of the god Dionysus had become broader in scope, first one and then a second and a third individual representing separate characters, while separate spokesmen for the chorus itself were evolved. Citizens vied with one another in improving the equipment of the choruses in which they took part, and there was a general rise in the elaborateness and richness of stage properties. In "The Persians" Æschylus (525-456 B.C.) depicted the period of the recent Persian War, giving full expression to the religio-mythic tendencies of the Athenians; the same play was performed, under the patronage of Pericles, at the opening of the new Dionysus theatre in 472 B.C.

Rise of Greek Drama

Through the introduction of the second player in his dramas, Æschylus gained greater freedom, and in his works the old myths came to life once more. According to his philosophy of life, an inexorable law of the universe governed both gods and men; but it was a just law, and the unwavering faith in the Supreme



THE ATHENIAN REJOICINGS AFTER THE GREAT NAVAL VICTORY OF SALAMIS

After the loss of Thermopylæ, all Northern Greece was at the mercy of the Persian invaders, but the annihilation of the Persian fleet at Salamis transferred the command of the seas to the Greeks, filled them with confidence of victory, and rendered possible the expulsion of the Persians from Greece. From the picture by Ferdinand Cormon in the Luxembourg.

Power that we find in the dramas of Æschylus seems to have been an inheritance from the deeply religious age of Pisistratus. Never was a dramatist an educator of the people to such an extent as Æschylus.

Apart from Æschylus, this great period found its expression in Polygnotus. In the works of the great master of painting, who impressed the stamp of his genius on the art of his time, we find, closely connected with a deeply religious feeling, the glorification of Athens as leader in the struggle against barbarism, and the representation of every phase of human emotion and passion. We are able to study his influence in the drawings upon the red and black figured vases, which now became broader and firmer in touch, and to recognise traces of it in the delineation of womanly beauty, in the soft, clinging draperies, which permitted portions of the body to shimmer through, and, lastly, in the representation of passion and pain [see page 2467]. The splendid exultation of the Athenians in their victory was embodied in his pictures, which hung in the decorated hall of the Parthenon; the fall of Troy and the battle of Theseus with the Amazons were companion pieces to the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians at Marathon. The vigorous representation of the destruction of the wooers of Penelope by Odysseus, found in a sepulchre in Lycia, in which the influence of an original by Polygnotus that was once to be seen in the temple of Athene at Platæa can be clearly perceived, furnishes us a clear conception of the greatness of his art. But both he and his school chose scenes of daily life for their subjects, which later were to be found in a thousand varieties in the vase paintings. Never, up to the present day, has the passion for beauty in household furniture and utensils penetrated to such a wide circle as then; never has art been so popular as it was then, as shown by the paintings on the vases, to which even the greatest masters contributed models and drawings.



PERICLES
Was ruler of Athens in its golden age, when Greek culture reached a marvellous state of perfection.



THUCYDIDES
The great historian of the Greek golden age, who has never been surpassed as a writer of history.

The fascination which the Athens of Pericles has ever exercised upon the minds of men does not spring from a sentimental spirit of glorification, but from the appreciation of the many-sided and rich development of personality which we are accustomed to call culture, and which reached such a marvellous state of perfection at that time. The words placed by Thucydides in the mouth of Pericles are singularly true, and particularly applicable to the golden age of Athens: "Great men have all lands for their sepulchres; their glory and memory are not confined to the inscriptions and monuments in their native lands, but live without the aid of written words, preserved even in distant regions, not in memorials of stone and brass, but in the hearts of men." To accuse the age of which Thucydides wrote: "We pursue Beauty, but not unthriftily; and Knowledge, but not unhealthily," of a one-sided æstheticism is no less incorrect than to accept without reserve the gossip and the jests of comedies as historical testimony; and this, strangely enough, has happened with the writers of to-day who follow the example of the historian Ephorus.

Pericles perfected the organisation of the democracy. Already during his early days the conservative Areopagus had been robbed of its authority by Ephialtes, and the spheres of action of the popular assemblies and tribunals had been extended. The possibility of becoming a member of these institutions, as well as of the council, was opened to all by the payment of salaries to judges and councillors. The same object, the aid of the poorer classes in the exercise of their political rights and duties, was aimed at in the introduction of payment for the troops and for the support of the chief officials.

The position of archon, to which shortly before citizens of the second class had been made eligible, was now opened to the third class, the small landowners. An opportunity to taste of the highest kind of pleasure the Athenians could enjoy was afforded to all when the theatre was thrown open to the people during the three days of the representation.

In view of participation in the government by the Athenian citizens, the necessity arose for investigating whether individuals were full-blooded Athenians; and on the proposal of Pericles himself the right of citizenship was limited to the children of citizens. The council was still to be consulted as to all questions that arose in the popular assembly; but an appeal from its judgment of any public official or candidate for office could be lodged with the popular tribunals; and the supervision of all public authorities, which had already been transferred from the Areopagus to the council, fell, in the course of development, into the hands of the popular assembly.



THEMISTOCLES
Athens' greatest statesman during the Persian War and the far-sighted founder of her naval power.

A change also took place in the foreign relations of Athens. The Confederacy of Delos, owing to the unwarlike disposition of its members, who became more and more inclined to offer cash subsidies in lieu of specific services, gradually developed into an empire, whose head, Athens, drew tribute from all territories. The last remnant of the old league disappeared with the removal of the treasury from Delos to Athens in 454 B.C., by which the latter town obtained the unconditioned disposal of the funds of the confederacy. Finally, governmental districts, or provinces, for the collection of tribute were established. The Hellespontine, Thracian, Ionian, Carian, and island districts included all the cities liable to taxation. The closer union of the separate parts of the empire with Athens as a centre was brought about by means of the cleruchian policy of Pericles. By the formation of colonies of citizens, the poorer classes were cared for, and the capital was rid of its restless unemployed. A mandate of the popular assembly, which has been preserved to the present day, respecting the emigration of citizens to Brea in Thrace, shows that the emigrants were taken entirely from the third and fourth classes. Such colonies were formed in Thrace, on the islands, even on the coasts of the Black Sea. The paternal government succeeded—at least in its teachings, if not in practical life—in lessening the prejudice against labour: "It is not poverty that is looked upon with contempt, but the spirit of idleness that refuses to defend itself against poverty," said Pericles. The enormous territorial expansion of Athens increased the contrast to Sparta. The growth of Athenian commerce, and the occupation of Megara and Achæa, rendered even greater the difference between Athens and the Peloponnesian commercial states, especially Corinth and Ægina. When the latter, as well as Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, became parts of the empire, Athens stood at the summit of her power. A better idea of her imperial policy can be obtained from a glance through the list of losses sustained by one tribe of Erechtheis during a single year (459-58 B.C.) on the battle-fields of Cyprus, Egypt, Phœnicia, Haleis, and Ægina, than from words. The victory at Salamis in Cyprus, in 449 B.C., was the last battle of the Persian War in which Cimon was leader; and it was the occasion of a much-disputed, so-called Cimonic treaty between Athens and Persia, in which limits are supposed to have been set to the territories of the two empires. The defection of Bœotia, Locris, and Phocis from the confederacy was, in a measure, retrieved by the acquisition of Eubœa as an Athenian colony; but as early as 445 B.C. Athens, in the Thirty Years Truce, resigned her possessions in the Peloponnesus.

A Wise Colonial Policy



ZEUS OLYMPUS
A coin copy of the head of the great statue by Phidias.

Growth of the Empire of Athens

Pericles was not entirely successful in his domestic policy; his great attempt to extend maritime commerce, through a national congress of all the states of Greece, and his scheme for a common memorial of the Persian wars, through

the reconstruction of all the temples that had been destroyed, failed completely. Many steps in the development of the power of the Athenian democracy have wrongly been traced back to the influence which he exercised by virtue of his office as strategus and commissioner of public works, the highest position in the state. In spite of this, however, he appears to us as the incarnation of the great era in which he lived. Themistocles, far away in Magnesia on the Maeander, set up the statue of the "Demos," the ideal of the people, corporealised, as it had been set up in his own home; and it may seem to us to-day as if the features of the "Demos" of Athens, in spite of its being above the law, and in spite of its autocracy, were those of Pericles.

And even if the close intimacy between Pericles and the great artists and scholars of his time — Phidias, Sophocles, and Anaxagoras, for example — is in part mythical, the productions of that age needed that there should be at least the atmosphere of the Athens of Pericles; the financial contributions supplied by the subjected members of the confederacy; the patronage of the well-to-do citizens, who prospered owing to the flourishing Black Sea trade which had followed the undertakings of the great statesman; and the intellectual consciousness that endowed the old state religion with a new significance and directed the heightened activity following upon successful war towards the development of a higher moral life.



THE BEAUTIFUL ATHENE PARTHENOS
The replica of the glorious statue that stood in the Parthenon, forty feet high, covered with ivory and gold.

During this period the works of Phidias attained to perfection. His Athene Lemnia is the most noble of all representations of the goddess. The Bologna head [see page 2459], belonging to the statue now at Dresden, has a most charming expression of mild severity, blended with kindness. The lines of the slightly oval face are so delicate, the nose so finely cut, the thick, waving hair so beautiful, the mouth so powerful, that, in spite of the lips, which are a trifle heavy, we recognise in the perfect features of this masterpiece an image of ideal beauty. Although in this particular statue the spirit rather of the inner life of Athens is incorporated, the Athene Parthenos, forty feet in height, made of wood, covered with ivory and gold, must have represented to the full the warlike, victorious self-confidence of the Attic people. The deep-set eyes, formed of precious stones, looked far off into the distance; the nostrils were distended in the joy of the play of life; over the transfigured lips flitted a smile of ineffable wisdom, and hair of gold flowed down beneath the helmet. The proud spirit of self-consciousness rested on the memory of the deeds of a glorious past; her left hand was supported by her shield; in her right glistened a golden goddess of victory, representing a people now at rest, harvesting the fruits of what they had won in former days. In the ornamentation of the shield in relief, Pericles is to be recognised as one of the foremost in a battle with the Amazons. Although we may behold the Athene

Lemnia in the original, and the Athene Parthenos in replica, our knowledge of the Olympian Zeus is gained only from descriptions and copies on coins. But it is certain that equal perfection was attained by Phidias in this work also; that only a purified conception of the god would have been possible to him, such only as would come to the mind of a man who himself had struggled to approach the perfection which belongs to the gods.

The frieze of the Parthenon, in which the pan-Athenians are portrayed for us with the most powerful versatility and the utmost perfection of technique—shown in the play of light and shade and in the matchless drapery—appears to us a symbolic representation of imperial Athens. The noble and beautiful youths, the rulers, soldiers, priests and priestesses, the sacrificial animals, brought from all parts of the empire, the dancing girls and flute players — all pass before us in procession, expressed, as they only could be, by a self-conscious and powerful community. Even though the friezes and gables of the Parthenon are not of Phidias's own handiwork, but were fashioned according to his plans and sketches by skilled masters, nevertheless, the least of their figures breathes of the spirit of the age. The birth of Athene, and the guardianship exercised over the city by Athene and Poseidon, the national deities, are especially appropriate to this period, which also saw the supremacy of Athens established on the sea. Thus Phidias was the artistic embodiment of the age of Pericles; and, in a certain sense, Cresilas, the sculptor who carved the "soul-entrancing" Pericles, and sounded the depths of art in his representation of the wounded amazon, may, as a master of portraiture and genre, be looked upon as a complement to the greater artist. This was the time when Ictinus drew his plans for the Parthenon, the temple of Athene, goddess of the city. The difficulties caused by the differences of elevation in the slope of the Acropolis were splendidly overcome by the propylæa: a wall pierced by five doors, with six Doric columns, resting upon four steps and enclosing a roofed court, which was divided into three wings by six Ionic columns. Passing through the doors, one reached a court of somewhat higher level, and from its further end arrived at the highest point of the Acropolis. This highest point is crowned by Ictinus's Parthenon, built upon old foundations, ascribed to Themistocles. It is a building pervaded with mysterious life; an indescribable enchantment is called forth by its marvellous proportions. The steps are slightly arched in the middle; the walls and entablature curve inwards, the cornices and antefix outwards; lightness and grace are obtained by the swelling of the corner columns, and the regular fluting of all, which gradually taper upwards towards their capitals.

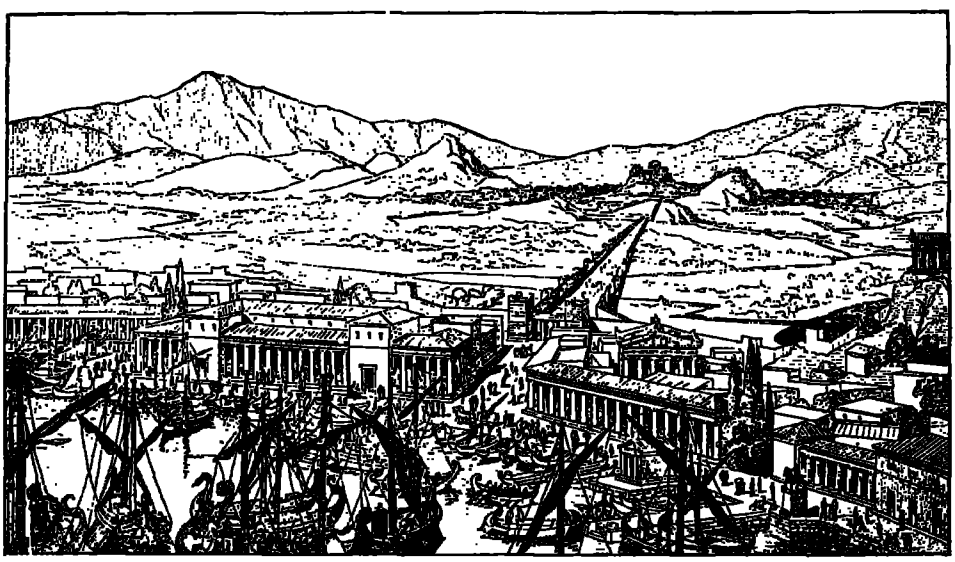


THE WOUNDED AMAZON OF CRESILAS
A work of Cresilas, who carved the "soul-entrancing" Pericles, and in this statue sounded the depths of art.

The colouring, too, was extraordinarily rich and magnificent, the blue of the triglyphs of the frieze contrasting with the red ground of the metopes—a song

of triumph, as it were, of the Athenian spirit, which was also given expression in the Eumenides of Æschylus: "But I, in the glorious competition of battle, will jealously grant to this city victory over every other city on earth." And Sophocles, the great dramatist of the age of Pericles, in his prayer for Athens, "May it be blessed with all that leads to triumph and victory," expresses the poetic apotheosis of his land.

The apt choice of material from the myths of Attica, the rich experience in life and of men, the deep insight into Nature, the splendid development of the plot, and the profound grasp of the immutable laws of the universe, with which the vicissitudes of human fate are skilfully contrasted, lend an imperishable value to the dramas of Sophocles.



THE PIRÆUS, THE SEAPORT OF ATHENS, AS IT WAS IN THE GOLDEN AGE

Herodotus [see page 9], born in Halicarnassus in 484 B.C. under Persian rule, increased men's knowledge of the world by his many journeys. Greatly influenced by the enthusiasm of his age, he has described for us the battles of the Greeks with the barbarians. His history breathes the passionate devotion of the war for independence. Herodotus was not, perhaps, the most acute of critics. His powers of discrimination were not so developed that he could invariably distinguish the true from the false or the probable in myths and traditions; his faith was still, for the most part, fatalistic, and knowledge—above all, the knowledge of languages—did not yet correspond with the demands of a riper age. In spite of this, the descriptions of battles between the ancient Orient move us to-day even as they once moved the Athens of Pericles, where the populace received with acclamation the accounts of the great historian.

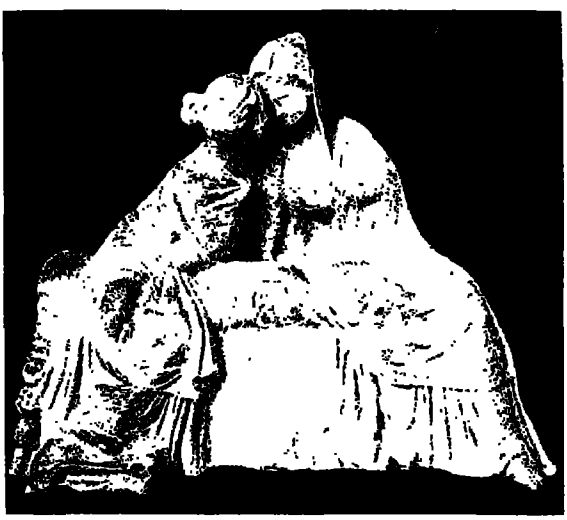
Anaxagoras, the friend of Pericles, was the first to conjecture that the universe was composed of a multitude of primal elements; and, reasoning in a dualistic sense, he considered these primitive forms of matter, at least in the beginning, to have been set in motion by intelligence. This motion then continued according to mechanical laws; sun, moon, and stars, were hurled from one another by centrifugal force, a rapid rotation holding the heavenly bodies far from the earth, though occasionally messengers from the former, in the shape of meteors, fall to the latter. His meteorological explanation of the Nile floods as occasioned by the melting of snow on the mountains, and of the winds as caused by differences in temperature and in the density of the atmosphere, have received due recognition only in recent times. The builder of the Piræus, the astronomer, meteorologist, and engineer, Meton, who conducted investigations as to the altitudes of mountains, and placed a sun-dial upon the Pnyx, also endeavoured to harmonise solar and lunar time—the metonic cycle



A BEAUTIFUL SCULPTURE FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE Mansell

The friezes of the Partnenon, in which the pan-Athenians are portrayed with powerful versatility and perfection of technique, are symbolic representations of imperial Athens and an artistic embodiment of the age of Pericles.

of nineteen years. Thus development went on in every line of human activity during the age of Pericles, and the importance of Athens was established for all time. At no period has the conservative element in the character of a people been so harmonised with the impulse towards progress that rules in men of genius. The glorification of the religion of the people in art, the poetic purification of the great treasure-stores of myths, the representations of the great war, and, finally, the participation of the very lowest class of citizens in the government, were all entirely successful. This city of the fifth century B.C. was like a great theatre of the sublime and beautiful, even though her people were unable to follow the boldest thinkers of their time, and accorded to Anaxagoras a very similar fate to that which in later days fell to Galileo. To conceive of genesis as the mere combination, and of death as the resolution, of elements, was to think thousands of years ahead of the time.



A BEAUTIFUL TERRA-COTTA OF THE 5TH CENTURY

One of the famous Tanagra terra-cottas found in Asia Minor.



MATCHLESS SCULPTURES FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE Mansell

Though not the actual handiwork of Phidias, the Parthenon friezes were fashioned according to his plans and sketches



THE DEATH OF SOCRATES, THE GREEK PHILOSOPHER, SURROUNDED BY HIS SORROWING DISCIPLES

The criticism of Socrates being adverse to many of the cherished ideas of the Athenians he was held guilty of impiety to the gods and condemned to death by drinking hemlock



RIVALRY OF THE GREEK STATES

THE Ionian race had come to maturity; the development of the Doric people, which had taken place in comparative isolation, was also completed. The commonwealth of Athens was distinguished by the free artistic activity of the individual and by a pronounced tendency towards the equality of all men; the military state of Sparta was pre-eminent for discipline, conservatism, and the illiberal restriction of political rights to the upper classes. Here, ruggedness finally changed to barbarity, and mean ends and interests led to a narrow-mindedness and pettiness, of which nothing is more characteristic than Sparta's advice to the Asiatic Ionians to abandon their country. Attica, surrounded by the sea, which afforded an extensive sphere of activity, soon lost all local narrowness. The influence of the spirit that urged the people forward to a united Greece was everywhere apparent, not only in the wars against the Persians, but even in the internal disputes of Sparta. The Ionians and the Dorians stood opposed to one another, as a many-sided Odysseus against a towering Heracles—a Heracles, however, who had long ceased to labour for the common good—or as the fulness of spiritual life and passion in the works of Polygnotus, Phidias and Cresilas is contrasted with the magnificent development of muscle and the complete lack of intellectuality in the statues of the youths and athletes by Polyclitus.

The Ionian Race at Maturity



ALCIBIADES
Who adopted as a guide in life the teaching that man is free from considerations of justice and morality.

But Athens soon underwent a transformation, the effect of which was greatly to weaken the powerful state that had been created by Pericles and his predecessors. It was a change in the disposition of the Athenian people, and it led to the destruction of the unity of aim and of consciousness that had for so long been a distinguishing feature of Attic life. With the active participation of every citizen in governmental affairs, it was naturally considered indispensable by every man to acquire the necessary means for gaining influence and power—the capacity, namely, of rapid thinking and ready speech. Since public instruction did not extend as far as this, men began to look upon a special technical training beyond that of the schools as necessary; and the sophists took it upon themselves to make good the deficiency. They awoke in their pupils—not only through exercises in logic, but also through admonitions in regard to a moral life—the consciousness of a higher perfection, of a higher value of the individual; it was Protagoras himself who uttered the proposition: "Man is the measure of all things." This individualistic conception, carried to the extreme, would mean that a man was free from all considerations of justice and morality, which he might look upon as an invention of the weaker against the stronger, as pretexts, according to which natural rights, which granted a full life only to the "overman," were completely destroyed. No one adopted this teaching as a guide in life with more unscrupulousness, attended by more serious consequences, than did Alcibiades. The destruction of the balance and harmony of the old teaching, together with new developments, taxed the powers of resistance of Athens to the uttermost, and finally succeeded in undermining the state itself. The Athenian empire was based too exclusively upon wealth for it to be able to persist with impunity in its unprincipled treatment of its dependencies; for the same theory of the natural right of the individual was also apparent in the conduct of Athens

Rise of the Sophists

towards the other members of the confederacy, justice being simply the right of the stronger. Pericles was forced to run that gauntlet of vituperation of gutter politicians so familiar in the affairs of the modern state before kindly fate removed him from the scene of struggle. He died of the plague in the year 429 B.C.

Nevertheless, Athens still showed herself equal to Sparta during the first period of the Peloponnesian struggle. Cleon, the very type of obstinate narrow-mindedness, who had arisen to popularity through his powers of eloquence, but who had not sufficient ability for the conduct of great issues, and, like the venturesome and boastful Euthydemus of Plato, refused the advice of all men, strained the powers of the empire to the very breaking point by doubling the tribute imposed on the members of the confederacy. The first period of the war ended with the truce of Nicias, concluded for fifty years, in remembrance of which the temple of Nike was built. But peace cannot long be maintained when preceded by an indecisive struggle. New expedients were tried and new allies sought: first of all, the Athenians won the alliance of Argos, advocated by Euripides in his dramas, as well as by Alcibiades in political life, but the battle of Mantinea dissolved the union. Then a stupendous plan was unfolded. Already planted in Italy, perhaps even dominating Carthage, Athens sought to invade the Peloponnesus and to take possession of it. The idea was contagious. Alcibiades was father to the scheme, which proved the chief cause of Athens' ruin; and all that had been left undone of the general destruction he completed when he deserted his country and went over to the side of Sparta. The advice for Sparta to invade Sicily, occupy Decelea, and employ Persian resources for carrying on the war, came from Lysander, who thus prepared the way for ending the struggle.

The Ruin of Athens

Lysander was an unbridled tyrant, possessed of an unbounded vanity that could be satisfied only by statues and songs of praise. He resembled in many ways the type of the foremost men of the Renaissance, but without any of the redeeming qualities of the latter; a man



HIPPOCRATES, GREEK TYRANT IN SICILY, REFUSING THE PRESENTS OF ARTAXERXES
An incident, painted by Girodet, in the efforts of the Persian king to obtain the dominance over the Greeks, which he achieved in part by the shameful peace of Antalcidas with Sparta, securing Persian control of the Greeks in Asia Minor



SOCRATES AT THE BATTLE OF POTIDIÆ

The great philosopher distinguished himself in several Athenian campaigns, particularly in this battle of the Peloponnesian War, where he saved the life of his pupil, Alcibiades. From the painting by Carstens at Weimar.

who planned to destroy the Spartan constitution for his own benefit, who looked upon morality as madness, and who had no affection whatever, sentimental or otherwise, no consideration even for Athens' former greatness and merit. The terms of the peace of 404 B.C. were, without doubt, his work, although they were formally issued as a decree of the ephors. The Athenian fleet went up in flames, and the walls of the city were torn down to the sound of flutes. Athens was allowed to retain Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros alone of all her former possessions. Thus the way was opened for the rise of the northern empire of Macedon, which had already been developing in peace for many years; neither Sparta nor Thebes was able to prevent its progress.

The Walls of Athens Torn Down

In Thucydides (460–400 B.C.) the Peloponnesian War possessed a contemporary historian such as no other decisive struggle before or since ever had. The genius of the Greeks for purity of form fairly culminates in his writing. The bold, broad method of Athenian criticism becomes elevated to a scientific examination of facts, the dispassionate accuracy of which henceforth becomes the type of the highest kind of historical writing. In contrast to the sunny charm of the Ionian Herodotus, who was inspired by victory and the glory of Athenian civilisation, and wrote of the splendours of the Athens of Pericles, we have the melancholy of a man sorrowing for the downfall of his country, who speaks so touchingly of the great past in the celebrated funeral oration delivered at the death of Pericles, and who paints the gloomy present in such dark colours in his description of the Sicilian catastrophe. No ancient writer ever succeeded in giving expression so effectively to the composite character of his time. Single individuals appear on the pages of Thucydides as the living embodiments of universal conceptions and forces.

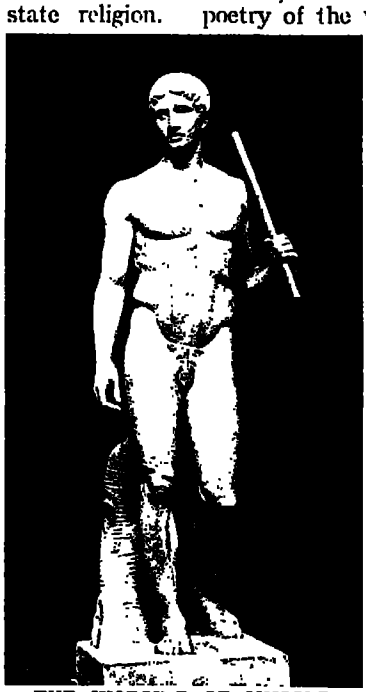
During the same age a philosopher taught, who, although he created no system and wrote no book, spread abroad nevertheless the most fruitful ideas, and deeply influenced not only youths like Alcibiades, but also men such as Plato, who in the near future were to distinguish themselves in the realms of thought

Socrates arose from the people; and for the people he lived and taught, seeking not for the unknown and obscure source of Being, but striving to penetrate the mysteries of the human heart, and to show men how to live according to the fundamental principles of the moral life. Knowledge of the good was to be gained by the unwearied exercise of thought, and necessarily carried with it the desire for right living; knowledge and will were one. All the thoughts and endeavours of Socrates were devoted to the development of the individual man, and thus his teaching may well have appeared revolutionary egoism to his contemporaries. But the respect for the common conceptions of truth and morality which he demanded of all unites men far more firmly than the social instinct; and Socrates never desired a separation from the state religion.

Socrates Rises from the People

Euripides (480–406 B.C.) embodied the restlessness of the age in his works, a dissatisfaction that had arisen with the destruction of the old ancestral beliefs by the sophists, who attempted to substitute nothing in their place. He looked upon man, and he despaired; he looked upon the gods that man had created, and scorned them. Freedom in the treatment of material was prominent in Euripides; he looked upon life from a broad point of view, and won a keen insight into the human soul. Above all, he introduced women, with all their varied feelings and emotions, into the drama; but the effect of his writings is much injured by reason of the inexhaustible bitterness which internal struggles and the lack of popular appreciation had brought. He bore his poetical genius as a mark of Cain; he was deceived even in his native city, and the brightest star in its heaven, Alcibiades, to whom he had written an ode on his victory in the Olympic games, turned out to be only a brilliant meteor. The attempt to seek refuge from the bitterness of the time in mockery and derision was made by Aristophanes (450–385 B.C.). An adherent of the old, upright, Athenian conception of life, he hated war and all men who arose to power and distinction through war, even as he detested the new-fangled plans for the future, that appeared so foolish to him. A profound acquaintance with Nature and love for a life of peace are united with the most bitter satire in his comedies. Plays of his, such as "The Birds" and "The Frogs," as well as his personal caricatures —that of Cleon, for example— have become the property of all time. "Plunge deep into the full life of men" seems to have been his guiding principle; and, together with the highest realism, he mingled the most charming poetry of the world of fable. With his clouds and his birds the mind of the great poet sought refuge from his own time, in which all things had gone to ruin.

Aristophanes a Hater of War



THE WORSHIP OF MUSCLE
The Dorians and Ionians were as opposed in character as the spirituality of the works of Phidias and Cresilas is contrasted with the magnificent muscular development and lack of intellectuality in the statues of Polyclitus, shown in this fine Doryphorus, now at Naples.

Sparta had attained to victory over the rest of Greece; the question arose, could this military supremacy serve as a foundation for an empire? The governing class of Spartans, not a hundredth part of the entire population, were such a heavy burden upon all other men that even at this early time conspiracies, such as that of Cinadon, were frequent. The control of the ephors over the Spartan people, who, above all things, were forbidden to introduce any money into the country, was the more extraordinary, owing to the fact that desire for possessions was the guiding motive of all classes. The police made themselves ridiculous in various ways, as when, out of zeal for austerity and simplicity, they cut away four of the eleven strings belonging to the lyre of a musician. Ambitious, tyrannous natures, as exemplified



THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS: THE GREAT PHILOSOPHERS OF GREECE

From a fine fresco in the Vatican by Raphael, representing the great Greek philosophers. In the centre Plato, with Aristotle beside him, is expounding to disciples standing around, while Diogenes lies on the steps, Alcibiades, Xenophon, and others listening to Socrates; below them Pythagoras, Heraclitus sitting alone, and Democritus by the base of the pillar; at the right, on the steps, Pyrrho, Arcesilaus and others; and below Archimedes teaching geometry

by Lysander, became models for the imitation of Spartan governors, or harmosts, in the various cities; and in a short time a policy was developed whose features we cannot regard otherwise than as a mere catalogue of political crimes. It began with the complete abandonment of old Spartan enmity to Persia—renounced, indeed, as early as 411 B.C.—which resulted from the so-called King's Peace. After King Agesilaus of Sparta, a man of great penetration and iron will but, nevertheless, a mere condottiere, had made several notable conquests in Asia Minor he was forced to return to Hellas on account of a war—the Bœotio-Corinthian—which the Persians had kindled in Greece. The Spartans soon found out that an alliance with Persia would be more profitable for them, and a decree of the great king, Artaxerxes, reversed all previous relations with the Greeks, and placed the maintenance of peace under the joint supervision of Persia and Sparta.

Through the King's Peace of 386 B.C. —it received the harmless name of the "Peace of Antalcidas" in order that its true significance might be hidden— the Greeks of Asia Minor were given over to the control of Persia; but Sparta obtained free scope for the carrying out of her own particular schemes. Soon the migration of Arcadians to Mantinea came to be looked upon as dangerous, and as a result they were forced to return again to their former villages. Spartan troops, under the leadership of Phœbidas, on the march to Olynthus, seized, without warning, the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes. Such actions were, to the rest of the Greeks, only signs that the rule of Sparta was based on tyranny and force alone.

It was but another proof of the popularity of military states at that time that Sicily, too, soon boasted a tyranny under Dionysius of Syracuse, who, indeed, had rendered the very greatest services to his country during the struggle for freedom against Carthage.

To a certain degree the tyranny of the Spartocides in the region of the Bosphorus, on the eastern fringe of Greek civilisation, may be counted as one of the many despotisms of the time. Their civilisation was a strange mixture of the Greek and the Scythian; the language spoken

was Greek, mingled with words of barbarian origin. The legs of the inhabitants were clad in absolutely un-Greek trousers and high boots; and their tastes turned to extraordinary, colossal sepulchral edifices and to excess of gold ornamentation peculiar to the Orient. A Greek goblet was found in the neighbourhood of the Obra, and a statue of Hygeia in Perm.

The people of Greece struggled in despair for internal order and external strength; and during this period they seem most frequently to have attained to both in many points through the leadership of one man, a "tyrant." Thus, Cæsarism grew during these years in the same manner as Plato developed it in theory in the pages of the eighth book of his immortal Republic. But tyrants were able only to procure temporary order in social relations, and to maintain power in a nation through a transference of the strength of the state to an army, consisting for the greater part of mercenaries. When it is impossible to attain to both internal order and outward strength men strive at least to acquire the former; and, in order to do so, are seldom unwilling to subject themselves to the rule of a tyrant, if necessary, provided the despot guarantee the desired order, as did, for example, Mausolus of Caria.



SOCRATES
The great Greek philosopher, who lived and taught for the people.

But now two powers once more sought to play the rôle of leader in Greece—Thebes and Athens.

Thebes had never been able to establish so close a union of the different parts of Bœotia under her leadership as Athens had succeeded in bringing about. Lack of cohesion was not at all favourable to the foundation of a powerful state, although Thebes was strong enough from a military standpoint, by reason of her large population. So far, however, as culture was concerned, Thebes was not distinguished. It is true that Pindar was a Theban, and no poet was able to portray Doric life in more glowing colours than he; but since his time Thebes had contributed nothing to literature except material for the comic writers. The Spartan occupation of the Cadmea aroused all the forces of resistance in the Theban people. Pelopidas, distinguished for his great energy and influence, and Epaminondas, who wisely kept himself in the background until the proper moment arrived for action, were the two men who were chiefly instrumental in assisting Thebes to freedom. Military organisation and the wise use of opposing forces produced as great results in the northern part of the Peloponnesus as they had previously in the south. The successes attained by Pelopidas were temporary rather than lasting; it was not so much the battle of Leuctra, in 371 B.C., that procured the downfall of Sparta for all time as the reawakening of Messenia and the alliance with Arcadia, achieved by Epaminondas.



PINDAR THE THEBAN
Though Thebes was not distinguished in culture, no poet portrayed Doric life in more glowing colours than the Theban, Pindar.

The chief cities of these countries were Messene, possessed of magnificent fortifications, and Megalopolis, a town exceptionally well situated. Although the death of Epaminondas, in the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C., may have prevented Thebes from reaping the full harvest of her victories, the chief object, that of hindering the future expansion of Sparta, was finally attained. To look upon the efforts of Epaminondas as having been directed towards the establishment of a pan-Hellenic state is probably wrong. But, nevertheless, his character was one of exceptional charm. His greatness, which consisted in his complete freedom from selfishness, in his capacity for quickness and boldness of action, and in his plans to raise Thebes to the position of a great sea power, through which were supplied the foundations for future development, is certainly not presented to us in any favourable light in the pages of the one-sided Peloponnesian history—the

so-called Hellenica—of Xenophon, who was entirely favourable to Sparta. A large portion of Central Greece—Phocis, Eubœa, the two Locris, the Ænians, Heracleotes, and Maleans—had come under the influence of Thebes as early as 370 B.C. Treaties were made with the newly founded Arcadian League and with Alexander of Macedon; Sicyon, Pellene, Eretrea, even Byzantium and single districts of Ceos, were brought into the Theban confederation. Thebes felt far more secure when she had obtained the protection of Persia by following the example of Sparta in recognising the former power as the arbiter of Greek affairs. Bound up with the deeds and names of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the splendour of Thebes, as well as her ambitions of empire, vanished with the death of these two great men.

In the meanwhile, Athens had sagaciously endeavoured to construct new foundations for a future empire. Immediately after the conclusion of the King's Peace, she had established an alliance with Chios, which was entirely in accordance with the stipulations of the King's Peace, but recognised "freedom and self-government" as the political basis of all Hellenic



THE WINGLESS VICTORY

A beautiful sculpture from the Temple of Nike, built in memory of the Nicias truce in the Peloponnesian War.



Mansell

MAUSOLUS OF CARIA

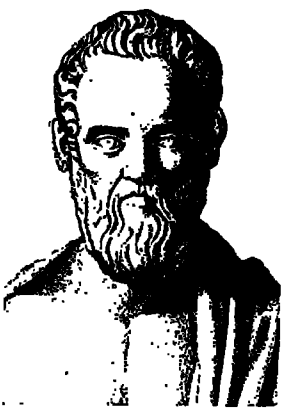
The splendid statue of Mausolus, the tyrant of Caria, erected by his widow on his mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

relations. By means of similar agreements, Byzantium, Rhodes, Mytilene, Methymna, and Thebes became allies of Athens. But one more step was needed to form a general confederation out of the isolated leagues.

In 377 B.C. a call was issued, inviting other states to join. Members of the confederation were chosen only from among the states of Hellas and free barbarian nations, and not from the lands ruled by the Great King. It was expressly stated by Athens that no cleruchian colonies were to be founded. This second confederation of sea powers under the leadership of Athens was far more loosely bound than the first; and, although contributions were not lacking, it could not be used as a step to power, as had been the case with the first league, notwithstanding the fact that numerous states had become members, the west of the Balkan Peninsula being represented (Corcyra, Acarnania, and Alcetas, the prince of the Molossians), as well as Thrace (Dion, the Chalcidian) and the Archipelago. The highest triumph was attained when, after long negotiations, Dionysius of Syracuse entered into an alliance with

Athens (368–67); in the same manner Thessaly and King Philip of Macedon recognised the importance of the renovated empire; and the princes of Thrace peacefully arranged among themselves the government of the Græco-Thracian towns in complete harmony with the desires of the Athenian people.

But it was precisely where the foundations of this confederation had first been laid that the process of undermining began. Chios joined with Byzantium, Rhodes, Cos, and Mausolus, prince of Caria, in a league against Athens. Diplomatic successes with the rulers of Thrace, Pæonia, Illyria, and towns of the north were not sufficient to counterbalance the general lack of fortune in war that led, in 354 B.C., to peace and to the dissolution of the confederation, and therewith to the end of the development of Athens as the centre of an empire.



ISOCRATES
One of the great orators who condemned the corruption of the time.



ARISTOTLE
The philosopher, called by Dante "Master of them that know."

Indeed, so far as the position of Athens as a commercial centre and city of capitalists was concerned, the loss of imperial power caused but little injury. On the contrary, the peace-at-any-price policy had been pursued entirely in accordance with the desires of the capitalists, as shown by a work on the income of the city, written by a financier of the fourth century B.C. and falsely attributed to Xenophon. In this it is stated that Athens arose to greatness, not as the capital of a loosely united empire of more or less hostile dependencies, but as the centre of a rich trade, secured by peace and by the pursuance of a sound commercial policy. Thus to the citizens the state was merely a burden, which greatly impeded them in money-making. They looked upon all countries where their possessions could be increased as their home. The doctrine of cosmopolitanism had sprung from a higher ideal than this, but it was accepted by the individualistic capitalists as signifying trading relations that were capable of embracing the entire world. If, then, the fatherland was an idealistic illusion and the state a necessary evil, naturally enough men sought to escape from their duties to their country.



PLATO
Of all philosophers of the time Plato, in his "Republic" and "Laws," saw deepest into the question of social improvement. In immortal words he lashed the domination of covetousness and greed.

The citizen army gave place to a host of mercenaries, and the positions of strategists of genius were filled by leaders of irregular troops, who belonged, body and mind, to the prince who was willing to offer them the highest wages. Thus all unity disappears as soon as the reasons for cohesion are removed, and retribution comes in the shape of struggles of one class against another. The question is, how did it happen that the different classes reached this state of opposition and hostility?

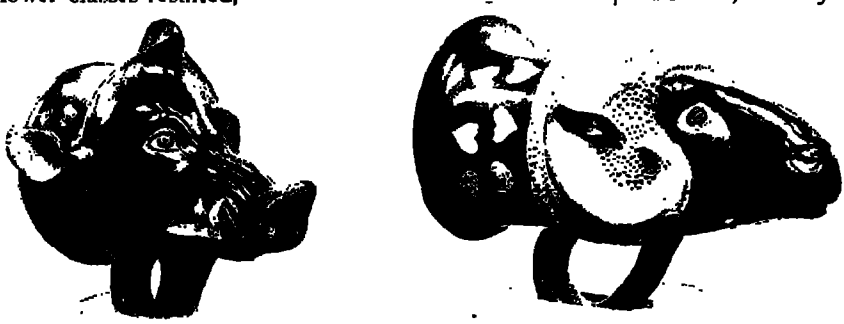
The government under Pericles had transformed the greater part of the citizens into wards of the state, as it were, and this was the "cement of democracy" that maintained the union. The differences in duty remained, but differences in rights had disappeared. Political equality had been attained; but men began to strive for equality of possessions, and the endeavour to obtain income and wealth without labour was everywhere apparent. Thus social difficulties soon intruded themselves into political affairs, the more so, as there was no machinery of government for

dealing with such social and economic disputes among the different classes. The political parties became nothing more or less than organs of various social factions, serving them in their purely egoistic designs. "The rich would rather cast their possessions into the sea than share them with the poor," said Isocrates; and the judges who were without wealth condemned wealthy men whenever they were brought before them, simply in order to extort money for the benefit of the districts over which they presided. The so-called democracy ignored justice and right in its management of affairs quite as much as an absolute monarchy of the worst sort would have done; the role of courtier was played by flattering demagogues, and the luxury of a debauched and licentious court had long been attained.

Corruption of the Democracy

The disinclination of distinguished and able men to take part in public life increased with the selfish struggles of individuals and of entire classes, which were characterised throughout by the loudness and vulgarity of an all-pervading eloquence. But such men reaped what they had sown by refusing to enter into public affairs; the unrestricted domination of the lower classes resulted, and it became a struggle of each against all. This was also a time when many ideal plans for a future society were invented by thinkers who lived solitary lives in isolation from the rest of the world. Already one of the greatest of Greek architects, Hippodamus, who had been employed at Thurii and Rhodes and had constructed the harbour of Athens, the Piræus, had come forward with a plan for establishing the best form of government. He applied his geometrical principles to the state, dividing all things into three parts—society into three classes; land into possessions belonging to the temples for the support of the priests, into state territory for the maintenance of the army, and into private property owned by the peasants. Pheidon invented a political arithmetic, reminding one of the doctrine of Malthus; he recognised in overpopulation the cause of all social evils, and recommended a limitation of households and the placing of all citizens into one class. Phaleas of Chalcedon, the first communist, went even further; according to his teachings, all possessions should be held in common, and the education of all men should be the same. But already Aristotle had laid stress on the fact that the limitation of land and property was illogical, and that the whole system was unpsychological, since human nature mocked any equality of poor and rich, and diversity in talents, as well as in elemental passion, destroyed all arithmetical or geometrical plans regulating possession and population. The proposition to place all labour under the control of the state, and to transform the members of the working classes into organs rendering service to a

Schemes of the Utopians



HUMOUR IN POTTERY: GREEK DRINKING VASES

Extraordinary vases, called rhytons, in the form of grotesque animal and human heads, made about 400 B.C.

common governmental industry, is worthy of notice. Alcidamas saw in slavery the chief cause of the troubles of economic life, and demanded its abolition. Finally, civilisation itself was looked upon as the root of all misery, and the doctrine "Away from civilisation" was accepted and preached by the cynics as the best remedy, quite as it was in later time by Rousseau; the tendency of Plato's Republic, also, was clearly in this direction. Of all philosophers of the time, it was Plato who saw deepest into the question of social improvement. In immortal words he lashed the domination of covetousness and greed, setting up in opposition a state in which the government should be by the mentally and morally fittest alone. The division of men into classes, as adopted during the Middle Ages, took its origin in Plato; the communistic ideas of his Republic awoke to life again in the French Revolution, during which a supporter of absolute monarchy became through reading his works one of the most distinguished advisers of the Jacobins. Abbé Mablé saw in private property the source of all man's errors and misfortunes.

Civilisation the Root of all Misery

Workers, warriors, and teachers formed the social pyramid of the "Republic." All men received an equal school education; from the most distinguished of the pupils were chosen those who were to compose the army and to take part in the civil service, while from among a class of especially proved individuals of fifty years and upwards were selected those who should hold the highest positions in the state, the offices of teacher and ruler combined. The greatest possible stress is laid upon the moral aim of the republic, and the necessity for a scientific education of its servants is likewise stated with unmistakable emphasis. Thus far all was possible, as has since been proven by the world's development; the fantastic portion of the scheme begins with the scorn shown for all history and tradition. The education of children is to be the basis upon which the new state is to be erected; no family life, no marriage, and no individual property, but a community of goods, wives (not promiscuous, but strictly regulated), and children, are also indispensable features of the "Republic."

Plato's Social Pyramid

There is also a complete equality of women and men, the former taking part in all bodily exercises, sharing in the common fare of the state, accompanying the men on their military expeditions, and being eligible to any office.

In his "Laws" Plato no longer endeavoured to draw a sharp distinction between the real and the ideal, and made his state consistent with already existing conditions, although built upon new foundations. The common possession in land—that is, the territory occupied by the state—was to be divided into 5,040 portions of equal value, according to their yield—of course, differing in size—which should be unalterable and indivisible. In like manner, all movable property was to be divided, and the largest possible portion allowed for each individual to be fixed. Economic development was to be governed by laws forbidding the exportation of products of the soil, by the restriction of commerce and manufacture, and by official regulation, all in accordance with the highest ethical conceptions. The sovereign power, which in the "Republic" was vested in the magistrates, is assigned in the "Laws" to officials in certain cases; but, in general, the supreme power is conceived as resting with the mass of the people. It is true that, both in the teachings and in the life of Plato, the idea is also expressed that the dominion of one man is better adapted for the improvement of society. A "kingly man, in whom reason has won the mastery," would be able to adapt his personal views to the changeable relations of men; impersonal law, on the other hand, is unalterable. Thus the "Republic" itself hinted at the rule of a single individual, and in the "Laws" were pictured the princes of the future who should bring good government to their states, and therewith lasting happiness—rulers who should bring about a moral regeneration of their people. At the same time, however, the danger to the prince himself caused by the possession of the supreme power is dilated upon.

Laws of the Ideal State

In teaching, as well as in life, there was no other escape from their unbearable conditions open to the Greeks, except that which could be furnished by the mind of a powerful leader who had the ability both to govern and to aid.



MACEDON

AND THE WORLD EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER

By Rudolph von Scala

THE EARLIER HISTORY OF MACEDON

THE oldest history of Macedonia is obscure. There is, indeed, a list of kings mentioned, but these are for us little more than names. It is not until Amyntas I., about 540–498 B.C., that the Macedonian kingdom is brought nearer to us; thus first from its connection with world-stirring events we gain a fuller knowledge of Macedonia. Thrace, as is sufficiently well known, was, after the Scythian expedition of Darius, subdued by the Persian general Megabazus, who was left behind in Europe. Even Amyntas of Macedonia submitted to the Persian king, but remained prince of his own land, and was forced merely to pay tribute and furnish troops.

In this position remained his son and successor, Alexander (498–454 B.C.), who was compelled to follow Xerxes on his campaign against Greece, although in his heart he was favourably disposed towards the Greeks. He proved his friendliness to Greece whenever he could. At Plataea on the night before the attack arranged by Mardonius, he communicated the Persian plan to the Athenian generals and thus contributed to the splendid victory of the Greeks. After the retreat of the Persians from Europe the subjection of Alexander naturally ended. He was from that time an ally and friend of Athens, until the formation of the Athenian maritime league firmly established the hegemony of Athens on the Thraco-Macedonian coast and inspired the king with mistrust. At the end of his reign he adopted a hostile attitude towards Athens, and he owed it to the friendship of Cimon that his country escaped a devastating attack of the Athenian fleet. His admission to the Olympian games and the victory he won there were very important for him. By these acts his own origin and that of his race were recognised as Hellenic, although his people continued to be regarded as barbarians by the Greeks. Macedonia owed to him the acquisition of the district of Bisaltia around Lake Prasias. By this means Macedonia extended her territory to the Strymon and came into possession of mines, which produced a rich revenue for the king. Under him Macedonia included all the country from the Candavian Mountains to the Strymon and from Olympus northward as far as the mountains of the Upper Axius. Of the Greek coast towns, Therma and Pydna, at any rate, were then forced to recognise the Macedonian rule.

Macedonian Sympathy With Greece

Expansion of Macedon's Power

His son and successor, Perdiccas II. (454–413 B.C.), had during his reign to face a difficult situation. At first he was in alliance with Athens; but when, in 432 B.C., the Athenians concluded an alliance with Derdas, chief of the Elimioti, who was at war with Perdiccas, and with his own brother Philip, from whom the part of the kingdom which lay eastward

of the middle course of the Axius had seceded, Perdiccas joined the enemies of Athens. The rule of Athens weighed so heavily on her subjects that there was no lack of discontented and hostile spirits. Perdiccas availed himself of this state of affairs. Through his exertions the defection of Potidæa and the other Chalcidian towns from Athens was accomplished. By his counsel the Chalcidians destroyed their small places on the coast and went in a body to the newly founded town of Olynthus—the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Rebellion of the Disaffected

Athens immediately sent a fleet and troops to Chalcidice. Derdas, the opponent of Perdiccas, and Philip, joined the Athenian commander, who, too weak to attack Potidæa vigorously, had invaded Macedonia. They captured Therma and besieged Pydna. A new Athenian naval expedition, bearing troops under Callais, joined the army encamped before Pydna and compelled the king to make terms. When the Athenians subsequently marched away to Potidæa, Perdiccas declared the convention which had been forced from him void, and sent help to the Potidæans. But though they made him leader of their cavalry, he could not undertake the command in person, for his presence in his country was essential. He fought with success against Derdas and Philip. The latter was forced to give way, and fled to Sitalces, king of the Odrysæ, by whom he hoped to be reinstated in power. Athens being allied to Sitalces, Perdiccas was, however, able to divert the danger which an alliance of Athens, Sitalces, and his fugitive brother threatened; he won over the king of the Odrysæ by promises not to restore Philip and to negotiate a peace between Macedonia and Athens. This was actually completed—Perdiccas received Therma back from the Athenians and was bound in return to support them in their struggle against the Chalcidians. We hear no more of Derdas, who evidently recognised again the suzerainty of the king. A most serious danger threatened when, in 429 B.C., the Thracians invaded the land of Perdiccas—who had not carried out his promises to Sitalces—in order to make Amyntas, son of Philip, who had died in the meantime, king of all Macedonia and to make the Chalcidian towns subject to Athens.



A GREEK SOLDIER
Archelaus of Macedon made the hoplites, the heavy Greek infantry, the type on which he re-modelled his army.

Sitalces entered Macedonia with his powerful army and marched, plundering and devastating, along the Axius, down to the coast. Contrary to the preconcerted arrangement, the Athenian fleet was not ready on the spot to attack the Chalcidian towns in co-operation with him. The Odrysæans contented themselves with laying waste the plains, and the fortified towns remained unharmed. When winter began, and there came a growing scarcity of food, they withdrew.

Sitalces Devastates Macedonia

Perdiccas again extricated himself from his difficulties by diplomacy; he won over Seuthes, nephew of Sitalces, who had great influence, by the promise to give him his sister to wife with a rich dowry; and he this time really carried out his promise. The pretender Amyntas was given up, and we hear nothing more of him.

Perdiccas had afterwards to sustain a war with Arrhibæus, chief of the Lyncesti, and called in the aid of the Spartans. Since at the same time the Chalcidians desired the help of Sparta, Brasidas marched, in 424 B.C., through Thessaly to Macedonia. Athens now declared war against Perdiccas. The expectation which Perdiccas had entertained that Brasidas would subdue the rebellious chiefs of the Lyncesti was, however, not realised. In the first campaign no battle resulted at all, since Brasidas wished to reconcile the two antagonists, and not to strengthen the power of Perdiccas by the subjection of Arrhibæus. Since, however, a reconciliation could not be effected, Brasidas concluded an agreement with the Lyncestian and withdrew. In the second campaign, however, Brasidas and Perdiccas advanced into Lyncestis and defeated



MOUNTS OLYMPUS AND OSSA FROM THE PLAINS OF THESSALY
These famous mountains became, under Alexander I. of Macedon, the southern boundary of the Macedonian territory.

Arrhibæus at first, but without following up or making use of the victory. When, therefore, the Macedonians were seized with panic at the mere rumour of the arrival of those extraordinarily dreaded Illyrians and of their union with the enemy, and fled in the night, Brasidas, too, was compelled to retreat. This was the end of the Macedonian alliance with Sparta. Once more Perdiccas made advances to Athens and concluded a second treaty with her; but he did not play a conspicuous part at all in the war between Athens and Sparta that was being fought in Chalcidice. When he died, in 413 B.C., he left the kingdom, which he had rescued by foresight and astuteness from the greatest dangers, as extensive as when he inherited it.

By his lawful wife, Cleopatra, Perdiccas left a son, seven years old, for whom the crown was destined, and also a bastard, Archelaus, who is said to have been born to him by a slave of his elder brother, Alcetes. He was appointed, it would seem, by the dying king to be regent and guardian of the infant successor to the throne; but this did not satisfy Archelaus. He first put out of his way Alcetes, who, being addicted to drink, had won for himself the surname of the Funnel. He destroyed also Alexander, the son of Alcetes. He invited them to a banquet, and when they were drunk he had them thrown by night into a cart, which drove off with them—nobody knew whither. It was then the turn of the heir to the crown. He was drowned in a cistern. Archelaus told his mother that the boy had run after a goose, had fallen into the water, and had perished there. This was the story told of Archelaus in Athens. It may not be all true, and much may be exaggerated or false. This much is certain—that he availed himself of foul means to seize the throne. However, the services he rendered Macedonia justify the supposition that he felt himself called to rule; the advancement and development of the country in the way he thought right and profitable could, he believed, be carried out only by him as king.

Death of Perdiccas of Macedon

Archelaus Usurps the Throne

Thucydides says that Archelaus did more for his kingdom than all his predecessors combined Frequently when the Thracians and the Illyrians had made inroads, Macedonia had keenly felt the want of strong-walled places, where the inhabitants of the plains with their belongings might find refuge and might offer resistance in conjunction with the townsfolk. Now the limited number of fortified

towns was increased, and by this means the security of the inhabitants was strengthened. At any rate, when their hostile neighbours raided the land the inhabitants could no longer be carried off as readily as their goods. With increased security the industry of the inhabitants was bound to increase. Archelaus promoted the development of the land by making roads, and contributed largely towards rendering the interior more accessible. But the more Macedonia came into contact with the Greek civilisation through intercourse with the industrial towns on the coast, the more urgently did it require a suitable reorganisation of its army in order to win a place among the hostile and warlike states. It had repeatedly interfered in foreign affairs during the course of the Peloponnesian War as the ally of one or the other of the warring powers, and the defects of its own military system must have clearly appeared as a result. Archelaus recognised the defects and remedied them. His army consisted no longer, as formerly, of cavalry exclusively, but he added to his forces infantry, which he armed after the fashion of the Greek hoplites, or heavy infantry, and drilled in Greek style, whereas previously the national levy, when emergency required it, had been a badly armed and badly drilled rabble. We may assume that the value of his innovations lay in his making the foot-soldiers a permanent part of the Macedonian army. The nobility supplied the cavalry, as before, while the peasants, who now were brought into military service, composed the infantry.

What Archelaus Did for Macedon

What Archelaus aimed at, Philip II. was destined one day to carry on—that is, to liberate the country from its narrow limitations and to conquer for it a place among the civilised states of Hellas. Besides this, Archelaus was desirous of raising his people to a higher plane of civilisation. He always had Greek artists and poets living at his court in Pella. He founded at Dion, on the slopes of Olympus, a festival in honour of Zeus, marked by musical and gymnastic contests, such as were held in Greece; and Euripides composed for the inauguration of this festival his drama "Archelaus," in which he treated the history of the ancestor of the royal house of Macedon, whom arbitrarily, out of regard for his patron, he called Archelaus. Cultured himself, the king favoured Greek culture and learning when and where he could, so that they gradually spread from the court among the other classes of the people.

Efforts to Spread Greek Culture

There are few warlike occurrences to mention in the reign of Archelaus. In 410-409 B.C. he brought back the rebellious town of Pydna to its allegiance and waged a war with Arrhibæus, prince of the Lyncesti, and Sirrhas, the dynast of the Elimioti, who, apparently disturbed by the strengthening of the kingly power, had invaded Lower Macedonia; we know no details about this, except that Archelaus gave one of his daughters to Sirrhas to wife, and by this means ended the war. His services consist more in his reforms and in his endeavours to exalt his country. He died in 399 B.C. by a violent death, as did many of his predecessors and successors. A young Macedonian named Cratenas was his murderer. His son Orestes, a minor, succeeded him under the guardianship of Aeropus, who soon put him out of the way. The next forty years were filled with struggles for the throne and disturbances of every kind. The dynasties rapidly changed, and the pregnant plans and aims of Archelaus ceased to be carried out. The names as well as the dates of the reign of these kings who followed one another quickly are not certain. Different historians have drawn up different lists of rulers according to the legends they have preferred to follow: Archelaus, Aeropus, Pausanias, Amyntas, Argæus, Amyntas, or Archelaus, Orestes, Aeropus, Pausanias, Amyntas, Argæus, Amyntas. We are here little concerned with the names; the picture of calamitous party struggles, which is shown us by that period, remains the same whether we adopt the longer or the shorter list. And, as very often happens, foreign enemies knew how to avail themselves of the internal distractions of the country.

A Period of Calamitous Struggles

Olynthus held at this time the foremost position in Chalcidice. Situated in front of Macedonia and projecting with three peninsulas into the Ægean Sea, Chalcidice had been early occupied by the Greeks and possessed a number of flourishing commercial cities and prosperous agricultural towns. Under the influence

and guidance of Olynthus the Chalcidian towns had united in a league, which left the individual cities administratively independent, but in other respects was intended to prevent the disastrous splitting up of their strength, since for the common interest the separate states waived all claim to follow a policy of their own, whether in foreign affairs or in commercial transactions. In the meetings of the league, attended by delegates from the constituent states, at which the administrative board was chosen, resolutions were passed on the questions of foreign politics, which became binding on the individual states. The same course was adopted in the sphere of commercial policy; just as a war was resolved on by the league and waged by the league, so commercial treaties were subject to the decision of the league.

The Towns Sink Their Differences

When we add that in the towns which were members of the league there existed equality of laws, and a citizenship of the league which allowed the acquisition of property and the conclusion of marriages; which gave individuals freedom of movement in other states besides their native state, and exempted them from the burdensome barriers which Greek states had formerly erected against each other precisely owing to the citizenship, we can see in this league of the Chalcidian towns a consolidated state, with which the neighbours and even the states of the mother country had to reckon. Potidæa, the most important town of Chalcidice next to Olynthus had at last joined the league, which directed its efforts towards attaching to itself as many towns as possible, and did not shrink from forcible measures in order to attain this end. The Bottiæans, Acanthians, Mendeans, and Apollonians were not members of the league, since they were unwilling to surrender their political independence; Amphipolis also, the town on the Strymon, held aloof.



A HORSEMAN OF THE MACEDONIAN ARMY

Prior to its reorganisation by Archelaus, the Macedonian army consisted entirely of cavalry drawn from the nobility. From a bronze in the Naples Museum.

Amyntas II. or III., who reigned from about 390 to 389 B.C. joined this league of the Chalcidian towns soon after his accession to the throne. He concluded with it not only an alliance for mutual help in the event of either party to the treaty being attacked, but also a commercial treaty, in which advantages were conceded to the Chalcidians over other states in articles to be exported from Macedonia.

By these measures Amyntas was clearly seeking support against some imminent danger, for he also made concessions of territory to his ally. Unfortunately, we are unacquainted with details of the course of events; we only learn that Amyntas was driven by the Illyrians from his land, that Argæus, clearly in concert with these Illyrians, ascended the throne, and that the Chalcidians penetrated into Macedonia in the name of Amyntas and conquered great parts of it, including Pella, the capital. In any case events soon took a favourable turn for Amyntas; supported by the Thessalians he returned after two years of absence with an army, entered his kingdom, and found now that

Chalcidians Invade Macedonia

the Chalcidians did not wish to give up the land they had acquired. We hear nothing more of Argæus; he had certainly been quickly deposed.

At this crisis, Amyntas, not being strong enough to face the Chalcidian league by himself, applied to Sparta for help. Acanthus and Apollonia, which had no longer been able alone to defend their autonomy against the encroachments of Olynthus, had already sent envoys there. Sparta, thus solicited for help, consented. In 383 B.C. Eudamidas invaded Chalcidice, but with his weak forces—Phœbidas, who was to accompany him had on the way occupied the Cadmea—was unable to undertake any serious operations. Potidæa alone deserted the league and joined Sparta. The next year Teleutias arrived at the head of 10,000 warriors. He had urged Amyntas to spare no efforts to regain possession of his kingdom; to hire troops, since the land that was left him was too small to yield him an army for the field, and to win over the neighbouring chiefs by presents of money. In accordance with these instructions, Amyntas, with a small army, and Derdas, chief of the Elimioti, with 400 horsemen, joined the Spartan commander in his advance.

Greek Help Against Chalcidice

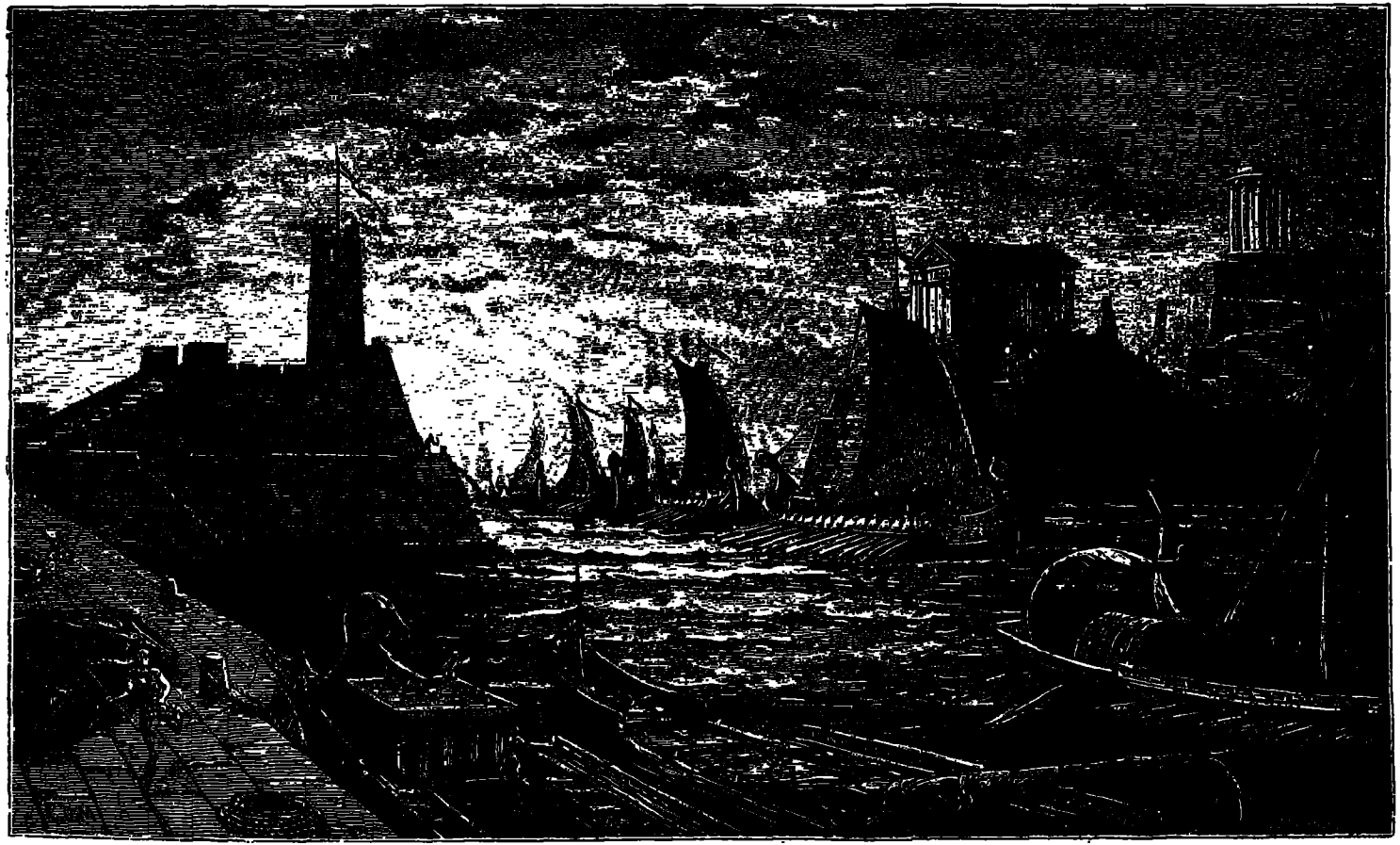
At the beginning Teleutias gained a victory over the allies under the walls of Olynthus; but after that he sustained a reverse and was himself killed. It was left to Polybiades to invest Olynthus by land and sea and to cut it off from all communication. The Olynthians, through stress of hunger, were forced to make terms. The result was that they were obliged to dissolve the Chalcidian league, recognise the supremacy of Sparta, and furnish her with troops. The power of Olynthus, however, was not broken. The city soon revived and stood once more at the head of a powerful confederacy. The conquered territory in Macedonia had, of course, been given up, and Amyntas thus became again master of all Macedonia. Chiefly, then, through the support of foreign powers, Amyntas extricated his kingdom undiminished from its difficulties. The period of distress was followed by years of tranquillity and peace. The political situation of the Greek peninsula was in the king's favour. Sparta, which had just shown her power by the humiliation of Olynthus, was too much taken up by the rise of Thebes and its immense progress under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, to be able now to extend her power in Chalcidice.

Chalcidian League Dissolved

At the same time Athens had succeeded in founding the second Athenian maritime confederacy and in inducing many towns on the Thracian coast as well as on the Chalcidian peninsula to join it. But Olynthus on the one side, Amphipolis on the other, did not enter it. Olynthus, it is true, was for the moment humiliated by Sparta, but still showed a degree of power which commanded respect. Amphipolis, in an extremely favourable situation on the mouth of the Strymon and with a rich hinterland on the high-road from Macedonia and Chalcidice to Thrace, itself originally founded by the Athenians from whom it afterwards revolted, was destined to be brought back under the dominion of the Athenians, now that they had again planted themselves firmly in these parts. Athens spared no sacrifices and equipped fleets and armies to attain that end. Under these circumstances we understand the aim of the alliance concluded between Amyntas and Athens, although the terms of it are not preserved to us. Amyntas sought support against the towns of Chalcidice, once his confederates and now his bitter enemies. Athens desired a powerful ally in her endeavour to restore her former power. We know that at the peace congress at Sparta in 371 B.C., Amyntas admitted the claims of Athens to Amphipolis and offered to support her in the reconquest of the town. What, indeed, can Athens have offered Amyntas as compensation for this proferred assistance? Unfortunately the terms to which the two parties agreed in the proposed alliance have not been preserved. But we shall soon see how great a part Amphipolis somewhat later was destined to play once more in the relations between Macedonia and Athens.

Macedonian Alliance with Athens

An alliance was formed also between Jason of Pheræ and Amyntas of Macedon. Jason had succeeded in suppressing political dissension in Thessaly, and stood as *Tagus* at the head of a united country. In the midst of the numerous unruly and discontented elements which must have existed there, when the power of this one man could be developed only at the cost of a number of families accustomed to



THE FLEET OF THE SPARTAN ADMIRAL TELEUTIAS, ALLY OF AMYNTAS OF MACEDON, ATTACKING PIRÆUS, THE PORT OF ATHENS

exercise a tyranny of their own, he thought it advisable to be on a good footing with his northern neighbours in order that Macedonia might not become a rendezvous for his foes. Perhaps also he wished to be able to reckon on the firmly re-established power of Amyntas in executing his own ambitious plans, for he aimed at nothing less than the hegemony of Greece. From all we know, this treaty started with Jason. The circumstance points to the fact that Amyntas at the end of his reign must have once more obtained an important and undisputed position. But before Jason could carry out his great schemes he was assassinated; and almost at the same time—in 370 B.C.—Amyntas also died.

The Death of King Amyntas



EURYDICE
The scheming wife of Amyntas II., king of Macedon.

In Thessaly, Jason's power, after the short reigns of his brothers Polydorus and Polyphron, who were likewise assassinated, was transferred to his nephew Alexander. The successors of Jason, by their cruelty and tyranny, soon roused universal discontent, which they on their side sought to overcome by murder and banishment. Exiled nobles came from Larissa to Pella. Urged by them and by other Thessalians, Alexander of Macedon, the eldest of the three sons of Amyntas and his wife Eurydice, marched into Thessaly, drove out the garrisons of the tyrant of Pherae from Larissa and Crannon, and occupied the two towns. This proceeding did not please the Thessalians, who wished to be freed from the yoke of Alexander of Pherae, but not to have two lords instead of one; and they now solicited the help of the Thebans. Meantime, the Macedonian Alexander had been obliged to return to his country, where Ptolemy of Alorus, the paramour of Eurydice, was grasping at the crown. The garrisons which he had left behind in Thessaly could not long hold out without him, and thus his attempt to extend his power beyond the borders of his own kingdom was frustrated.



COIN OF PERDICCAS III.
A fine gold stater of Perdiccas III., the predecessor of Philip of Macedon.

But this was not the worst. In Macedonia itself foreign influence was destined once more to become predominant for some years. The Thebans, called in by the Thessalians, came under the leadership of Pelopidas, and arranged matters as best suited their own interests. From Thessaly, Pelopidas went also to Macedonia and brought about a reconciliation between Alexander and Ptolemy. But soon after his departure Alexander was murdered by Ptolemy, who became the guardian of Perdiccas, the second son of Amyntas, heir to the throne, but a minor. New complications ensued. A certain Pausanias came forward as claimant to the crown, occupied Anthemus and Threma with Greek mercenaries, and actually found supporters in the country. Under these circumstances Ptolemy and Eurydice, who were now married, turned to the Athenian general Iphicrates, who at that very time was cruising on the coast of Thrace. Pausanias was driven out of the country by him. But the Thebans, anxious not to lose once more their recently acquired influence in Macedonia, sent Pelopidas there again in 368 B.C. He concluded a treaty with Ptolemy, the regent and guardian of Perdiccas, in virtue of which men were to be furnished to the Theban army and hostages given; among these latter, Philip, the third son of Amyntas, and eventually king of Macedonia, came to Thebes. The rule of Ptolemy did not last long. In 365 B.C. he was murdered by Perdiccas, who now ascended the throne as king. He withdrew from the influence of Thebes, and openly took the side of the Athenians, lending them assistance in their wars against the newly formed Chalcidian League, which once more was headed by Olynthus. Afterwards, however, he became hostile to the Athenians—we do not know exactly on what grounds. We might conjecture that the capture of Pydna by the Athenians, which occurred at this time, and was connected with the conquest of Potidæa and Torone in Chalcidice, had made Perdiccas an opponent of Athens. The Athenian arms won a victory over the Macedonian forces, and the contending parties made a compromise, the terms of which, it was said at Athens, were too favourable to Perdiccas and in 362 B.C. cost the Athenian commander, Callisthenes, his life. Perdiccas fell in a great battle against the Illyrians.

Peace with Profit to the Conquered



PHILIP OF MACEDON

AND THE FOUNDING OF THE EMPIRE

AFTER the death of Perdiccas, Philip, youngest son of King Amyntas, took over the government on behalf of his infant nephew; but soon after—we do not indeed know the exact date—the nobles and national army of Macedonia summoned him to be king, and thus conferred on him the dignity and position for which he showed himself amply qualified from the outset.

Since more than four thousand Macedonians had perished with Perdiccas, the whole land was a prey to consternation and despair. The Illyrians invaded Macedonia and occupied the adjoining parts. Owing to this, their northern neighbours, the Pæonians, were likewise emboldened to invade and plunder the adjacent state. And, as had happened so often before on a change of ruler, kinsmen of the royal house appeared as claimants to the throne. Argæus, one of the claimants, found support at Athens, which had long been fruitlessly trying to reconquer Amphipolis, and now hoped to realise its object at last. In return for the promise of Argæus to help to conquer Amphipolis, the Athenians supported him with troops, which were landed in Methone by their strategus, Mantias, and then led to Ægæ by the claimant. Another claimant, the Pausanias mentioned towards the close of the preceding chapter, found support in the Thracians. This hopeless and complicated state of affairs showed only too clearly the point at which an energetic ruler must begin in order to lead his country onwards to a prosperous development and a more glorious future. The surrounding barbarian tribes would have to be subdued and brought to respect the power of Macedonia.

Quarrels for the Throne

Even when this was successfully accomplished, Macedonia could not win a more important place in the political system of the old world until it was economically independent of those Hellenes to whom the coast belonged. Macedonia could develop its powers only when the export of its natural products by sea was open to it, and when the import of foreign commodities was facilitated. But up till now it had been economically dependent on the cities on the coast—namely, Olynthus, the Chalcidian League, and Athens, which, under Timotheus, had again obtained a firm footing in Chalcidice, had subdued the rich cities of Potidæa and Torone in the Olynthian War, and had actually conquered the originally Macedonian towns of Pydna and Methone on the western shore of the Thermaic Gulf; so that no seaport worthy of mention was anywhere left to Macedonia. In fact, this remoteness from the coast had led to the circumstance that foreign states obtained and exercised political influence in Macedonia. But the success which the previous kings of the country had failed to obtain, despite their numerous attempts, was destined to attend the efforts of the young and energetic Philip to free himself from this cramped situation.

Macedon's Dependence on Greece

As we have already seen, Philip had been surrendered to Ptolemy as a hostage to the Thebans, and had thus early learnt in his own person the impotency and weakness of his country. However painful to the young patriot may have been his sojourn in Thebes, it certainly was beneficial to him, for at that time this town, through the services of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, stood at the zenith of its power. It is not known when he was allowed to return to Pella, but certainly it was before the death of his brother Perdiccas. Beyond this we know nothing of his youth: wherever he appeared afterwards he showed himself to be no rude and unschooled barbarian, but emphatically a man who valued Greek education and culture, and knew how to appropriate if for himself.

Philip a Hostage in Thebes

This could not have been due merely to his stay at Thebes. In Macedonia itself progress had in the meanwhile been made on the path pointed out by Archelaus. King Perdiccas, too, loved Hellenic art and Hellenic learning.

Philip undertook a difficult task when he first assumed the government for his nephew; but he showed natural capacity for it. When Argæus, rejected by the citizens of Ægæ, returned to Methone, he attacked and defeated him. This first success inspirited the Macedonians, and filled them afresh with that confidence and courage which had failed them after their defeat by the Illyrians. But this victory had far more important results: Philip sent back without a ransom the Athenians who were taken prisoners in the battle, and thus paved a way towards a reconciliation with Athens. A secret treaty was arranged with the Athenian envoys, which on their return was laid before the council, but not before the popular assembly. In return for Philip's promise to conquer Amphipolis for them the Athenians were willing to surrender Pydna to him.

Philip's Early Triumphs

But before this Philip had first to secure his frontiers against his enemies. At the beginning of the summer of 358 B.C. he began the campaigns which were necessary partly to secure the frontiers, partly to win back the portions of Macedonian territory occupied by the enemy. Philip turned his arms first against the Pæonians, whose king, Agis, had died about this time. After defeating them he forced them to submit to the power of Macedonia. He then marched against the Illyrians, whose king, Bardylis, offered peace on the terms of recognising the status quo. Philip could have peace if he waived all claim to the territory occupied by Bardylis. But Philip rejected the conditions. After a fierce battle, in which Philip himself commanded his right wing, the Macedonians were finally victors. The prize of victory for them and their king was the expulsion of the Illyrians from the Macedonian towns, which they had previously occupied.

Illyrians Driven From Macedon

Thus triumphant in the north and west, Philip turned his arms the next year 357 B.C., against Amphipolis, as he had promised in the secret treaty with the Athenians. Strangely enough, the Athenians themselves took no steps to secure the capture of the long-coveted town, but even rejected the offer of surrender made by the Amphipolitans to avoid becoming subjects to the Macedonians.

Apparently they trusted Philip's promises; yet the conduct of the Athenians is the less intelligible since, after the successful storming of Amphipolis, they had no intention of fulfilling the duty imposed on them by the treaty of giving up Pydna to Philip. Did they think to keep the one town and to acquire the other in addition? The king did not hold this view. The leaders of the Athenian party in Amphipolis were banished, and the town became thenceforth Macedonian, even though its civic independence was left it, and it was compensated by other acts of favour for the loss of the freedom it had so often and so long defended. Not long after, Pydna also was captured and again incorporated into the Macedonian kingdom, to which it had belonged before its occupation by the Athenians. Philip thus became master of these towns, both of which were strategically important, since the one commanded the road to Thrace, the other the road to Thessaly. Both also opened for the king the way to the sea. But what made the possession of Amphipolis especially valuable was that, simultaneously with, or shortly after, its capture, the small town of Crenides, which had been founded by the Thasians, being attacked by the surrounding Thracians, sought and obtained the help of Philip. Crenides received new settlers, and was called Philippi after its new founder.

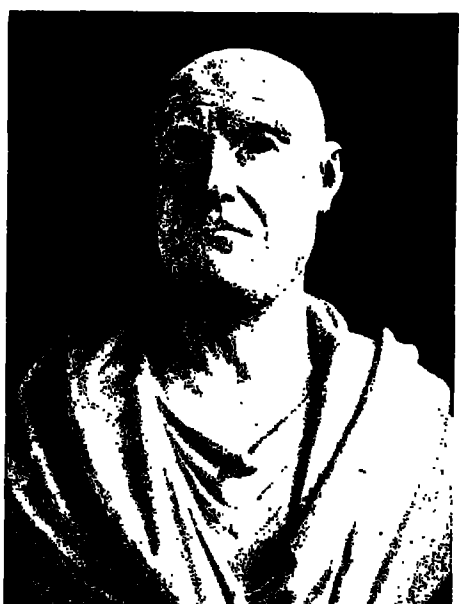
Founding of Philippi

This new town, which soon flourished and found in the kingdom of Macedonia a powerful protection against its barbarian neighbours, presented on its side a favourable base from which to command the mountains of Pangæum, which were rich in precious metals, and the well-wooded plain of Datus; with the possession of Crenides Philip had acquired possession of all this district. The gold-mines were systematically worked, and are said to have brought him in 1,000 talents yearly. And while Amphipolis at the mouth of the Strymon offered him a port from which his ships might sail, Datus supplied him with the requisite timber and pitch for shipbuilding.

The Athenians now came to recognise the disadvantages of using someone else to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. They vented their indignation in high-sounding

public resolutions. The treaty between them and Philip was, of course, broken off.

Athens at the moment lacked the means, and also the strength which proceeds from a definitely directed policy, to be able to carry on war against the Macedonian king with prospect of success. She had to fight with the rebellious members of her confederation, Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and others, and made great sacrifices in order to bring them back to their obedience. The Thracian Chersonese, the possession of which was the more important to her because through it she commanded the passage into the Black Sea, had to be defended by her against the continued attacks of the Thracian princes. And the defects which had often calamitously affected and crippled the conduct of the campaign in the struggle against Cotys and his son Cersebleptes during recent years—the indolence and self-indulgence of the Athenian citizens, their reluctance to take the field, the constant fluctuations to which their party-life was subject—were all unfortunately apparent when war was declared on Philip.



PHILIP II. OF MACEDON
The great father of a still more renowned son, Alexander the Great, whose world empire he made possible.

It might have been supposed that Athens would now, as a matter of course, have been anxious to come to terms with Olynthus and the league of the Chalcidian towns, in order to obtain a base of operations in the immediate vicinity of Macedonia, and to oppose Philip vigorously in concert with the powerful resources of Olynthus, especially since Olynthus had already sent an embassy to Athens, and had taken measures to arrange the matters in dispute, when Philip marched against Amphipolis. The proposal was not then acceded to; and now, after the outbreak of the war, we do not hear that Athens sought allies in Chalcidice against Macedonia. On the contrary, Philip joined Olynthus and its league. He conceded to them Anthemus, a Macedonian town, and promised to conquer Potidæa for them, which, situated in the immediate vicinity of Olynthus, was the key to the peninsula of Pallene, and had been made an Athenian possession by Timotheus. Philip now advanced with a strong army against Potidæa, took it after a long siege, since the Athenian relieving fleet came too late, and sold the inhabitants into slavery, while he let the Athenian citizens who had settled there depart without a ransom. The town was destroyed and its territory given over to the Olynthians in 356 B.C. Thus Athens had once more lost a strong position.

Athens Without Allies

Potidæa Taken and Destroyed

About this time the Athenians negotiated a treaty of alliance with Cetriporis, the ruler of the western part of Thrace, who was indignant with Philip on account of the loss of Crenides and the adjoining coast, and with the two princes of Pæonia and Illyria, Grabus and Lyppeius, old enemies of Macedonia. In the treaty assistance was expressly promised to Cetriporis in order to wrest Crenides and "other places" from the king. The concessions made to Grabus and Lyppeius, and the promises made on their part by the three allies to Athens have unfortunately been broken off the stone on which the treaty is inscribed. This league might certainly have caused trouble to Philip. But before the allies were completely prepared and could proceed to united and vigorous action, they were subdued singly, so that there was no longer any serious danger threatening Macedonia.

Athens, left alone, showed herself no match for the king; she had always been worsted when opposed to him, and she was destined in the further course of the war to reap no laurels. For in the face of the losses which she had previously suffered, it is of little importance that in 353 B.C.

the Athenian general, Chares, inflicted a defeat on a Macedonian detachment of mercenaries at Cypsela in Thrace, and that the newly formed Macedonian fleet could escape his ships only by a stratagem, or that here and there Macedonian harbours were occasionally blockaded. Philip, who accompanied the Theban Pammenes on his expedition to Ariobarzanes, the rebellious satrap on the Hellespont, and pushed on as far as the Hebrus, had taken away from the Athenians Abdera and Maronea, towns on the Thracian coast, which had belonged to the Athenian maritime confederacy since 375 B.C. These towns remained in the king's hands even after the victory of Chares. Philip indeed turned back, either because the Thracian chief Amadocus in the district of the Hebrus barred the passage through his territory, or because he wished to avoid a serious collision with Chares. For this time, at any rate, the Athenians were freed from their fear of a Macedonian invasion of their possessions on the Thracian Chersonese.

Athens' Unavailing Victories

In the same year, however, Athens suffered another loss. Philip, having returned from Thrace, marched against Methone, which lay north of Pydna and had up till now remained in the possession of the Athenians; after a gallant resistance the citizens surrendered the town, which was plundered and destroyed, they themselves being allowed to withdraw. On this occasion also, as at Potidæa, Athenian aid came up too late. Philip hiself lost his right eye by an arrow during the siege.

Meantime an opportunity presented itself to the king for interfering in Thessaly. Here Alexander of Pheræ had been obliged to surrender the headship of Thessaly, which Jason held, and was at strife and variance not only with the Aleudæ of Larissa, but with the whole country. Even after his death, in 359 B.C., his successors, Lycophron and Pitholaus, were not able even to attain the former position of a Jason. By 361 the Thessalians, who had formed themselves into a league, had concluded an alliance with Athens against the attacks of Alexander; but Athens did nothing to secure for herself the dominant influence in Thessaly. So she lost here also a favourable opportunity, and by inactivity and want of foresight let things go so far that Philip became master of the whole situation in Thessaly.

Athenian Want of Foresight

In the so-called Third Holy War the Phocians, when attacked by the Amphictyons, especially by the Thebans and Locrians, had made themselves masters of the temple at Delphi and of its treasures, and had enrolled an army of mercenaries therewith; by which means they were able not merely to repel their antagonists, but also to interfere in the affairs of foreign states. The Dynasts of Pheræ had joined them; the Aleuadæ, on the contrary, and the Thessalian League called in King Philip. He immediately started for Thessaly, took over the supreme command of the army of the Thessalian League, defeated Phaellus, the commander of the Phocians, and occupied Pagasæ, the port of Pheræ. Onomarchus, it is true, advanced to bring help, worsted Philip in two battles and drove him out of the country; but the king was not the man to let himself be deterred by this disaster. In the next spring, 352 B.C., he advanced into Thessaly once more, and this time succeeded in checking and completely defeating Onomarchus, in a spot admirably suited to the manœuvres of his own and the Thessalian cavalry. The forces of the Dynast of Pheræ came too late to aid Onomarchus. The Phocian general himself and six hundred mercenaries were left on the field of battle; the prisoners, three thousand in number, were thrown into the sea, which was near, as being robbers of the temple. Phayllus was able to bring only a small number safely to Thermopylæ, where the detachments of other friendly states, such as Sparta and Athens, joined him.

Slaughter of the Phocians

Philip advanced through Thessaly to Thermopylæ; but the occupation of the pass made him turn back. He had indeed no intention of risking the advantages which he had just gained in Thessaly by a defeat at Thermopylæ, a pass most difficult to take; yet the rejoicings, especially at Athens, were great when it was known that Philip was not advancing into the heart of Greece. This result was willingly ascribed to the despatch of the Athenian troops under Nausicles. The consequence of the victory over Onomarchus was the capitulation of Pheræ, and the expulsion of the tyrants there, a success which filled the Thessalians with great gratitude towards Philip and made them perma-

nently his allies. From this time Philip was the leader of the Thessalian confederation and commanded their forces, to the maintenance of which the customs from various ports were applied. Thus he attained the object for which his eldest brother, Alexander, had striven in vain.

Meantime, affairs in Thrace had taken a turn which caused Philip to interfere. We have already learned what exertions and trouble it had cost Athens to maintain for herself the Thracian Chersonese, an old Athenian possession, against the attacks of the Thracian princes Cotys and Cersebleptes. For more than ten years war had been waged there against the Thracians, without sufficient forces, and therefore without successful results. Athens was not in a position to reduce her restless and conquest-loving neighbours to a state of permanent tranquility, so that she might enjoy her possessions. Things seemed likely to turn out disastrously, when about 353 B.C.., Cersebleptes made peace with the Athenians, and left the Chersonese to them, after evacuating the places conquered by him.

Dearly Bought Peace

But this reconciliation of the former opponents filled the Greek towns of Byzantium and Perinthus with anxious forebodings. They had won their independence from Athens in the war of the league, had left the Athenian maritime confederation, and for the moment indeed were living at peace with Athens but not exactly on terms of special amity. The two towns had also repeatedly suffered at the hands of Cotys and afterwards of Cersebleptes.

This anxiety was shared by the above-mentioned Thracian chief in the Hebrus district, Amadocus. He, as well as Byzantium and Perinthus, sought to join Philip of Macedonia and concluded a treaty with him, which was aimed at Cersebleptes but indirectly at the Athenians also. In fact we find Philip soon afterwards in Thrace, pressing along the Propontis, on which the kingdom of Cersebleptes lay; here he besieged Heræontæchus, a stronghold of the Thracian princes. The news caused great consternation at Athens; and it was resolved to equip a great fleet. But, as on so many previous occasions, notwithstanding their resolutions and their good intentions in the beginning, nothing serious was done. When, some months afterwards, ten ships put to sea, Cersebleptes had already been overthrown, had been forced to make concessions of territory to the allies, and had given his son as hostage. Charidemus, leader of the Greek mercenaries, who had long been with him, was obliged to leave Thrace, and now entered the Athenian service. It must have been in this campaign that Cetriporis—who ruled that part of Thrace which immediately borders on Macedonia and had finally, in 356 B.C., attempted to make war on Philip in alliance with Athens and the princes Grabus and Lyppeius, as related above—was dethroned and his kingdom confiscated. Macedonia thus extended as far as the river Nestus.

Expansion of Macedonia

The results of the long war were unusually favourable to Philip; the country from Thermopylæ as far as the Propontis came under his influence, and the last great possession of Athens, the Thracian Chersonese, was now directly menaced. But before this war ended a serious danger was destined to confront the king. As early as 352 B.C., while he was still occupied in Thessaly, Olynthus made peace with its old opponent Athens, contrary to the terms of the treaty entered into with Philip, which enjoined on the allies the joint conclusion of peace with their enemies as well as the joint declaration of war. Merely party politics alone induced the Olynthians to take this step; the supporters of Macedonia encountered an opposition which was friendly to Athens, and sought to join the Athenians, and the peace concluded with the latter city was a victory for this party. Besides this, there is no doubt that there prevailed in Athens an intense desire to render the Olynthians hostile to the hated Philip, and that the proper means were employed to create a popular feeling in favour of Athens.

For the time matters rested with the making of peace, and did not go so far as an alliance. Philip first took active measures when Olynthus received into its walls his half-brother, who sought to gain the Macedonian crown, and refused to surrender him at the king's request. He then advanced into Chalcidice with a strong army, and Olynthus concluded an alliance with Athens in 349 B.C. There Demosthenes delivered his first speech against Philip; and his Olynthic orations sharpened the consciences of his fellow-

The Great Orations of Demosthenes

townsmen, who by their levity and dilatoriness had largely contributed to Philip's successes. He did not, however, succeed in completely rousing the Athenians and making them exert the force which he considered necessary, and from which alone he augured success. Chares, it is true, was immediately ordered to

Philip Destroys Olynthus

Olynthus with 30 triremes and 2,000 light troops, and, under Charidemus, 18 more ships with 4,000 mercenaries and 150 horsemen sailed for the same destination; but the citizen hoplites remained at home. Of these 2,000 were at last sent, with 300 horsemen, when Olynthus appealed urgently for help, being hard pressed by Philip, who had subdued one town after another in Chalcidice and, in spite of the preliminary successes of Charidemus, had actually invested the town itself. But they came too late. In the interval Olynthus had fallen. The town was destroyed and the land divided among the Macedonians in the summer of 348 B.C.

The fall of Olynthus produced consternation at Athens. The ten-years war with Philip had brought a succession of disasters to the Athenians; their possessions in Chalcidice and on the Macedonian coast were lost. The prospect of once more acquiring Amphipolis, which they formerly possessed, was gone completely. Gone, too, was the hope they had entertained that by promptly bringing aid to Olynthus and holding it against the king they might gain there at any rate a firm foothold, from which they might perhaps regain their influence in Chalcidice. Now indeed it seemed dangerously probable that they would lose the Chersonese also, and their old possessions Imbros, Lemnos, and Scyros through a Macedonian attack. There was the additional difficulty that large sums of money had been already employed in the war—Demosthenes and Æschines estimate them at 1,500 talents—

Financial Crisis in Athens

and the Athenian finances had thus been considerably drained. Especially after the war of the league, the money contributions of the allied states were much diminished, while the expenses of the public treasury, the theatre, and law courts had rather increased. The prospect of obtaining help from outside was destroyed, since not one of the Greek states, on the invitation of the Athenians to make common war with Philip, had shown any readiness. We can well understand the desire for peace that prevailed at Athens.

The revulsion at Athens in favour of Philip was produced by an event quite unimportant in itself. An Athenian citizen, Phrynon of Rhamnus, having fallen into the hands of Macedonian privateers during the Olympian truce of the gods, bought his freedom, and on his return to his native town begged his fellow-citizens to send an envoy with him to Philip, in order if possible to recover the ransom. This was done. Ctesiphon journeyed with him to Macedonia. Philip received the two courteously, refunded the ransom, and made it known to the Athenians how unwillingly he was at war with them, and how gladly he would be reconciled to them. The effect of this message was that at Athens a decree of the people, passed after the fall of Amphipolis, by which it was forbidden to receive heralds or envoys of peace from Philip, was repealed on the motion of Philocrates. And the good feeling towards Philip was still further increased when, on the

Philip's Generosity to Athens

application of the Athenian people, he released without ransom two Athenian citizens who had been captured by him. These on their return to Athens praised both the friendly attitude of the king and his strong inclination for peace.

The Athenians therefore resolved to send an embassy to Philip and to enter into negotiations for peace. The terms were settled in Macedonia, and then, after the return of the Athenian ambassadors, and the immediate arrival of two representatives of Philip, were discussed in the popular assembly at Athens and accepted after a warm debate. The recognition of the *status quo*—that is, the abandonment of all claim to Amphipolis, Potidæa and all the other former Athenian possessions on the Chalcidian and Thracian coast—was the chief condition of the so-called "Peace of Philocrates"; the possession of the Thracian Chersonese was, on the other hand, guaranteed to Athens. A second article extended the peace to the allies on both sides. Under "allies," however, Philip understood only the members of the Attic League, while at Athens there was a disposition to include under this term the Phocians and Cersebleptes. This changed the whole aspect of affairs. The king was at the moment in Thrace, waging war

against Cersebleptes, and was urged by the Thebans to bring them help against the Phocians—the most favourable opportunity that could be imagined for interfering in Greek affairs and for firmly establishing the Macedonian influence on the other side of Thermopylæ.

Since his representatives refused to include the Phocians and Cersebleptes expressly in the peace, Demosthenes' contention was agreed to—namely, that the Phocians and Cersebleptes were not mentioned in the terms of the peace, and that therefore "allies" meant in Philip's sense of the word only the states represented in the synod. On these terms peace and an alliance were concluded, and the treaty was sworn at Athens. In order that the king might take the oath to it, a new embassy was sent to him, in which among others Demosthenes and Æschines took part. On Demosthenes' motion the council ordered the ambassadors to start without delay and to hasten to the king by the shortest route, for as soon as he had taken the oath the orator hoped he would make no further conquests in Thrace. Demosthenes certainly believed that by his personal negotiations with the king he would be able to obtain the inclusion of Cersebleptes in the peace and avert the danger threatening the Phocians. But the embassy had to wait for Philip at Pella; and when he at last gave audience to the Athenian envoys he declared that he neither would nor could abandon his Thracian conquests nor desist from war with the Phocians; openly and before the eyes of all—besides Athens, other Greek states had sent embassies to Pella—he made preparations for this war. If Demosthenes had calculated on an alteration of the terms of peace through personal negotiations, he had deceived himself; and if afterwards in his orations he made not himself but his fellow envoys and the craft of Philip responsible for this disappointment, his conduct is, humanly, quite intelligible. When Philip was actually on the march against Phocis, he signed the peace with the conditions laid down at Athens. The Macedonian king was now about to realise the scheme that may long have been floating before his mind, the establishment of his influence in Greece. When he marched against Thermopylæ, Phalæcus, the Phocian general, and 8,000 mercenaries laid down their arms. Phocis was in Philip's hand. His request that the Athenians should allow their army to join his, in order to settle the Phocian question in common, was rejected. The feeling in Athens was now changed, and the bitter opponents of Philip, especially Demosthenes and Hegesippus, made their influence felt. Thus the Athenians were obliged to approve and allow things to be done without sharing in the work, for they were helpless to prevent them, and could not make up their minds to join Philip in his task of reorganising Hellenic affairs. The Amphictyonic council, summoned by Philip, gave him the two votes of the Phocians, and decreed the destruction of all the Phocian towns and the settlement of the inhabitants in villages—a penalty which they had well deserved, on account of their violation and plundering of the temple at Delphi, contrary to the law of nations, and of their numerous cruelties during the war waged by them. In alliance and amity with Thebes, and in possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, Philip could now march at any moment into Greece, as the decree of the Amphictyons allowed him at any time to interfere in Greek affairs. Thus, an important step had been taken towards the uniting of Greece, continuallydisturbed

Failure of Athens Embassy

Philip's Designs on Greece



DEMOSTHENES
The great statesman and orator who roused Athens for the final struggle with Philip of Macedon. From the statue in the Vatican.

by tribal and party feuds and exhausted by ceaseless wars, under the headship of Macedonia. In the course of this war, lasting twelve years, Philip not only made his country immune against the assaults of neighbouring powers that had formerly harassed it so often, but had brought Macedonia as an equal member into the state system of the time, and had actually created for it a leading position among the kindred tribes of the Hellenes. Philip never planned a conquest of Greece, as his opponents falsely said of him, but a Macedonian hegemony.

Macedon's Rise to Power

In Athens the opposition which existed against the prevailing system of government increased after the Peace of Philocrates; the discredit brought by it on the city was finally evident to all. In addition to this, the opposition pointed to the glorious past of Athens, compared the present with it, and managed to remind the citizens from time to time that the headship of Greece belonged to them and not to a "barbarian," for as such the radical orators took pleasure in stigmatising Philip. They opposed the ambitious Macedonian by appealing to the spirit of nationality. Indeed, it is quite comprehensible that a nation with a great past should stake everything in order to remain in possession of her ancient power, and should refuse to divest herself of it in favour of another without a struggle. Up to this moment, Athens had certainly shown merely weakness where strength might have been expected. Nevertheless she roused herself once more.

This was the work of the great Demosthenes. He and his party had set their minds on a war from the very outset; not merely an Athenian, however, but a Hellenic war. He himself, and other orators of his party, frequently visited the Peloponnese, Eubœa, and other parts of Greece, in order to effect alliances with Athens. For the condition of affairs in Greece had driven into the arms of Philip the states of the Peloponnese, Megalopolis, Elis, Messene, which were continually attacked by Sparta, as well as the foremost towns of Eubœa, which Athens, in 348 B.C., had alienated by supporting Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria. The important point now was to bring over to Athens the states which had gone to the side of Macedonia; in short, the Macedonian influence had here, as in other states, to be destroyed, and the Athenian once more to be made predominant. And it may well be ascribed to the indefatigable efforts of Demosthenes that, in 342 B.C., four years after the Peace of Philocrates, Athens had concluded an alliance with the Messenians, Argives, Megalopolitans, Achæans, and other states, and that soon afterwards Eubœa, Megara, Corinth and others also joined the league.

The Statesmanship of Demosthenes

It is evident that these conditions could not escape the king's notice. In 344 B.C. he had attacked the Dardanians and Illyrians, those ever restless neighbours of his kingdom, and once more secured his frontiers against them. Then in 343 he had undertaken a campaign in Epirus, in order to depose the Molossian king, Arybbas, and to place Alexander, the brother of his wife Olympia, on the throne of his fathers. He had taken this opportunity to subdue, for Alexander, Cossopia, which adjoins the Molossians on the south, but had desisted from wider operations in these districts, presumably because the Athenians had sent a force to Acarnania.

It is certain that Arybbas found a hospitable reception in Athens, and that to ensure his personal safety he was placed under the protection of the council and the generals, but the resolution to reinstate him in his kingdom with an army was not carried out. Philip would certainly not have allowed that, although he showed great consideration towards Athens, for in the same year he sent Python as envoy to Athens in order to negotiate the alteration of the Peace of Philocrates.

Philip's Consideration for Athens

The Athenians desired recognition of their old claims on Amphipolis, Potidæa, and their former Thracian and Chalcidian possessions. It was easy to comprehend that Philip could not and would not accede to this demand. In the following year he made offers again to Athens to alter the terms of the peace. This time he conceded to them the freedom and independence of the Greek towns not included in the treaty, and professed his readiness to submit disputed points to arbitration; but Athens replied to this with her former demand that each party should have that which by right belonged to it. Under these circumstances it was hardly possible to avoid a rupture with Philip; and the Athenians soon produced it. Athens had sent new cleruchs under

Diopithes to the Thracian Chersonese, which had been guaranteed to her under the Peace of Philocrates. They demanded of Cardia admission into the town and its territory, although by the terms of peace in 346 B.C. its independence had been acknowledged. Diopithes obtained mercenaries and made an attack on Cardia, which then asked for and obtained a garrison from Philip, its ally.

Thereupon Diopithes invaded and pillaged the king's Thracian possessions and sold his prisoners for slaves. Philip demanded as satisfaction from Athens the recall of Diopithes. But this was not done; on the contrary, he was supported by fresh funds and munitions of war. This was tantamount to a declaration of war; yet the actual outbreak did not take place for a considerable time. Philip was busy in Thrace, whither he had marched with a strong army in 342 B.C. His object this time was to check the activity of the warlike chief, Cersebleptes, from whom he had already captured some fortresses. The Thracian chief, notwithstanding his unfortunate experiences, continued to devastate the territory of the Greek towns adjoining Thrace. Philip came forward now as the protector and patron of the Greek towns; of which, indeed, Cardia, Byzantium and Perinthus were allied with him. And since Cersebleptes was allied with Athens, which came now more and more under the influence of the war-party and seemed disposed to open hostilities against the king, it may have been satisfactory to Philip to have a good reason for taking decisive measures against Thrace. Cersebleptes, beaten in several battles, was deposed and his territory made into a tributary province of Macedonia.

Thrace a Macedonian Province

It was on this occasion that Teres, the son of the Thracian prince Amodocus, mentioned above, was deprived of his dominions. The founding of towns, among them Philippopolis, which has preserved the name of its founder to the present day, proves that Philip wished to extend civilisation into the most distant parts of Thrace, and to make the fruitful valley of the Hebrus a permanent possession of Macedonia. By this war Philip became involved in hostilities with Byzantium and Perinthus, which, up till now allied with him, had refused to render aid to him in the Thracian war. Both towns were besieged; they both, however, held out, being situated on the sea, by which they could get supplies, and being in addition supported by allies Perinthus, by the Persian satrap of the opposite coast, and Byzantium by Athens and other Greek maritime states. The Macedonian fleet could not enforce a blockade in the face of the superior power of the enemy on the sea. Philip next undertook an expedition northward, in order to attack the Scythians. Though he obviously could have had little hope of their complete subjection and of a conquest of their territory, it seemed advisable to him to show his power, in order to deter them from their repeated raids. The Scythian king, Ateas, was defeated: unfortunately, the immense booty taken was mostly lost on the way back, where the Macedonians had to defend themselves against the attacks of the Triballi. In 339 B.C., after an absence of three years, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Expedition Against the Scythians

The refusal of the Hellespontine seaports Byzantium and Perinthus to support their ally, Philip, and the war that had thus been caused, had led in the meantime to a declaration of war by Athens against Macedonia. Since Philip required his fleet for the siege, and this might have been stopped on its passage through the Hellespont by the Athenian general Diopithes, who was still present in the Chersonese, he advanced on the Chersonese in order to accompany his ships, doing no more than Diopithes had previously done. This gave the Athenians the pretext to declare war on Philip in 340 B.C.

By means of appropriate financial measures on which Demosthenes had so long insisted, they raised the necessary money, prosecuted vigorously the fitting out of the fleet, and sent help to beleaguered Byzantium. If the king, nevertheless, undertook the campaign against the Scythians first, it was clearly because he was momentarily more concerned with the security of Thrace, which he had conquered, than with a struggle against Athens. When Philip, therefore, returned to Macedonia he was summoned to Hellas. The accusation of gross sacrilege had been brought at the Amphictyonic assembly against the Locrian town of Amphissa. The levy of the Amphictyons had, however, been able to effect nothing against

The Last War with Macedon

the town, since the Thebans and Athenians would not permit their detachments to advance; and the Amphictyons, therefore, resolved to entrust the conduct of the war to Philip. He immediately advanced into Phocis through Thermopylæ, which he had permanently occupied, and took Elatea in the autumn of 339. Thebes and Athens had long been at enmity. But men like Demosthenes, who wished to range against Philip the warlike inhabitants of Bœotia, after long endeavours to reconcile the two cities, succeeded. By this the power of Athens was considerably strengthened. Of her other allies, the Eubœans, Megarians, Corinthians and Achæans took the field, while Elis, Megalopolis and Messene had no part in the war. Once more Philip made offers of peace. Unfortunately, we do not know what conditions he laid down. But it was of no avail; the war party held the upper hand, and hostilities broke out. The army put into the field by the allies for the protection of Amphissa was completely defeated and the town captured; and their main army, which was in position near Chæronea, at the entrance to Bœotia, yielded to the veteran Macedonians and their skilful leaders after a brave resistance in August 338 B.C. The losses on both sides were great; the Athenians lost 1,000 men, and 2,000 were made prisoners.

Reconciliation of Athens and Thebes

This battle decided the war. Thebes surrendered and had to receive a Macedonian garrison into its citadel, the Cadmea; the union of Bœotia under the headship of Thebes, which had been established by Epaminondas, was destroyed, and the independence of the country towns of Bœotia was recognised. Corinth also received a Macedonian garrison, and probably also Chalcis in Eubœa. It is obvious that here, as in other towns, the leaders of the anti-Macedonian party were banished, and Philip's adherents came to the helm; for it was an old-established custom that the victors should banish the vanquished. Philip showed himself a well-wisher of Athens. She retained her territory and her independence, actually received Oropus back from the Thebans, and had no garrison imposed on her; but in addition to the possessions on the Thracian and Chalcidian coast, which were already lost, she had now at the conclusion of peace to give up the Thracian Chersonese as well; of her possessions there remained only Imbros, Lemnos, Scyros, Samos, Salamis, and Lesbos. After an expedition into the Peloponnese, in which he invaded Laconia but did not take the strongly defended town of Sparta, Philip went to Corinth, where envoys of all the Greek communities were assembled. The disputes of the Spartans with their neighbours were settled in such a way that Sparta was compelled to concede territory to the Argives, Megalopolitans, Tegeans, and Messenians.

Philip's Supremacy in Greece

What follows is more important. A league was formed between the Hellenes and Philip, and as Corinth was the usual place of meeting for its members, it has been known since as the Corinthian League. The Greek state south of Thermopylæ, with the exception of Sparta, which made no peace with Philip, sent their representatives regularly to Corinth; these composed the governing body of the league, which had to settle all disputes and to superintend the faithful execution of the terms of the peace, for universal peace was now to prevail in the country, and the everlasting feuds were to cease. The states were guaranteed their independence and their constitutions, as well as the possessions which they had at the moment when peace was concluded. There was also an important decree passed that no state should aid with money or arms any attempt made by exiles against their own city. The king of Macedonia was the general of the league; the Hellenic states, since they were autonomous, had not to pay any tribute to him, but had to furnish troops in case of war.

The Day of Universal Peace

Philip, adroitly seizing on a sentiment already encouraged by the philosophers and popular in Greece, proposed a common war of all Hellenes against their hereditary enemy, the Persians; and all the members agreed with him. This common war, he thought, would bring the Greeks closer together, make them forget their hatred and dissensions, show them once more a goal towards which they might struggle with combined resources, and last, though not least, would reconcile them to his own leadership and accustom them to the Macedonian hegemony. There were undoubtedly germs in this league that promised good fruit. As soon as Philip returned to

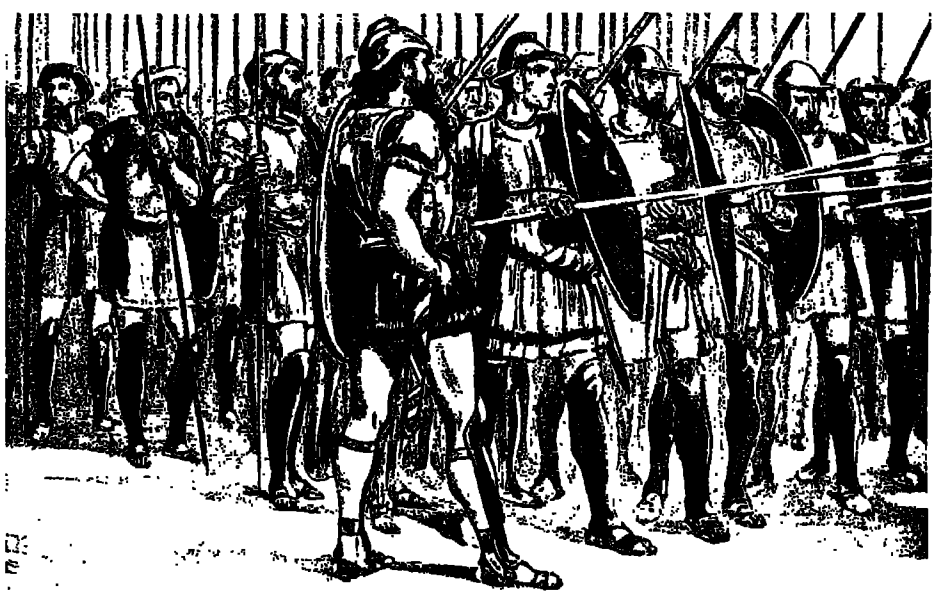
Macedonia, he made preparations for the war against Persia. An army under Parmenio was to invade Asia in the spring of 336 B.C. as an advance guard, while the king in person would follow soon. But, in 336 B.C., before this plan was carried out Philip was slain by Pausanias, one of his bodyguard, at a festival in honour of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Alexander, king of the Mosolossians.

Philip had accomplished a stupendous task. How different was the position of Macedonia at his death from what it was at his accession! Its coasts were now open, and no obstacles hindered the export of its productions. Material prosperity and culture were everywhere promoted. Philip had founded many new towns and had planted colonies near Mount Pangæus (Philippi) and in Thrace. Even in Macedonia itself Greeks had been allowed to settle. We are everywhere met by his unwearying efforts to advance the growth of his country and to blend its inhabitants together. The country owed its fleet to him. But before everything else Macedonia owed to King Philip the army which had achieved such astonishing results. Philip first created an infantry which was equal in effectiveness to the cavalry, raising the levies regularly and not merely in case of necessity. He thus succeeded by indefatigable training, and in part, too, by his many wars, in creating an army which had not its equal in the world. The Macedonian phalanx, with its long spears, formidable in its attack, invincible and impenetrable when attacked, roused the admiration of all antiquity. Notwithstanding its weight and size, it manœuvred easily and correctly, quickly changed its position, and rapidly re-formed. Besides this phalanx, the army of Philip, except for a light infantry regiment, which dispensed with the armour and the long spear of the Phalangitæ, and was equipped with helmet, sword, and small shield, consisted mainly of the cavalry, which was recruited from among the Macedonian nobility, and of the artillery, as we should term them to-day, with their catapults, battering-rams, and the necessary staff. Thus the nobility composed the cavalry, the peasants and citizens the infantry; united they formed the military assembly, which had the right to judge in penal cases.

Unequalled Army of Macedonia

Philip's Life Work

One more great service rendered by the king to his country must be mentioned. To him Macedonia owed its political unity. Before this time there were local principalities which recognised, it is true, the royal house as overlord, but frequently waged war against it. Philip deprived these princely houses of their thrones.



SOLDIERS OF THE FAMOUS MACEDONIAN PHALANX

Macedonia owed to King Philip the army which, unequalled then by any other, achieved astonishing results.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT

AS JUDGED BY AN EARLY HISTORIAN

Arrian, who lived from 90 to 170 A.D., was one of the earliest historians of Alexander's world-conquests, and his "Expedition of Alexander," from which this personal study of the conqueror is taken, is his most valuable work.



His body was beautiful and well-proportioned; his mind brisk and active; his courage wonderful. He was strong enough to undergo hardships, and willing to meet dangers; ever ambitious of glory, and a strict observer of religious duties. As to those pleasures which regarded the body, he showed himself indifferent; as to the desires of the mind, insatiable. In his counsels he was sharp-sighted and cunning; and pierced deep into doubtful matters by the force of his natural sagacity. In marshalling, arming, and governing an army he was thoroughly skilled, and famous for exciting his soldiers with courage, and animating them with hopes of success, as also in dispelling their private fears by his own example of magnanimity.

He always entered upon desperate attempts with the utmost resolution and vigour, and was ever diligent in taking any advantage of his enemies' delay, and falling upon them unawares. He was a most strict observer of his treaties; notwithstanding which he was never taken at a disadvantage by any craft or perfidy of his enemies. He was sparing in his expenses for his own private pleasures, but in the distribution of his bounty to his friends liberal and magnificent.

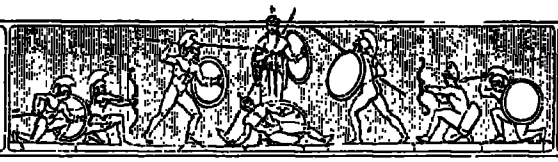
If anything can be laid to Alexander's charge, as committed in the heat and violence of wrath, or if he may be said to have imitated the barbarian pride a little too much, and bore himself too haughtily, I cannot think them such vast crimes; and especially when one calmly considers his green years, and uninterrupted series of success, it will appear no great wonder if court sycophants, who always flatter princes to their detriment, sometimes led him away. But this must be said in his behalf, that all antiquity has not produced an example of such sincere repentance in a king as he has shown us.

I cannot condemn Alexander for endeavouring to draw his subjects into the belief of his divine origin because it is reasonable to imagine he intended no more by it than to procure the greater authority among his soldiers. Neither was he less famous than Minos, or Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, who all of them challenged kindred with Jove; and none of the ancients condemned them for it; nor were his glorious actions any way inferior to those of Theseus or Ion, though the former claimed Neptune and the latter Apollo for his father.

His assuming and wearing the Persian habit seems to have been done with a political view, that he might appear not altogether to despise the barbarians and that he might also have some curb to the arrogance and insolence of his Macedonians. And for this cause, I am of opinion, he placed the Persian Melophori among his Macedonian troops and squadrons of horse, and allowed them the same share of honour. Long banquets and deep drinking, Aristobulus assures us, were none of his delights; neither did he prepare entertainments for the sake of the wine (which he did not greatly love and seldom drank much of) but to rub up a mutual amity among his friends.

Whoever, therefore, attempts to condemn or calumniate Alexander, does not so much ground his accusation upon those acts of his which really deserve reproof, but gathers all his actions as into one huge mass, and forms his judgment thereupon; but let any man consider seriously who he was, what success he always had, and to what a pitch of glory he arrived who, without controversy, reigned king of both continents, and whose name had spread through all parts of the habitable world, and he will conclude that, in comparison of his great and laudable acts, his vices and failings are few and trifling, and are not of weight sufficient to cast a shade upon his reign.

I am persuaded there was no nation, city, nor people then in being whither his name did not reach; for which reason, whatever origin he might boast of or claim to himself, there seems to me to have been some Divine hand presiding both over his birth and actions, insomuch that no mortal upon earth either excelled or equalled him.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT

AND THE MAKING OF HIS MIGHTY EMPIRE

PHILIP'S son and successor was Alexander, who in 336 B.C. was twenty years old. Brought up and educated by Aristotle, he was familiar with the literature and philosophy of Greece and full of enthusiasm for Homer and his heroes, of whom Achilles was his favourite. The young prince was also trained in all bodily exercises and familiar with the art of war and the whole military system; as, indeed, was to be expected in a country like Macedonia, where every man was liable to military service, and the officers and the bodyguard of the king were taken from the nobility.

Alexander could not have been unmoved by the influence which mighty deeds exercised on every man of that time. In fact we hear that at the age of sixteen the crown prince had held the regency while Philip was occupied with the war in Byzantium and Perinthus, and had during that time fought successfully the neighbouring Thracian tribe of the Mædi. At the age of eighteen he commanded the Macedonian cavalry on the left wing at the battle of Chæronea. Thus trained and familiar from boyhood with the demands of his future position, he entered on his heritage. What he had previously accomplished passed unnoticed amid the general brilliancy of Philip's successes; what the world saw was that the new king was little more than a boy. But he lost no time in proving himself a man, bold in decision, swift in action.

Victorious General at Eighteen

In Macedonia itself, where disputes as to the succession and wars were the usual accompaniments of the death of a ruler, Alexander immediately took vigorous measures and crushed all such attempts in the bud. His cousin Amyntas, whose kingdom Philip had once governed as guardian, and who had gradually sunk into the background, was put to death, since many held him to be the lawful successor; this step was certainly necessary for the tranquillity of the country, though it may seem cruel, since there is no account of any rising led by Amyntas. But on another side preparations for an insurrection had actually been made. In 337 B.C. Philip had married Cleopatra, niece of Attalus of Macedonia, and by this step had caused his former wife, Olympias, and her son, Alexander, to leave the country, the latter returning to Pella shortly before his father's murder. Ever since the marriage feast, when Alexander had chastised Attalus for his wish that Cleopatra might bear a legitimate heir, hatred and hostility existed between them. Now, after Philip's death, Attalus, who meantime had taken over a command in the Macedonian advance guard in Asia Minor, immediately allied himself with the anti-Macedonian party in Athens; but before he had completed his proposed preparations against the young king he was murdered by Alexander's orders. His niece, Cleopatra, shared the same fate. In Macedonia itself, therefore, owing to Alexander's vigorous initiative, no disturbances of any sort resulted.

Alexander Crushes all Pretenders

In Greece, where the unexpected death of Philip and the youth of Alexander had inspired all the enemies of Macedonia with renewed courage and made them think of a restoration of their former uncertain, but still independent, state, it seemed as if a determined rising would follow; at any rate, there was an intense wish to be freed from the hegemony of Macedonia. The town of Ambracia in Epirus drove out the Macedonian garrison; the Thebans made preparations to do the same; in Athens and other parts disturbances broke out. Here also Alexander crushed all attempts by his sudden appearance at the head of a large army, and the Greeks submitted. As he had been received into the Amphictyonic

Risings in Greece Repressed

League, the states which took part in the Corinthian League renewed the conventions drawn up by Philip, and nominated Alexander protector and commander-in-chief of the Hellenes in the war against the Persians, the object of which was declared by the congress to be vengeance for the outrages once committed by the Persians in Greece.

In the winter of 336-335 B.C. Alexander returned to Macedonia, in order to make final preparations for the expedition into Asia which his father had already planned. But before this it was again necessary to make a demonstration in force in the Balkan peninsula and to subdue permanently the independent and irreconcilable tribes of Thrace and Illyria, who, bent on robbery and plunder, were apparently planning fresh inroads. Alexander started in the spring of 335, marched by the high-road to Thrace, through Amphipolis as far as the river Nestus, and up the valley of it, until in ten days he reached Mount Hæmus through the pass of the Rhodope Mountains. Here he first met with resistance. The pass, which led over the mountains, was occupied by armed men and blocked by a barricade of waggons. But the Macedonians, led by the king in person, pressed on courageously. Even the waggons, which were hurled down the mountain, did not cause the loss that was expected, since Alexander had divined this intention of the barbarians and had given his soldiers timely orders to step out of their way, where the road was broad enough, or, where that was not feasible, to throw themselves on the ground and to make a roof with their shields, held up high and closely locked together.



THE GREAT ALEXANDER
At twenty he became king of Macedonia and at thirty-two he had made himself master of a world-empire embracing the East as well as the West. Statue in Munich Glyptothek.

Thus Alexander routed the Thracians and made himself master of the pass over the Balkans. On the other side dwelt the Triballi. They had placed their women, children, and movable property for safety on an island in the Danube, whither their king, Syrmus, had also retired. The warriors allowed Alexander to advance without hindrance as far as the Danube, intending to appear suddenly on his rear and attack him. But their plan miscarried: the Macedonians cut to pieces all who did not save themselves by flight. On the other hand, Alexander could not carry out his intention of occupying the island in the Danube. Instead of this he carried across the Danube during the night 4,000 foot soldiers and 1,500 cavalry in native boats, hollowed out of single tree-trunks, and on the tent-skins of the soldiers, sewn together and stuffed with hay. On the opposite bank the Getæ dwelt; they, indeed, were in a position with 14,000 men to resist the expected invasion of their country, but were so taken by surprise that they fled into their nearest town; and when Alexander approached they abandoned this also, and fled precipitately with their women and children. The town of the Getæ was destroyed, and on the same day Alexander, richly laden with booty, recrossed the Danube. In consequence, other neighbouring tribes, who had until now been independent, and Syrmus, the prince of the Triballi, sent envoys to Alexander and submitted to him. Even the Kelts who dwelt on the Adriatic—this is the



ALEXANDER THE WORLD CONQUEROR
From the fine statue in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

first time that we hear of them in these regions, in which they were destined later to play an important part—sent envoys to make assurances of their friendship to the young king.

From the Danube, Alexander marched through the territory of the Agrianes whose prince, Langarus, had formed a friendship with him and remained loyal to him, and of the Pæonians, and then along the valley of the Erigon up to Pelion, which was held by Clitus, king of the Illyrians. Glaucias, prince of the Taulantii at the back of Epidamnus and Apollonia, had promised him assistance. Since Clitus declined a battle, the siege of the town was determined on by the Macedonians; and when, on the next day, Glaucias appeared with large masses of armed men, Alexander withdrew. The Illyrians, who attacked him in a narrow road when crossing over the Devol, a river in Albania, were repulsed with loss, but his retreat was continued. Rendered confident by this, the Illyrians neglected all measures of precaution, whereupon the king surprised them on the third night and completely routed them. Pelion was evacuated by Clitus after he had set fire to it. Thus, security on this frontier was ensured by Alexander. He was not able to follow up his victory and in his turn to invade Illyria, in order completely to subdue the country, for his presence in Greece had meantime become urgently necessary.

Successes in Illyria

We have seen how unwillingly the Greeks tolerated the headship of Macedonia, and how easily they allowed themselves to be driven to premature risings. In the autumn of 336 Alexander had nipped the movement in the bud by his rapid advance; now that he had been for months far away from his kingdom, all sorts of rumours were rife of the evil plight of the Macedonian army, and even of the death of the king. Theban fugitives, of whom there were many, secretly returned to their native town, induced their fellow-citizens to revolt from Macedonia, murdered the commanders of the Macedonian troops in the Cadmea, and blockaded the garrison itself in the citadel by a double line of circumvallation. In other Greek states also the party hostile to Macedonia held the upper hand, and from all sides the Thebans had good prospects of aid. As soon as Alexander learned of these occurrences in Greece he advanced by forced marches from Illyria along the eastern slopes of Pindus, through Thessaly to Bœotia, attached to himself on the way the contingents of the Greek states which had remained loyal to him—Phocians and other Bœotians—and appeared before Thebes, where the approach of the hostile army had not been reported until it had already passed Thermopylæ.

Thebes Again Revolts

Alexander delayed to attack the city in the belief that it would ask pardon for what had occurred. But the same persons who had urged on the revolt now in popular meetings counselled the most desperate resistance, while others spoke in favour of a reconciliation with Alexander, but could not carry their point. An attack, therefore, was made; after a bitter struggle the Macedonians forced the gates and joined the garrison of the citadel. And now a terrible slaughter began, in which the Phocians and the other Greeks of Alexander are said to have been conspicuous. By the decision of his allies, to whom Alexander entrusted the settlement of Theban affairs, Thebes was destroyed, its territory divided among its neighbours, and those of the citizens that escaped the massacre were sold into slavery, with the exception of priests and priestesses, friends of Philip and Alexander, and such as had been under the protection of Macedonia. In accordance with Alexander's own wish, the house in which once the poet Pindar dwelt was preserved and his descendants were spared.

Terrible Fate of Thebes

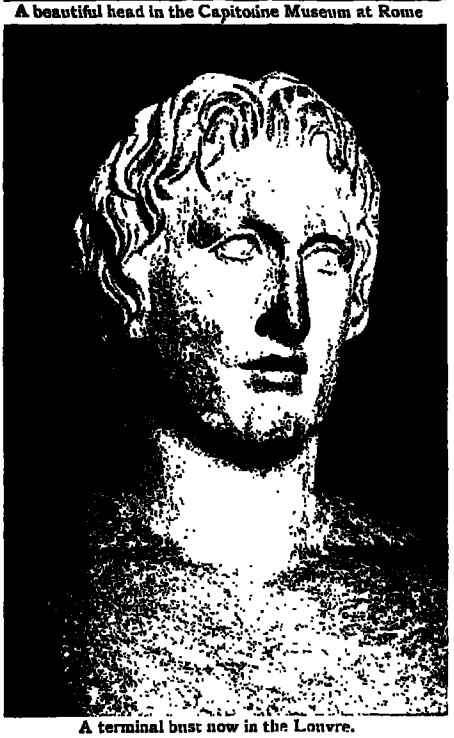
The fate of Thebes had a terrible effect on Greece, and clearly placed before the eyes of all the dangers to which they exposed themselves by rising against the Macedonian rule. As quickly as possible envoys were sent to Alexander by the states to testify their submission, and the supporters of Macedonia were recalled to the places from which they had been forced to flee. Elsewhere those who seemed to be responsible for the revolt from Macedonia and for the making common cause with Thebes were put to death; in short, everywhere hasty measures were taken to undo what had been done. And Alexander was forgiving. From Athens, indeed, which had sent congratulations to him by ten envoys on his prosperous return from Thrace and



A beautiful head in the Capitoline Museum at Rome



The "Dying Alexander" in the Uffizi at Florence.



A terminal bust now in the Louvre.



A fine head in the British Museum, from Alexandria.

THE FINEST BUSTS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Illyria and on the punishment of the Thebans for their "revolutionary spirit," he demanded at first the surrender of several supporters of the anti-Macedonian policy, such as Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Charidemus; but, persuaded by a new embassy, he withdrew this demand and contented himself with the banishment of Charidemus. Thus, peace with the Hellenes was restored, and the Corinthian League was naturally renewed on its earlier terms. In the autumn Alexander returned to Macedonia and devoted the winter to the necessary warlike preparations for the impending campaign in Asia. We are told that while still a boy he astonished the Persian envoys at his father's court by his able and thoughtful questions about the state of affairs in the broad Persian realm, and made them marvel at his intelligence. It may be confidently assumed that now his preparations for the campaign were not confined to the collection of auxiliaries from his allies and training them according to Macedonian discipline, or to the enlisting of mercenaries, the arrangement of the necesssary means for the transport and the feeding of the troops, or the assignment of commands and the like. It is far more likely that Alexander carefully studied the geographical, political, financial, and military conditions of the kingdom of Persia.

Peace With All Greece

On the resulting basis the plan of campaign was drawn up. We have, unfortunately, no extant account of it. Did the king from the very beginning meditate the conquest of the entire Persian kingdom, or did he merely wish, as the manifesto drawn up at Corinth in the autumn of 336 ran, to take the field against the Persians on account of the outrages inflicted by them on the Hellenes? The plan of the war is to some extent adhered to throughout. The later events in Persepolis show that Alexander considered it executed by the burning of the Persian royal citadel; but the succeeding events show clearly that he already designed the conquest of the whole Persian kingdom. Whether he had, as it almost would seem, formed this plan from the very beginning, or only subsequently, his enterprise and audacity will always command our admiration and astonishment. In Persia, after the death of Artaxerxes Ochus, in 338 B.C., and after an interregnum filled with bloodshed and atrocities, Darius III. had ascended the throne in 336 B.C. almost contemporaneously with Alexander.

Persian Campaign Planned

Although the authority of the sovereign in the kingdom of Persia had been weakened since the times of Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes, and the power of the satraps had become more independent, Darius was still lord of a realm which was thirty times as large as the territories whose resources were at Alexander's disposal. Stored in the royal towns of Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis lay at the disposal of the great king enormous treasures of gold and precious metals; and Persia could place in the field from her wide territories an army that outnumbered the Macedonian forces many times. In addition, there was a fleet of 400 warships, manned by Cyprians and Phœnicians, the best seamen of the ancient world.

Opposed to this, Alexander's resources seemed weak. He had to raise 800 talents for his preparations; and no more than sixty were left at his disposal when he began his campaign. His fleet comprised 160 warships; his army some 35,000 fighting men, of which 30,000 were infantry, and 5,000 cavalry. To this must be added the contingent, of unknown strength, already sent to Asia by Philip. In any case, the war against the Persians was not begun with more than 45,000 men. But this well-trained and well-armed force of veterans was precisely Alexander's strength, for the Persians could not oppose any such body to him. However superior in numbers, they were far inferior in equipment, discipline, and experience of warfare; and he doubtless counted on the support of the Greeks in Asia Minor, who since 378 B.C. were again subject to Persia, but had in no way reconciled themselves to Persian rule.

Alexander Advances Against Persia

The advance against Asia began in the spring of 334 B.C. Antipater remained in Europe as administrator of the kingdom, with an army of 12,000 foot soldiers, and 1,500 cavalry. Alexander himself marched along the Thracian coast to the Dardanelles, had his army carried over by the fleet, and united it with the troops already sent by Philip to Asia Minor, which, commanded by Calas since the death of Attalus, occupied the coast from Abydus to Rhœteum, and covered the king's passage. The Persian land force, under



THEBAN CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE ALEXANDER AT THE SACK OF THEBES

From the painting by Domínfquin in the Louvre.

the command of the Greek, Memnon, who had enlisted Greek mercenaries for the great king, and of the satraps of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia, Spithridates, and Arsites, was encamped at Zeleia, to the west of Cyzicus; but neither that army nor the Persian fleet attempted to repel the invader at the outset. The want of a united command was at once felt. When Alexander had set foot in Asia Minor the most opposite plans were proposed in the council of war of the Persians. Memnon's advice was to avoid a battle, to retreat and lay waste the land, and gradually to entice Alexander and his army farther into the country; in the meantime, while the Macedonian king must necessarily be weakened by his march forward, the Persians would be able to strengthen themselves with new troops, until, protected by a strong line of defence, they could venture on a decisive battle with prospect of success.

Alexander Lands in Asia Minor

The two satraps opposed him. They did not wish to give up their provinces to devastation and to retreat at the advice of a stranger in the face of an enemy by no means superior. Their views carried the day. Their army advanced westward to the Granicus, and took up a favourable position on the steep right bank of this river; their cavalry, 20,000 strong, were drawn up in a long line on the banks. Behind them was the infantry, equally numerous. It was here, then, that Alexander first met the Persians. On landing he had received news that the enemy was approaching from the east, and had marched along the coast against them. This first encounter at the Granicus showed at once the fiery daring of the young king and the ardour of his spirit, which swept everyone with it. The river was between the two armies. The Macedonian horsemen of the vanguard and a division of the phalanx received the order to cross it, and opened the attack. But the king himself soon followed with his heavy cavalry. The Macedonians dashed into the river. The Persians rode to meet them. A hand-to-hand fight ensued, and Alexander himself was saved from deadly peril only by the interposition of Clitus. By great efforts the Macedonians gained ground, scaled the steep bank, broke through the enemy's lines, and routed the Persian cavalry. Afterwards their phalanx gradually advanced and deployed, and the Persian infantry was annihilated, with the exception of 2,000 prisoners.

Fiery Daring of the Conqueror

At a single stroke the enemy's army had been driven from the scene, and no one was left to resist the advance of the conqueror into the heart of the Persian kingdom. But Alexander secured a firm base for fresh operations before he marched further east. Here, if anywhere, he showed his far-sighted policy.

On the entire west coast of Asia Minor lay Greek towns, which had early attained wealth and prosperity, and were seats of great intellectual and material culture. These had once been independent republics, but since the peace of Antalcidas in 378 B.C. were subject to Persian domination. They paid taxes to Persia and furnished her with troops, were garrisoned partly by Persians and were governed by "tyrants," who found their safest and best support in the great king, wherever an oligarchy had not been instituted with the assistance of the Persians in place of the former democracy. In all the cities there were parties which, hostile to the existing state of things, promised themselves fortune and wealth from a change. Alexander counted on these Greek towns for support. After the battle at the Granicus, the satrapy of Phrygia on the Hellespont was occupied and Calas appointed its governor.

Phrygia and Lydia Fall to Macedon

After he had sent the captured Greek mercenaries, who had fought on the side of their hereditary foe against their countrymen, into Macedonia, condemned to hard labour, had granted immunity from taxation to the families of the fallen Macedonians, and had dedicated 300 suits of armour to the Acropolis at Athens in his name and in the name of the allied Hellenes as trophies, Alexander marched to Sardis, the ancient capital of the Lydian kings and the former capital of the satrapy of Lydia. The inhabitants came to meet him and surrendered their town. The citadel was likewise given up to him by the Persian commander, Mithrenes, and a Macedonian garrison introduced. Asander was nominated governor of Lydia.

From Sardis, Alexander turned towards the coast and marched without meeting any opposition into Ephesus; the Persian garrison had withdrawn on news of the battle of the Granicus. Alexander's generals occupied the towns of Magnesia

and Tralles in the valley of Mæander and the Greek towns which lay northward of Ephesus. No opposition was encountered.

Only Miletus and, subsequently, Halicarnassus, both situated on the coast south of Ephesus, shut their gates before the approaching conqueror. Hegesistratus, indeed, the commander of Miletus, had already negotiated with Alexander about the surrender of the town; but the news of the approach of a strong Persian fleet of 400 warships induced him to break off negotiations and to prepare to defend the position. But Alexander rapidly came up, occupied the suburbs, and began to assault the walls. The Macedonian fleet, under Nicanor, had outsailed the Persian fleet, and was anchored at Lade, an island in front of the harbour of Miletus; and co-operation between the defenders of Miletus and the Persian fleet was rendered impossible. When Alexander, therefore, proceeded to storm the town, and at the same moment Nicanor entered the harbour, the Persians turned to flight. Many were massacred by the Macedonians, who pressed into the city. Miletus experienced the clemency of the victor. It received pardon and its freedom. The king had rejected the proposal made by various persons to order his fleet, stationed at Lade, to sail out and attack the enemy's ships, which were anchored off the opposite peninsula of Mycale. He clearly saw that in numbers, as well as in seamanship, his fleet was far inferior to the enemy's. He now dispersed it, retaining only a small part. Its maintenance was expensive, and its utility appeared small, especially as Alexander was master of the coast, and the hostile fleet could do little towards changing that state of things. We shall soon see that in the hand of an enterprising and far-seeing man this fleet could, nevertheless, threaten Alexander with serious danger.

The Fall of Miletus

The young king turned next towards Caria, which was under the satrap Orontobates. The princess Ada of Alinda, who belonged to the Carian princely house—whose most famous member was Mausolus—which had once ruled the whole country, but was now restricted to this one town and citadel, placed herself immediately under the protection of Alexander and adopted him as her son; hence the Carian towns surrendered to him so soon as he approached. Halicarnassus alone offered resistance. This well-fortified town, guarded by two strong citadels, was defended by Memnon, who had thrown himself into the place after the battle on the Granicus, with an adequate garrison, consisting mostly of mercenaries. The walls were high, and a broad and deep moat had been dug in front of them, which had to be filled up by the assailants before any effective assault of the town could be thought of. This Alexander accomplished, notwithstanding a sortie of the enemy. He now raised siege-engines, though often hindered by attacks of the besieged, and at length succeeded in effecting a breach in the enemy's wall. But behind it rose an inner wall, running from the one tower to the other. Alexander wished to attack it, when Memnon made a final great sortie. Driven back after a fierce fight and with heavy losses, he determined to evacuate the city, and only the two strong castles remained occupied. The town was destroyed, but Alexander was obliged on account of the fortresses to leave behind a division of 3,000 mercenaries and 200 cavalry under Ptolemy. Ada received the satrapy of Caria.

Great Siege of Halicarnassus

Winter was now approaching. Parmenio was sent to Sardis at the head of the contingents of the allies to winter in Lydia, and in the next spring to join the king again in Greater Phrygia. All newly-married Macedonians were sent home on furlough with orders to join the army in the coming spring and to bring with them the fresh levies. Alexander himself marched without meeting any opposition through Lycia and Pamphylia, where hardly any preparations for defence had been made by the Persians. He then went through Pisidia, where the wild population, which in their almost inaccessible mountains had never submitted to the Persians, created all sorts of difficulties for him on his passage. From Greater Phrygia, where he occupied Celenæ, the capital, with its strong fortress, Alexander eventually reached the city of Gordium in the centre of Asia Minor, and stayed a considerable time there. In barely one year the greater part of Asia Minor had been conquered by Alexander. Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Greater Phrygia were administered by Macedonian governors. The taxes from these provinces flowed now into the Macedonian

Alexander's Conquest of Asia Minor

treasury, and important military points, such as Sardis, held Macedonian garrisons.

It may well be asserted that Alexander had from the very first contemplated the permanent retention of his conquests. Besides the appointment of Macedonian governors, the fact that, in addition to them, a special official was entrusted with the entire management of the taxation points to the same conclusion. Although this arrangement is mentioned as existing in the province of Lydia only, there is no reason to doubt that it had been introduced in a similar form into all the satrapies. The only innovation made was that now two royal officials stood at the head of each province; otherwise the extent of their jurisdiction and the amount of taxation remained as they had been under the Persians. It may also be noticed as an improvement that now the royal administrators of the province ceased to be supported by the provinces themselves, and were paid by the king; thus all "tyranny" was obviated.

Macedonian Government in Asia Minor

The Greek towns on the coast were treated differently from these countries. They were proclaimed free—that is, they were made autonomous in internal affairs, were not subjected to the royal governors, and paid no taxes. They also received no garrisons, and, what assuredly was very valuable in the eyes of the Greeks, they were permitted to restore their democratic constitutions, which had been everywhere abolished under pressure from the Persians. These Greeks thus recovered, through Alexander, that independence and freedom for which they had once fought so bravely.

The Greek towns on the islands, at any rate so far as they lay north of Samos and could be freed from the Persian fleet by the Macedonian, underwent the same treatment. We know that they entered the Corinthian League. On the other hand, it is not recorded whether the Greek towns on the mainland also were incorporated in this league or whether they were organised into a union of their own for the maintenance of the universal peace of the country. Undoubtedly, Alexander had created for himself in Asia Minor, as well as on the islands, supporters, who promised to render him profitable services on his march forward. The necessary funds for further operations were drawn from the inflowing taxes of the conquered Persian satrapies.

Greek Towns Regain Independence

An event occurred at this time which suddenly threatened to bring a disastrous end to the good fortune of the king. Memnon, who but recently had valiantly though unsuccessfully, defended Halicarnassus against Alexander, had been appointed by the great king to be commander of the fleet, which till now had done nothing noteworthy, in spite of its strength. Memnon now embarked a large force of mercenaries, which he may in part have brought safely from Halicarnassus and in part newly enlisted, and put out to sea. What he planned was a landing in Greece, where, from the strength of the anti-Macedonian and revolutionary party, an insurrection could easily have been excited, and after that an attack on Macedonia carried out. This plan would, indubitably, have presented a most serious danger for Alexander had it been executed. But first Memnon had to reconquer the islands off the coast of Asia Minor. Chios had already opened its gates to him through treachery; the Lesbian towns, with the exception of Mytilene, were once more brought under the Persian rule, and wherever he went tyrants who favoured Persia were installed in place of the democracies. But suddenly, while besieging by land and sea Mytilene which had refused to surrender to him, Memnon died in 333 B.C.

Persian Attack on Greece

With the death of this man, who with daring determination and keen foresight was bent on transferring the theatre of war to the enemy's own land, his plan collapsed. Autophradates and Pharnabazus, his successors in the command of the fleet, took Mytilene, it is true, and subsequently won back Tenedos for the Persian crown, but they did not achieve any other considerable success. The expeditionary troops on the ships were recalled by Darius to join the main army. Alexander, through Hegelochus and Amphoterus, and Antipater, through Proteas, collected ships from all the allied states on the Hellespont and in Greece and organised a fleet. Proteas with the ships collected from Eubœa and the Peloponnese succeeded in surprising Datames, who had been sent by the Persian admiral to Siphnus with ten ships, and in capturing eight of his vessels. This first success was

followed by others. To anticipate events we may say that in the course of the next few years Hegelochus and Amphoterus freed the islands again from the supremacy of the Persians and the tyrants imposed by them, especially as the Persian fleet was dispersed after the battle at Issus.

In the spring of 333 B.C. Parmenio, with the troops which had been allowed to go home on winter furlough, and with some reinforcements, about 3,000 strong, entered Gordium. Here, according to the story, in the temple of Zeus stood the royal chariot, the yoke of which was fastened to the pole by an ingenious knot.



NATURE OF THE COUNTRY TRAVERSED BY ALEXANDER'S ARMY
A gorge in the Taurus Mountains crossed by Alexander in order to occupy Cilicia.

Whoever untied it (so the oracle ran) should hold the dominion over Asia. Alexander, without much deliberation, severed the knot with his sword. This was a good omen for Alexander in the eyes of the Asiatics as well as of many Greeks. Alexander spent a long time at Gordium, chiefly to watch the progress of Memnon's undertakings; but, on the other hand, he knew that King Darius was collecting troops from his eastern satrapies in order to march with these to the west to recover what had been lost. He felt unable to leave Asia Minor without hazarding his conquests, for he did not wish to push on further east without urgent reasons, in order not to be too far removed from Greece, which was probably to be the new theatre of war. Memnon's death left the king to continue his march forward without anxiety. From Gordium he marched past Ancyra—where the Paphlagonians, who were governed by their own dynasts, offered their submission through envoys—to the Halys, the Kizil Irmak, and then in a southerly direction to the Cilician Gates, a pass over the Taurus Mountains, leading from Cappadocia to Cilicia. This line of march was marked out for the king as soon as he had learned that Darius with his army, which comprised several hundred thousand native warriors, and some thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, had started from Babylon for Northern Syria. The Cilician Gates, easy as they were to hold on account of their narrowness, were deserted at Alexander's approach by the few Persian troops who had been sent there; and, unhindered, the Macedonians crossed the mountains and descended into the plain. The occupation of Cilicia was accomplished without difficulty. The Persian garrison retired from Tarsus, the capital, and Alexander immediately after entered it.

Here he was seized with a violent fever, and his life was in great danger, until the Greek physician, Philip, saved him by a drastic remedy. With this event is connected the familiar story of the letter of Parmenio, in which he warned his king against Philip, who was alleged to be bribed by the Persians. Alexander, however, showed confidence in his physician, and drank the proferred medicine, while

he gave Philip the letter to read. Restored to health, he subdued the remaining towns in the outlying region, and even undertook a short but successful campaign against the wild inhabitants of the mountains, who so often made inroads on the plain. Here he received the news of the fall of the fortress of Halicarnassus.

Campaigns in the Mountains

The Amanian Mountains divide Cilicia from Syria towards the east; two passes, the so-called Syrian gates in the south, the Amanian in the north, lead into Syria. Parmenio was sent in advance to occupy and guard the Syrian Gates. As soon as the news came that Darius was on the other side of the Amanus at Sochi, Alexander started and marched through Issus close along the coast, through the Syrian Gates, in order to turn Darius's flank. But, meantime, the great king had advanced through the Amanian Gates, abandoning his position in the plain east of Amanus, which was far more favourable for deploying his masses, had occupied Issus, and was marching after Alexander. The latter was, therefore, compelled to march back.

The two armies met in the autumn of 333 B.C. south of Issus on the river Pinarus, the Persians being interposed between the Macedonians and the sea, in a country as unfavourable for Darius as it could possibly be. Between the sea and the mountains, which lay somewhat back, stretched a plain, far too small to admit of the vast Persian masses being deployed. Alexander, as usual, commanded his right wing, Parmenio led the left; in the middle stood the phalanx. The king attacked first, broke through the enemy's line of battle, and fell on the Persian centre, composed of Greek mercenaries, who were pressing hard on his phalanx, which had fallen into some disorder in crossing the Pinarus, and forced them to give way. Darius, who was seated in his chariot in the middle of his battle array,

Tremendous Victory of the Issus

turned to flee, and thus gave the signal for a universal flight. The Macedonians now began the pursuit, from which they did not return until nightfall. The loss on the side of the Persians was enormous. The entire camp fell into the hands of the victors. The mother and the wife of Darius were among the prisoners, but were well treated by Alexander in consideration of their rank and dignity.

Once again, and this time against a vastly superior force, the Macedonians had won a splendid victory in the open field. Once again the victor did not turn immediately to the east, but first made Syria and Phœnicia submit to him. This he accomplished without difficulty; the towns of Aradus, Byblus, and Sidon immediately went over to him. The kings, who from old times reigned in the towns there, had their power confirmed, and a Macedonian was placed over the land as governor. Thus, Alexander again built himself a strong foundation for further enterprises. The ships of the Persian fleet had up till now been built in Phœnician yards and their crews recruited from the seafaring population. The conquest of this land and the submission of its towns and kings was bound to lead to the breaking up of the Persian fleet, which till now had ruled the sea. This was an invaluable gain for Alexander.

Tyre alone of the Phœnician towns opposed him, but it was too powerful and important for him to leave unconquered. He therefore determined to besiege it.

Alexander in Phœnicia

Tyre lay on an island at a short distance from the mainland, and was entirely surrounded by a high and strong wall. In order to approach it, Alexander had a mole thrown up, for which purpose there was an abundance of stones and wood in the vicinity. So long as the water near the coast was shallow, the operations went on smoothly. But the further the Macedonians advanced and the deeper the sea became, the more frequent and serious became the attacks of the Tyrians, who could now bring up their warships and bombard with their heavy artillery the workers on the mole. Alexander ordered two high portable towers to be erected for their protection on the extremity of the mole; but these were set on fire by a fire-ship which the besiegers skilfully succeeded in bringing up. At the same time the mole itself, together with the war machines, during the confusion caused from the fire, were destroyed by the Tyrians, who came from their warships in small boats.

This set-back, far from deterring Alexander, only taught him that without a fleet he could not subdue the strong island fortress. The Phœnician towns, which had submitted to him, placed their ships under the command of Alexander,



THE FAMILY OF DARIUS BROUGHT BEFORE ALEXANDER AFTER HIS GREAT VICTORY AT ISSUS.

who himself went to Sidon; the Cyprian kings also made their peace with him and sent their ships to him. With this fleet, consisting of some two hundred vessels of war, he turned once more against Tyre, where, meantime, the Macedonians had begun to throw up a new and broader mole. This time, under the protection of the fleet, which blocked the two harbours of Tyre, they succeeded in bringing the mole right up to the enemy's walls. But the wall still offered a long resistance to the siege machines, which were brought close by means of the mole, and also of ships chained together; until at length, in July, 332 B.C., by the combined efforts of the fleet and of the artillery, the Macedonians succeeded in penetrating into one of the Tyrian harbours, effecting a breach in the wall, and entering the city. This decided the fate of Tyre.

The great Siege of Tyre

Alexander started from Tyre in order to reach Egypt through Gaza—which he captured only after a two-months siege—and Pelusium. This land bore the Persian yoke unwillingly, and had often risen against it. Alexander was here hailed as a liberator, and met with submission everywhere. At Memphis, the capital, the Macedonian sacrificed to Apis, and in this way, as in general by his consideration for their religious manners and customs, won the hearts of his new subjects.

From Memphis Alexander proceeded down stream on the west arm of the Nile to Canopus and founded a new town at a short distance from this old harbour, which, called Alexandria after him, was soon to attain great prosperity, and is still flourishing. This was the first town which he founded. It was intended to be a centre and a protection for the numerous Hellenes already residing in Egypt, and a point of attraction to the newly arrived settlers from Hellas and Macedonia. Difficult to be approached by land, easily defensible, and provided with excellent harbours, Alexandria was fitted for a centre of intercourse and communications between the mother country and the newly subdued territory, and helped to establish the new supremacy firmly in the land of ancient civilisation.

Founding of Alexandria

From Alexandria the king proceeded to the far-famed shrine of Ammon in the oasis of Siwah. He was led to do this chiefly by political reasons. He wished to sacrifice to the god of the country, as at Memphis, and by this diplomatic homage to bind more closely to himself the whole land, on the possession of which much depended. The priests of Ammon welcomed him and addressed him as son of their god, whom the Greeks had long identified with their highest deity, Zeus: an honour for the young monarch, which had nothing unusual in it for the Egyptians, who were accustomed from antiquity to regard their kings as gods.

From the oracle of Ammon, Alexander marched back across the desert to Memphis, twelve days' march distant, and there reorganised the government. He divided the whole of Egypt at first into four districts, but afterwards into three, since one of the Egyptians nominated by him as governor declined the post. These divisions were Arabia and Libya—that is, the countries east and west of the Delta, at the head of which Greeks were placed; and Egypt—that is, the Delta and the rest of the land, the administration of which was entrusted to an Egyptian. The command over the fleet of thirty triremes stationed there was given to Polemon; that over the troops left there to Peucestas and Balacrus, one of them commanding the infantry, the other the cavalry. The religion of the Egyptians was left unaltered, as well as their national institutions, such as the division of the land into provinces, which were at the same time districts for purposes of taxation. The appointment of the Egyptian Doloaspis as governor over the Delta and Upper Egypt showed clearly enough that Alexander was not bent on the subjugation, but on the peaceful development of the land, and thought to accustom the inhabitants to the new order of things.

Egyptian Government Reorganised





ALEXANDER'S WORLD EMPIRE

TO THE DEATH OF THE GREAT CONQUEROR

WHAT, in the meantime, had happened to Darius? The great king had fled in the night, after the battle of Issus, with some few followers, had on the next day collected round him scattered divisions of his army, and with these, which finally numbered some four thousand men, had continued his flight until he reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus. Not until the broad river separated him from his conqueror did he check his speed.

In what a different condition did he come back to Babylon, which a few months before he had left at the head of a mighty army, full of confidence and hope of victory over the far smaller forces of Alexander! Not merely was his army beaten and broken; his mother and wife and children were in the power of the victor; his baggage, which he had sent to Damascus before the battle under the orders of Cophes, had been captured by Parmenio, and at the same time the war-chest and treasure of all sorts were taken, and the families of many noble Persians made prisoners. But the treasuries of Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana still held large quantities of gold and silver, and a fresh army could be recruited from the provinces which would far outnumber the Macedonian forces—in short, with some energy and circumspection, resistance could still be offered to the enemy and an attack on the heart of the kingdom repelled. Ample means for the purpose stood at the disposal of Darius, yet the blow at Issus had been so stunning that he at first thought of coming to a friendly understanding with Alexander.

Flight of Darius

While Alexander was still waiting at Marathus, a Persian embassy had petitioned for the release of the prisoners and proposed a treaty to the king. In his answer Alexander demanded complete submission and the recognition of his supremacy, on which conditions Darius might obtain what he wished. During the siege of Tyre an embassy came for the second time, this time with definite offers of peace; 10,000 talents were to be paid as ransom for the captured women, all the land between the Euphrates and the Ægean Sea was to be ceded, friendship and alliance were to be concluded between the two rival monarchs, and to be sealed by the marriage of Alexander to a daughter of Darius. These terms also were rejected; once more the absolute submission of the great king was demanded.

Embassies of Peace to Alexander

Then Persia broke off negotiations. Darius assembled an army afresh, in order to repel the attack of the Macedonians on the very centre of the empire. In the course of the years 332 and 331 B.C. troops from Persia and Media, from Cappadocia and Bactria—in short, from all the satrapies which were still left to Persia—flocked into Babylon, and were there assiduously drilled and prepared for the campaign. The cavalry was more efficiently armed, being provided with shields and longer lances; two hundred scythe-bearing chariots were introduced, and even elephants equipped. In the summer of 331 B.C. Darius was able to leave Babylon and take the field with an army, the strength of which is estimated at 1,000,000 effective men.

In the spring of the same year, 331, Alexander had started from Memphis. He halted at Tyre, where his fleet was waiting for him. Here a festival was celebrated in honour of Heracles with contests in music and gymnastics, to which Greek artists in large numbers were attracted. From here Amphoterus, the admiral, was sent with his fleet, which the Phœnicians and Cypriotes were to strengthen by one hundred ships, to the Peloponnese to co-operate with the regent, Antipater, in crushing the Spartans, who, under their king, Agis, aided by money from Persia, declared war against

Alexander's Festival at Tyre

Macedonia. The Macedonian army then started eastward, avoided the Syrian desert by a detour, and reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus. The advance guard had already begun the construction of two bridges, but had been prevented by the enemy's cavalry from carrying them across to the left bank. When Alexander himself appeared the enemy withdrew; the bridges were, therefore, completed, and the Euphrates was crossed without hindrance. From Thapsacus he first marched up-stream in a northerly direction, then eastward past Nisibis on the southern slopes of the Armenian Mountains, through districts which furnished ample food to the army and sufficient fodder for the horses, and exposed the troops less to the heat than if they had marched from Thapsacus directly eastward through the plains of Mesopotamia. The enemy, it was reported, was awaiting him on the Tigris.

Advance on the Persians

On the news of the advance of Alexander, Darius had started from Babylon, crossed the Tigris, and occupied a position on its left bank on the far side of the Lycus—the present Great Zab—near Gaugamela, choosing advisedly a wide, level country, which allowed scope for the operations of the great masses of his army. But Alexander met with no opposition on crossing the Tigris. After a rest on the other bank he proceeded down stream, and after four days' march came on the enemy's cavalry sent out to reconnoitre. He learned at the same time that Darius was not far from there, at Gaugamela. On October 1st, 331 B.C., a battle was fought there, which, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Persians and their more favourable ground, ended in their complete overthrow. Darius fled with his bodyguard and some cavalry from Arbela—now Erbil—over the mountains to Ecbatana, and left to the conqueror the lower half of his kingdom. Soon after the battle, Alexander entered Babylon without encountering any resistance. Here also, as in Egypt, he understood how to win the goodwill of the population. He sacrificed according to the injunctions of the Chaldæans, and directed that the temple of Bel, which is said to have been destroyed by Xerxes, should be rebuilt. In the organisation of the satrapy we see the same principles followed as in Egypt; here again a native, named Mazæus, was chosen governor, but along with him were Apollodorus of Amphipolis as military governor and also a Greek, named Asclepiodorus, as chief collector of the revenue. Armenia received a noble Persian as satrap in the person of Mithrenes, the former commander of the citadel of Sardis. Alexander organised the satrapy of Susa with its capital of the same name, whither he had gone from Babylon about the end of November, 331 B.C., in the same way as Babylon. A noble Persian, by name Abulites, became governor, while the command of the troops of the garrison was entrusted to Macedonians. Susa, where town and castle immediately surrendered to the victor, was during winter and spring the residence of the Persian kings. Here the treasure of 50,000 talents of silver (£12,000,000) fell into the hands of Alexander. Spoils from the Greek wars of Xerxes were found there. The king gave the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton back to the Athenians. Reinforcements from home arrived here, in all some 8,000 men, and were enrolled in the army, filling up the gaps that had been made. The real capital, with the sepulchres of the kings and their residence on especially solemn occasions—coronations and the feast of Norus—was Persepolis, south-east of Susa and separated from it by lofty and impassable mountains. This mountain district was inhabited by the Uxii, who had preserved their independence of Persia, and were accustomed to receive a present of money, even from the great king, when, marching through their land, he crossed the pass that lay in their possession; practically, then, they exacted tribute.

Darius' Last Defeat

Vast Treasures of Susa

They demanded this tribute from Alexander also as he approached their pass; but the king, with picked troops, led by guides from Susa, avoided the pass by taking difficult paths, attacked the mountain settlements of the Uxii, amassed rich booty, returned by forced marches, and now attacked them assembled on the pass. The Uxii had to surrender and to furnish immediately as tribute a definite number of cattle, horses and sheep. The Macedonian army then divided. Parmenio with the heavy infantry marched further on the great road which leads past the western slopes of the mountains; Alexander himself marched through the



ALEXANDER'S FINAL DEFEAT OF DARIUS, THE "GREAT KING" OF PERSIA, AT ARBELA

In the two years following his defeat at Issus, Darius collected and trained a fresh army, the strength of which is estimated at a million effective men; but when he engaged with Alexander at Arbela on the Tigris, in 331 B.C. he was totally defeated and fled with his bodyguard over the mountains to Ecbatana, leaving to the conqueror the lower half of his kingdom.

mountains. The second pass, the so-called Persian Gates, which must be crossed on the route from Susa to Persepolis if a march is made through the mountains, was occupied by the satrap Ariobarzanes, who had walled across the narrow road and with his 40,000 men opposed Alexander's attack. Here also the king, who had left his general, Craterus, in front of the pass, succeeded with a light detachment in turning the flank of Ariobarzanes, who, attacked in front and in the rear, was forced to give way and leave open to the conqueror the passage through the Persian Gates and the road to Persepolis.

Persepolis Falls to Alexander

The capital fell into Alexander's hands without offering further resistance; the treasure that was taken as booty, far exceeding that in Susa, is said to have amounted to 120,000 talents, or £25,000,000. At Alexander's orders the royal fortress with its large and splendid palaces was set on fire—a satisfaction exacted for the outrages which the Persians had once committed in Greece by the destruction of towns and shrines. Thus the programme laid down in the meeting of the league at Corinth in the autumn of 336 was carried out. The importance attached to the burning of the royal palaces in Persepolis is borne out by the fact that Alexander soon afterwards at Ecbatana—to mention it at once in this connection—dismissed the contingents of the Thessalians and Greeks belonging to the league to their homes, continuing their full pay until their arrival at their destination and distributing among them a present of 2,000 talents. Only a part of the Thessalians remained with the Macedonian army and entered the service of the king.

From this time the king conducted the war only with his Macedonians and the mercenaries he had enlisted; and the conquest of the entire Persian kingdom, an idea which may well have hovered before his mind from the first as his ultimate object, was now approaching completion. The great king still lived; the eastern satrapies still obeyed him. Alexander's next task was to crush him finally.

Conquest of all Persia

Darius had withdrawn after the battle of Gaugamela with some few troops, which had escaped with him, to Ecbatana (now Hamadan), the summer residence in Media of the Persian kings, and here awaited developments. Ecbatana, in fact, was favourably situated for the purpose, owing to its easy communication with Babylonia and Persis, as well as with the East, whither the great road led past Ragæ (now Rei, near Teheran) and the Caspian Gates (now Pass of Serdarra), between the mountains and the salt desert, through a well-cultivated, fertile country. He had either to await fresh troops from the still unconquered eastern satrapies or to retreat further in that direction if the reinforcements did not come at the right time. Unfortunately, the latter happened. Alexander was more rapid. At the news of his advance Darius fled east, having taken the precaution to send ahead his baggage and his harem to the Caspian Gates.

Alexander left Persepolis in the spring of 330 B.C. After a short halt at Ecbatana, where he left Parmenio at the head of 7,000 Macedonians to guard the treasure which had been brought from Persepolis and Susa to Ecbatana, and had been entrusted to Harpalus and to protect the Median capital and satrapy, he followed the flying king by forced marches along the great road past Ragæ. Thence he advanced swiftly with only picked troops through the Caspian Gates. Alexander's speed was redoubled when he learnt that the satraps round Darius, Bessus of Bactria and Barsaentes of Arachosia, had seized their monarch and were taking him about with them as prisoner, and that Bessus had been proclaimed general by the troops of Darius; only Artabazus of the Persians and the Greek mercenaries had remained loyal to their master, and, since they were powerless to rescue him, had separated from Bessus. More and more of the Macedonians remained behind as their strength failed them in the furious pursuit, until at last the king had only 500 horsemen with him. Finally, on the sixth day, Alexander overtook the conspirators in the vicinity of the later Hecatompylus. The exploit of marching 256 miles in six days has always evoked astonishment, and deserves the reputation of miraculous which it possessed in antiquity.

Furious Pursuit of Darius

The sudden appearance of Alexander made such an impression on the Persians under Bessus that, without thinking of resistance, they sought safety in a general flight, and murdered Darius, whom they



THE ENTRY OF ALEXANDER INTO BABYLON

were taking with them in a chariot. If the followers of Bessus, who thought themselves secure from any attack, had suspected with what a small and exhausted force Alexander was coming to meet them, they would certainly have found courage to oppose him; but the suddenness of his appearance robbed them of all reflection. Bessus fled with 600 horsemen. Alexander ordered the body of the great king to be buried at Pasargarda in July, 330 B.C.; he looked upon himself now as the lawful successor of Darius.

Murder of Darius

After he had given his exhausted troops some rest, he rejoined the army on its advance, and then subdued the satrapy of Hyrcania, situated on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. On this occasion he took into his army a great part of the Greek mercenaries, who, after separating from the conspirators, had taken the route to the mountains of Hyrcania. Only those who had entered the service of Persia before the conclusion of the Hellenic League were set free.

Many noble Persians, too, went over to his side, such as Artabazus, whom we have already mentioned; the chiliarch, Nabarzanes; and Phrataphernes, the satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania. The envoys of Greek towns who had been with Darius, but had withdrawn with the Greek mercenaries after his capture, were treated variously by Alexander; he imprisoned the four Lacedaemonians and one Athenian, while he liberated the envoys from Sinope and Chalcedon, since their towns did not belong to the Corinthian League. Sparta did not actually belong to it, but at this time had waged war against the regent, Antipater. We find envoys from Greek states with Darius to the very last; only by his death and the transfer of his monarchy to Alexander were the hopes the Greeks cherished of Persian aid annihilated. Meantime, the instigators of the capture and subsequent murder of Darius had separated: Bessus fled to Bactria (now Balkh), the capital of his satrapy, placed the tiara of the murdered king on his head there, took the name of Artaxerxes, and organised an army afresh; in doing which he chiefly counted on the support of the warlike nomad tribes of the neighbourhood, the Scythians. Satibarzanes, on the other hand, the satrap of Areia, went to his own land, but submitted when Alexander approached from the Caspian Sea. He confirmed Satibarzanes in his office, left with him some Macedonian cavalry under the command of Anaxippus, and started eastward to attack Bessus, attempting to reach Bactria through the desert by the shortest way, past the present Merv. But the revolt of Satibarzanes in support of Bessus and the murder of Anaxippus and his men compelled him to turn back, in order first to subdue Areia with its capital, Artacoana (which is supposed to be near the present Herat), the rebellious satrap having fled at the news of Alexander's advance. He afterwards made an attempt to come back at the head of 2,000 horsemen, and to induce the province to revolt, but paid the penalty with his life. The Persian, Arsames, received the satrapy.

Last Hope of the Greeks

This incident may well have determined the king not to carry out his original plan of marching through the desert past Merv, but first to conquer the country of the Drangi, who bordered on Areia, the present Seistan, and then to proceed thence through the valley of the Etymandrus (Helmund) and Arachosia (Kandahar) to the foot of the Paropamisus (Hindu Kush). He clearly wished to deprive Bessus of the possibility of obtaining support and reinforcements from these districts. He founded the town of Alexandria at the foot of the Paropamisus. He then crossed the mountains in mid-winter, in deep snow, suffering every kind of privation, and found when he reached the plain, after an equally laborious descent, that all the country had been devastated by Bessus. In spite of hardships of every kind, he advanced into Bactria.

Alexander in Central Asia

Bessus had fled before him over the Oxus, or Amu Daria, to Sogdiana, clearly because he believed that his opponent would not dare to follow him thither, since Sogdiana was surrounded on the south, west, and north by waterless deserts. Alexander did not let himself be deterred. After a fearfully severe march of forty-five miles through the desert of Bactria, where the lack of water, together with the red-hot sand, made the march almost unendurable for the soldiers, he reached the river, which, swift, deep, and very broad, presented still greater difficulties in crossing, because Bessus on his retreat had burnt all the boats. Alexander overcame this obstacle, too; the leather tent-covers of



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE CONQUESTS AND THE WORLD EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

the soldiers were sewn together into bags, filled with reeds, and used to ferry the men across the river. The march was then continued in a northerly direction, in order to overtake Bessus in his flight. His companions, Spitamenes, the commander of the cavalry of Sogdiana, and the Persian, Dataphernes, made a proposition to Alexander to surrender the murderer of Darius into his hands if he would send them troops, upon which Ptolemy was sent forward with a division of horsemen and light infantry. He succeeded in coming up with Bessus, and as there were only few soldiers with him, took him prisoner. Fettered and bound, Bessus was brought to Alexander in the beginning of the summer, 329 B.C. The king ordered him to be scourged and to be taken as a prisoner to Bactria and afterwards to be crucified.

Murderer of Darius Captured

Two full years were to pass, however, before Alexander could leave Sogdiana. Spitamenes, who on Ptolemy's arrival had departed with his Sogdian horsemen, organised a rising in Sogdiana and Bactria, and won over the nomad tribes of the desert, whose horsemen supported him. Alexander soon after the capture of Bessus marched past Maracanda (Samarkand) for the Jaxartes (Syr Daria), founded on that river a town, Alexandria, with the additional name of Eschate (the "Furthest"), drove back by a swift, forward movement the Sacæ, assembled on the other bank of the river, and received from them the oath of obedience. Then the insurrection broke out. It was a war carried on at many points simultaneously, and repeatedly caused considerable losses to the Macedonians. But the persistence of Alexander eventually prevailed, especially after Spitamenes, the soul of the revolt, was murdered by the Massagetæ.

At last, in the summer of 327 B.C., when some mountain strongholds situated in the east were captured after fierce fights and great exertions, the whole country up to the Jaxartes, which Alexander recognised as the boundary of the empire, as it had been under the Persians, might be considered as subjugated and pacified. Among the prisoners who fell into the hands of the conquerors after the storming of one of these mountain fortresses was Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, a woman of great beauty. She so stirred Alexander's passion that he married her. By this he satisfied the long-cherished desire of his people to see their king married.

Alexander Marries Roxana

To these years belong some events which allow us a glimpse of the inner life at the court of Alexander. The first incident concerns Philotas, son of Parmenio, the leader of the Macedonian household cavalry. Even in Egypt he had awakened Alexander's suspicion by his dangerous intrigues and treasonable plans; but the king had given no credence to the information for old friendship's sake. When the Macedonians were in Drangiana in the autumn of 330, a conspiracy against Alexander was discovered, and its members were immediately arrested. Philotas also was seized, and brought by the king before the assembled army, which had to judge in such cases. Whether Philotas had himself taken any share in this conspiracy or not is undetermined; but this much is certain, he knew of a plot against the king's life and gave no information of it, although he daily went in and out of Alexander's presence. The assembled army condemned him and the men accused with him, and immediately put them to death. His old father, Parmenio, was involved in his fate. Alexander sent a message to Ecbatana with orders to kill the old general, either because he saw in him an accomplice to the conspiracy or considered him, on account of his great influence, to be dangerous after the death of Philotas. However little Alexander may be excused for such high-handed methods, yet it is apparent that a certain degree of justification existed for his acts. Later we will make these still clearer.

Conspiracy Against the Conqueror

On a subsequent occasion Alexander was holding a banquet in honour of the Dioscuri, in which Clitus, who stood in peculiarly intimate relations with the king, also took part. When the wine had heated the feaster's heads, and flatterers struck up songs, which with scoff and scorn disparaged the old Macedonian kings and extolled Alexander to the skies, Clitus rose up, lauded Philip and the other kings, and told Alexander many unpleasant things which deeply wounded him. An altercation ensued. Alexander sprang up suddenly and snatched the spear from one of the bodyguard standing near. The guests threw aside their beakers and leapt up in terror, but Ptolemy had sufficient presence of mind to push Clitus out of the

door. He came back, however, by another door, and once more insulted his master. The latter, losing all self-control, struck him down with his spear. Immediately after this wicked deed remorse and grief seized on the king. He was carried to his chamber, where he lay, wailing and lamenting, until the exhortation of his friends and the impulse of his nature brought him back to reason. The act had been done in anger and passion, and his remorse certainly proves most clearly how far removed Alexander was from the bloodthirsty and revengeful nature of an Oriental despot.

In the spring of 327 B.C. a new conspiracy against Alexander's life was discovered at Bactria. A page, by name Hermolaus, had been punished for misconduct by his master, had vowed revenge, and, with four other pages, determined the murder of Alexander on a certain night. The king by chance did not come home, and the plan of the conspirators miscarried. One of them then revealed the plot, and the others were arrested and executed. It is certain that purely personal, and not political motives, lay at the bottom of this conspiracy; but it was not devoid of high political importance. Callisthenes of Olynthus, a nephew of Aristotle, accompanied Alexander on the campaign as one of the philosophers and men of letters, of whom there were several in the royal camp. He wrote a history of the war; and several fragments of it, which are preserved for us, show that he had attained a marvellous facility in the use of flowery language.

Crucifixion of Conspirators

But his attitude towards the king had gradually changed. He now played the part of a lover of freedom, a hater of tyranny, and railed at the flattery which his rival, Anaxarchus of Abdera, only too lavishly bestowed on the king. According to the story, he is said to have denounced especially the ceremonial act of prostration before the king, which had been introduced into the practice of the court; to have consorted much with the young men, and not to have shown the necessary caution in his language before them. When Hermolaus and his companions were arrested, Callisthenes was charged with having prompted them to their crime. Alexander ordered him to be arrested and crucified; according to another account, he died in prison soon after his arrest. It thus became early evident that between Alexander and a part of his followers a misunderstanding prevailed, which the altered position of the king had produced. As lord of the Persian realm he had to appear to his new subjects in the full splendour and majesty of an Oriental monarch, to assume actual Oriental attire, and to employ the Oriental ceremonial on festive occasions and state levees. Among the Macedonians secret dissatisfaction existed in many forms, and required only an opportunity to burst out into a raging conflagration. The opposition subsequently died out.

Discontent in the Ranks

In the summer of 327 B.C. Alexander departed with his army from Bactria, where he left behind a strong division, crossed the Hindu Kush, strengthened and enlarged the town of Alexandria, which he had founded there, and then began the conquest of the country of the Indus. He had raised 30,000 Bactrians and Sogdians, armed and drilled in Macedonian fashion, and these were now to fight under his standard, side by side with the Macedonians.

But Alexander did not undertake this Indian campaign, as has been supposed, chiefly for the purpose of attaching to his person the conquered peoples and blending the old and new elements in his army by new victories. There were other reasons which certainly determined him to do so. Above all, former kings of Persia, a Darius and a Xerxes, had already ruled over the Indus territory, and Alexander wished to rule over an empire of the same extent as it had been under those monarchs. The Indus territory—the Punjab, as well as the mountainous parts in the west, now Afghanistan and Kashmir—was divided into many separate principalities, and had not yet been formed into a political unity. The different princes were at war with each other; some formed friendly relations with Alexander and had invited his help. Little as was then known of India, and little though it had been explored, its profusion of valuable products of all kinds was known. Long before Alexander, Indian wares had been brought over the pass of the Hindu Kush to Bactria and then to the Black Sea into the Greek colonies and the rest of Europe. A motive that certainly helped to decide the king on his Indian campaign was his wish to open up these rich territories more

Alexander Goes to India

effectually to trade, to make them more accessible to his newly conquered lands, as well as to his own country, and thus to make new paths for traffic and commerce.

The way from the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush to the Indus leads through the Kabul valley and the Khaibar pass. Perdiccas and Hephæstion advanced on this road with a part of the army, with orders to throw a bridge across the Indus as soon as they reached it. Alexander himself marched through the mountainous region watered by the northern tributaries of the Cophen, or Kabul River, the present Kafiristan and Chitral. The warlike tribes of the country, the Aspasii, Guræi, and Assaceni offered a vigorous opposition, and could be subdued only after many battles. Alexander nominated Nicanor governor, ordered many of the existing towns to be fortified, and rebuilt others, which the inhabitants had burnt on his arrival, placing garrisons in them. He thus regarded the complete subjugation of the land as necessary for the lasting peace and prosperous development of his territories lying to the south and north of the Hindu Kush. Since, as there is no room to doubt, he wished to retain the Indus territory, its permanent and secure union with the more distant districts of his monarchy was indispensable.

The Indus Crossed

Not until the spring of 326 B.C. was Alexander able to effect a junction with Perdiccas and Hephæstion and to cross the Indus on the bridge which they had erected. The prince of this district, Taxiles, who had already come to Alexander at Sogdiana and had asked him for help in the war with his neighbours, offered his submission and was confirmed in his possessions, which were soon largely increased. Other Indian princes likewise submitted; but Porus (probably a title, not a personal name), who ruled on the other side of the Hydaspes, sent no envoys to Alexander, and awaited him on the river, which bounded his kingdom, with a well-equipped army. When Alexander arrived at the Hydaspes it was swollen by the summer rains, and was difficult to cross; Porus also was carefully guarding the banks. Craterus was ordered to remain on the bank, opposite the camp of the Indian king, and by all kinds of manœuvres to direct attention to himself, while Alexander at some little distance accomplished the crossing of the river unnoticed by the enemy. The Macedonians won the battle, notwithstanding the elephants of the enemy. Porus surrendered and retained his kingdom, henceforth as a loyal ally of Alexander, who soon afterwards, on the defeat of a second Porus, on the other side of the Acesines, entrusted the subjugated kingdom to him. On the site of the battle against the first Porus a new town, Nicæa, was founded; and on the scene of the passage of the Hydaspes another, Bucephala, so called after Alexander's war horse, Bucephalus. Besides this, he ordered a fleet to be built on the Hydaspes, where there was abundance of timber for ship-building, in which to sail down the Indus. While this was being constructed Alexander marched forward over the Hydraotes but wheeled round at the Hyphasis; being forced to do so, it is said, by his own soldiers, who, exhausted by their intolerable hardships, clamoured to return.

Victories in India

After the construction of the fleet the return westward was begun. Alexander sailed down the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and lastly the Indus. Divisions of the army on both sides of the rivers accompanied the fleet. The king had frequently to halt, in order to fight the tribes inhabiting the country round. At the storming of the town of the warlike Malli on the lower Acesines, where the king himself was the first to scale the wall, and thence leapt down into the middle of the enemy, he was severely wounded and saved only by the heroic bravery of his followers. At last they reached the town of Pattala at the beginning of the delta, and eventually the mouth of the Indus.

Greeks' First Sight of the Open Sea

Alexander sailed out into the open sea, and as the first of the Hellenes offered a sacrifice to Poseidon in the midst of the waves of the newly discovered Indian Ocean. Here the Greeks, to their intense surprise, saw for the first time the ebbing and flowing tide. Everything points to the conclusion that Alexander intended to maintain the Indus as a boundary. To the west of the river he had organised two satrapies; to the east of it lay the two vassal states of Taxiles and Porus. Besides the already mentioned towns of Nicæa and Bucephala, a town was founded on the Acesines, and Pattala, at the head of the Indus delta was fortified and



ALEXANDER'S INVASION OF INDIA: THE SUBMISSION OF PORUS, ONE OF THE INDIAN PRINCES

Alexander opened his great Indian campaign in 327 B.C., crossed the Hindu Kush, conquered the Indus territory, and entered the Punjab. Most of the native princes submitted, but Porus resisted Alexander's crossing of the Hydaspes river and was defeated. He surrendered and became a loyal ally. From the painting by Lebrun in the Louvre.

provided with docks and a harbour. At the end of the summer of 325 B.C. Alexander started from Pattala, whither he had returned after his voyage to the sea and an exploration of the two arms of the mouth of the Indus, marched through Gedrosia, now Baluchistan, towards the west, and after an indescribably difficult march through the desert, entailing heavy loss, arrived in Persia. He had ordered his admiral Nearchus to sail down the Indus with his fleet and then put to sea, with instructions to look for the means of communication between the mouths of the Indus and the Euphrates, and to collect everywhere information as to the land and its inhabitants. Nearchus executed his task brilliantly; he discovered the sea route from India to Babylonia through the Persian gulf. Thus the rich and costly treasures of India were opened to the commerce of the western nations, and the towns founded by Alexander himself on the Indus became serviceable to the new and flourishing trade.

Alexander's Geographical Explorations

When Alexander reached Persepolis he found his presence urgently necessary. A usurper had arisen in Media and assumed the title of Great King; his treasurer, Harpalus, had fled, guilty of immense embezzlements and breaches of trust; some satraps were oppressing their subjects in the old Persian way, others had enlisted mercenaries and taken them into their personal service. Alexander acted promptly and with merciless rigour, and in a short time restored order.

The next years were devoted to the concerns of the internal administration, the perfecting and strengthening of the new government, and the task of blending the conquerors with the native population. In the spring of 324 B.C. Alexander married two princesses of the royal Persian house, Statira and Parysatis. At the same time many Macedonian generals celebrated their nuptials with noble Persian women; Alexander also gave a feast and a wedding present to the soldiers who married Persian wives. This was a wise step towards amalgamating the two races.

Marriages With Persian Princesses

The same idea was served by the incorporation into the Macedonian army of thirty thousand Persians, who had been raised by the king's order, armed in Macedonian fashion, and trained according to the Macedonian tactics. The Macedonian army was mortified at the creation of these new troops, but Alexander appeased it by paying the soldiers' debts out of the royal treasury. After the exploration of the two rivers and the removal of hindrances to navigation on the Tigris, in the summer of 324 B.C. Alexander came to Opis, whither Hephæstion had previously led his army.

There he dismissed to their homes, under the command of Craterus, ten thousand veterans, into whose place the Persian levies were to step. Discontent in the army broke out and ended in open mutiny. But Alexander's appearance in person had a great effect on the disobedient soldiers; for when the king withdrew from their sight and entrusted his person to the Persians they were filled with remorse and entreated forgiveness. The ten thousand veterans marched homewards without murmuring; the thirty thousand newly levied Persians were enrolled in the army and united with the old army into military units. In the company, sixteen deep, the first files and the last were Macedonians, the intermediate lines Persians. From Opis Alexander marched to Ecbatana. Here he lost his friend and general, Hephæstion. He lamented for him a long time and paid his memory extravagant honours. He then went on further to subdue the Cossæi, a people that, like the Uxii, had remained independent and led a life of pillage in the middle of his empire. Alexander compelled them to settle and become agriculturists, and founded several strong forts in order to keep them in check.

Persians in the Army of Macedon

His career was ended by his death at Babylon in the summer of 323 B.C. He had busied himself to the last with great plans: the country at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the east coast of the Persian Gulf with its islands, were to be colonised, and Phœnicians to be settled there; Arabia was to be circumnavigated, starting from the Persian Gulf; the communications and commerce by sea of these Eastern lands and of the Indus valley with Egypt were to be restored. Alexander was intent at all times and all places in pointing out new paths for trade and intercourse and in promoting civilisation. Macedonia was no longer the petty inland state of former kings. Freed from



THE CONQUEROR CONQUERED: DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AT BABYLON IN THE YEAR 323 B.C.

its chains and narrow limits by Philip, it became a world-empire under Alexander. Whether the empire would have become permanent if its creator had lived longer, and whether the intention of its bold builder to amalgamate the various nations of that gigantic empire and to unite them into a flourishing political entity would have been realised, are idle speculations. A gloomy silence reigned in Babylon during the night after Alexander's death. The inhabitants kept in their houses, and did not even venture to kindle a light. The Macedonians, who felt the insecurity of their position, stood under arms. In reality the situation was extremely uncertain and complicated, since there was no heir and successor; and yet someone had to undertake the conduct of affairs. The foremost generals met in council. After long debate it was decided to await the expected confinement of Roxana, and till then to have affairs carried on by a council of regency, consisting of four members.

Death of the World Conqueror



THEOPHRASTUS
Who, with Aristotle, stood at the head of Greek science in Alexander's time.

The infantry, however, under the influence of one of their leaders, Meleagrus, nominated as king Alexander's step-brother, Philip Arrhidæus, who was of feeble intellect. The cavalry sided with the generals. In this dispute, which broke out among the Macedonians immediately after the death of the great king, and in the open war which followed, the generals with the cavalry evacuated Babylon and encamped before the town. After long negotiations the contending sides were reconciled.

Peace was concluded by the two parties on the terms that Philip Arrhidæus, as well as the expected child of Alexander, if it proved to be a son, should be clothed with the purple and should reign. Perdiccas was to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs as the highest officer of the realm. Now came the epilogue. At a review and inspection of the army before the gates of Babylon the infantry stood opposite the cavalry and elephants. King Arrhidæus rode up to the infantry and demanded the surrender of the mutineers and ringleaders, threatening to attack them if they refused compliance. The chiefs of the insurrection were given up, thrown before the elephants, and trampled to death. Meleagrus, too, was killed. The position of Perdiccas was powerful, for he completely ruled King Arrhidæus. Thus order was once more restored, and the continued existence of the empire seemed secured by the nomination of Philip Arrhidæus as king and by the subsequent birth of a son to Alexander's widow.

But of the two kings, one was an infant, the other a man of feeble intellect. The generals and commanders, who mostly belonged to the high Macedonian nobility, and in some cases—for example, Leonnatus and Perdiccas—were related to the royal house, had submitted to their great king, and under his rule had been obliged to suppress their ambition and desire of power in the interest of the common good. But the matter now stood thus: Perdiccas was only the equal of most of them in rank and dignity, and yet was to exercise the royal power in the name of the kings; and just as Perdiccas on his side would be only too glad to have the generals go as far away as possible from Babylon, in order that he might not be hindered in the administration of the affairs entrusted to him, so, on the other hand, it was for the interests of each general to obtain a province where, far removed from the central government, he might hope to find a field for his restless energy and ambition.

Thus it was with profit to all that soon after the restoration of order a division of the satrapies was arranged. Antipater received Macedonia and Greece, and Antigonus Greater Phrygia, where he had long been satrap. And to mention only the most important of the others, Ptolemy received Egypt; Leonnatus Hellespontine Phrygia; Lysimachus Thrace; and Eumenes Cappadocia, which he had first to conquer for himself with the help of his two neighbours, Antigonus and Leonnatus.

Partition of the Empire

From this point Alexander's conquests in Asia and Africa pass out of our subject-matter. Their later history has been dealt with elsewhere. With the partition of his empire among his generals

disappeared all prospect of the fulfilment of his world-embracing visions. Placed at an early age by his father under the instruction of Aristotle, the soul of the boy had been filled with the Aristotelian ideal of a kingship that should win the hearts of men through great abilities and noble deeds. His mind was stored with pictures of the Heroic Age of Greece; and the glorious figure of Achilles made an especially deep impression upon his imagination. He became inspired with the idea of a struggle of the West against the East; and with this conception the teaching of Aristotle, that the mission of the Greeks was to extend their dominion over the barbarians, was in full accord; while the march of the Ten Thousand through the Persian empire, and the conquests of Agesilaus, had revealed the weakness of the colossus with feet of clay. At the death of Philip, Alexander was twenty years of age. He immediately succeeded to a dominion over faithful Macedonians, dissatisfied Greeks, and rebellious Illyrians and Dardanians; yet scarcely a year after his accession he was ruler of an empire that had already become united through fear and admiration for him alone. The army with which he set out to accomplish the great object of his life was but little greater than that which Napoleon had with him in the Egyptian campaign; but it contained the flower of the Macedonian-Greek soldiery, and was complete both in knowledge and experience of the arts of war. The single combat had passed away, the closed phalanx had been introduced during Hellenic times. But already Xenophon had recognised the unwieldiness of a heavy mass of men, and had demanded a closer co-operation between the phalanx and the other branches of the army. By Epaminondas the phalanx had been separated into parts—a wing for attack and another for defence. Philip may have introduced the use of organised units, but Alexander returned to the older method employed by Epaminondas, retaining the ancient oblique order of battle and making the right wing the attacking body. The army of Alexander fought in single hand-to-hand encounters, just as men had fought during the Heroic Age, but with this difference—instead of individuals, troops of soldiers

Power of the Conqueror's Personality

The Army of Alexander



VASES OF THE FINEST PERIOD OF GREEK ART

These vases, made during the time of Alexander, are products of the finest period of Greek art. On the left is a fine vase in the Athenian style; in the centre a wine-bowl with medallion handles, and on the right an Apulian amphora.

that had become as indivisible bodies, swayed by one idea, filled the places that had formerly been occupied by single men. At the time of the conquest of Egypt, which brought the entire Mediterranean basin under the control of Greece, when Alexandria, the centre of Greek commerce and traffic, was built. Alexander was still the champion of Grecian ideals, the leader in the war of vengeance, and the hero of the pan-Hellenic ideals of Isocrates; but in his second period of development he turned away from the soil of his forefathers, which had given him his power, forsook the ideal of his nation, the conquest of the Persian empire, and formed the idea of amalgamating Orient with Occident. Feeling certain of his own West, for which familiarity had bred in him a certain contempt, he deemed it inferior to the East, both in morals and in manners. The proclamation by which he was recognised as son of Jupiter Ammon was, therefore, his first step in the new direction; and it only proved his profound knowledge of the Eastern spirit. The first link in the chain that was to bind Occident to Orient was Alexandria, the centre of world commerce, founded by him. With this plan of uniting mankind into a league of peace, the half-forgotten but deeply venerated Hellenic conceptions of international justice awoke in him to new life. This side of his character has been regarded with enthusiasm, especially during the time when mankind sought to break down the barriers that separated nations from one another. Montaigne, Montesquieu, and Voltaire were all of them great admirers of Alexander. In short, it was no longer the conquest of the Persian empire, but the conquest of the world that had become the object of his ambition, for which firm foundations had been laid by the declaration respecting his divine origin. Thus from the union of Greece, through Philip, a theodynastic dominion of the world arose. It fell, to be sure, at the death of Alexander; yet it lived on in the claims of the Diadochic kingdoms, and especially in Egypt, where it furnished the basis for the divinity of monarchs. To the enormous circle of city colonies Alexander added Alexandria, Alexandretta, Herat, and Alexandria in the Punjab; these towns completed the Grecian sphere, and for the time being raised the Greek speech to the position of a universal language. Syrians, Indians, Persians and Bactrians were now joined to Scythians, Iberians, Kelts and Romans; the art and poetry of India were influenced by Greece; and scientific investigations in astronomy, medicine and philosophy were carried on as far east as the regions of the Indus and Ganges. The results of Alexander's conquests were no less important to the civilisation of Greece itself. Greek science, with Aristotle and



ONE OF THE WORLD'S FINEST SCULPTURES

The head of the Hermes sculptured by Praxiteles, one of the greatest of Greek sculptors, about 330 B.C. The statue is given on page 2457.

Amalgamating East With West

Results of Alexander's Conquests

Theophrastus at its head, was occupied for centuries in working over the enormous mass of new material for research which had been placed at its disposal. Art arose from the provincial decline into which it had fallen; and the works of the sculptor Lysippus, who made a celebrated statue of Alexander, as well as pictures by distinguished painters of the time, were fully worthy of the spirit of this great



THE MNEMOSYNE OF LYSIPPUS
One of the results of Alexander's conquests was that art arose from the provincial decline into which it had fallen; the works of Lysippus were fully worthy of this great age.



NIOBE AND HER DAUGHTER
This famous sculpture was probably executed by Scopas, the third of the three great sculptors of the period of artistic revival following Alexander's world conquests.

age of intellectual and material acquisition, in which Athens and Argos took the foremost place. Art and science were united in the writing of history; the broadened horizon of the period and the ability to compare with one another the fundamental traits of different men and races led to descriptions which were not only accurate but which also possessed high literary value. Preparation for this had been furnished by the close investigations into psychological and ethical questions that had been carried on by the Socratic school, as well as by the results of the tendencies of the admirers of Isocrates, who, through the practice of delivering encomiums, were led into a closer examination of human character.

The personal plan of Alexander the Great opened up unbounded vistas to the Greek race, but failed. The greatest champion of cosmopolitanism known to the world of history suffered defeat in the attempt to form a political amalgamation of East and West.



GREEK ART AFTER ALEXANDER: THE FAMOUS BELVEDERE APOLLO

A marble copy, now in the Vatican, of a bronze statue executed a few years after Alexander's death.



THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY
AND THE LAST OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE

WHILE Alexander was conquering the Persian power in Asia, his general, Antipater, had remained behind in Macedonia as regent. The Hellenic states were subject to his direction. They were, indeed, free, and bound only by treaties with Macedonia; but they no longer ventured to assert any policy of their own, since the charge of the common interests and the settlement of disputes and feuds were undertaken by the council of the league at Corinth under Macedonian influence.

Macedonia had also a seat and a vote in the Amphictyonic council, and thus acquired a most important means of exercising pressure and influence on Greece. In Athens, no less than in other Hellenic states, there was probably no lack of an anti-Macedonian party; but it kept quiet everywhere. The hope of a rising, as at Philip's death and a year afterwards, faded away in proportion as Alexander's victories were known, and thus the help which so many looked for from Darius became impossible.

Sparta Defies Alexander

Sparta alone had made no peace with the Macedonian king. Her king, Agis, who in 333 B.C., aided by money and ships from the Persian admirals, had been able to take possession of the important island of Crete, continued later his intrigues against Macedonia. In the spring of 331 B.C. he was able to ally himself with other Greek states, such as Elis, Achaia — except Pellene — and Arcadia, with the object of freeing Greece from the Macedonian yoke. The allies besieged Megalopolis, which, not wishing to go over to them, remained loyal to Macedonia.

Antipater had now to intervene. But he was confronted in his native country by a difficult situation, of which we have very scanty information. We learn only that the general commanding in Thrace, Zopyrion, perished with his entire army on a campaign against the Getæ, who dwelt north of the Danube, and that in Thrace itself the native prince, Seuthes, clearly in connection with Zopyrion's overthrow, organised a rising against Macedonia, in which a Macedonian general named Memnon seems to have taken part. Antipater having taken the field against the Thracians, soon found himself compelled, by the revolt of Agis, to patch up a peace with his foes in the north; it appears that he surrendered at least a part of Thrace, probably in the hope of reconquering it later. Thus relieved, Antipater marched south and completely defeated Agis and the allies in a decisive battle before Megalopolis. The Spartan king fell, and the insurrection was crushed. Elis and Achaia had to pay 130 talents to Megalopolis, and even Sparta submitted.

Peace Restored in Hellas

By these means peace was, to outward appearance, restored in Hellas; but the hope of liberation from the Macedonian yoke, as the supremacy of Macedonia in Greece was called by many, was by no means quenched. It required only a spark to make the smouldering fire blaze into bright flames. This time the insurrection broke out in Athens. Here excitement was caused by the presence and the arrest of Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, who had fled with vast riches from Ecbatana to avoid the punishment threatened by the king. Next came his escape from Athenian custody, and the trial, connected with this event, of Demosthenes, who was condemned, probably unjustly, for taking bribes. It is true that Harpalus's object—namely, to hurry the Athenians into a war against Macedonia, was not immediately realised; but the money which they took from him on his imprisonment—computed at 700 talents—was destined to be very useful to them. The excitement grew higher when, in 324 B.C., Alexander, by a decree, permitted the return to their native town of all Greek exiles, with the exception of common criminals and of the expelled Thebans. Athens and the

Athens' Hope of Freedom Rekindled

Ætolians did not execute this order. Then Alexander died suddenly, and with his death the desired liberation from the power of Macedonia seemed to the patriots to have arrived. Hyperides stood at the head of the movement. Since Alexander had ordered his satraps to dismiss their mercenaries, there were many unemployed soldiers who gladly enlisted. And as Athens had money enough and obtained a skilful general in Leosthenes an army was soon brought together. An alliance was made with the other Greek states in order to make the movement general in all Hellas; Ætolia especially sent troops and played an active part in the war, which at first took a favourable course for the confederates.

Revolt of all Greece

Antipater, who had advanced from Macedonia at the news of the revolt of Greece, was, after a disastrous fight at Heracleia, surrounded and besieged in Lamia. This is, therefore, called the Lamian War. During a sortie of Antipater, Leosthenes fell, and with him the real soul of the revolt. When Leonnatus, the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, came to the help of Antipater, the Hellenes abandoned the siege and advanced against him. In a battle, disastrous for the Macedonians, Leonnatus fell; but the junction of his army with Antipater, who came to meet it, was achieved. Antipater, strengthened by the army of Craterus, who was leading back the discharged veterans of Alexander, soon afterwards defeated—near Crannon—the Greeks, in whose ranks disaffection had already appeared, and some contingents of whom had already gone home; he then concluded a separate peace with the allies of Athens. Athens herself had to consent to alter her constitution, and make the possession of a fortune of 2,000 drachmas a qualification for full citizenship, by which means out of 21,000 citizens only 9,000 remained entitled to full rights. Hyperides, Demosthenes, and other men connected with the revolt were condemned to death; and Antipater marched on to Ætolia in order to subdue that country also.

The Greeks Subdued

If Perdiccas, when he took over the administration of the empire, had hoped that the central authority would be strong enough to punish any insubordination of the governors and to frustrate their ambitious plans by means of the imperial army under his command, he was mistaken; it was too soon apparent that there was an impassable gulf between the efforts of the governors to obtain more power and freedom, on the one side, and the supreme authority, representing the unity of the empire, on the other.

This led immediately to the war of Perdiccas against the two governors of Asia Minor, Leonnatus and Antigonus, who had not carried out the commands given them by the administrator of the empire to assist Eumenes in conquering the province of Cappadocia assigned to him. Eumenes joined the side of Perdiccas; Antigonus—for Leonnatus, as we have just seen, had, meantime, fallen in Thessaly—was supported by Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy of Egypt. Antipater and Craterus had to cross into Asia Minor to fight Eumenes. Craterus was killed in the war. Perdiccas himself went to Egypt, and after carrying on unsuccessful operations, which cost the lives of many men, was murdered by his own soldiers in 321 B.C. His army was led back to Syria. It here joined Antipater, who was now appointed regent of the empire. At Triparadisus, for the second time, a division of the provinces was made. In Europe, Antipater kept Macedonia with Greece, and Lysimachus Thrace. Antigonus was nominated general of the empire and entrusted with the war against Eumenes, who had been declared an enemy of the empire on account of his taking the side of Perdiccas. Antipater, after the discharge of the most urgent business with the kings, went to Europe, and took up his residence at Pella; Babylon, which lay in the very centre of Alexander's empire, was abandoned as the capital.

Disintegration of the Empire

Another still more important step, which was fated to contribute much to the disintegration of the mighty empire, was likewise taken by Antipater. Before his death, which took place in 319 B.C., he had nominated an old comrade in arms, by name Polyperchon, to be regent. His own son, Cassander, who had been passed over by his father, deeply hurt at this slight, fled to Antigonus, who was governor of Phrygia, and at the same time, as general-in-chief in the name of the kings, was conducting the war in Asia against Eumenes. Polyperchon, who, till now quite unknown and possessed of no

authority, had been suddenly placed at the head of the empire, naturally looked for supporters. At his advice King Philip issued a decree conceding to the Greeks the reintroduction of the constitutions which they had had at the time of Alexander, and allowing the Greek exiles to return to their native cities. This was an appeal to the democrats of Greece, for Antipater as far as possible had favoured the oligarchs, and Cassander likewise had maintained the oligarchic institutions.

What Polyperchon wished to attain by this proclamation—namely, to bring over to his side the Greek communities, especially Athens and the Peloponnese—was not effected. Disturbances broke out at Athens; an attempt was made to introduce the democratic constitutions abolished by Antipater; but the Macedonian garrison in Munychia, commanded by Nicanor, was in favour of Cassander. And when Nicanor seized the Piræus, and when afterwards Cassander himself came to Athens, the town was obliged to content itself with the governor set over it by him, Demetrius of Phalerum. In the Peloponnese also Polyperchon achieved nothing. He failed to get possession of Megalopolis, which was under oligarchic government and had long favoured Macedonia. Thus he was restricted to Macedonia.

Failure of Antipater's Successor

But another measure, by which he thought to make his power more felt, seemed more successful. He joined forces with Olympias, mother of the great Alexander, an enemy of Antipater and his house. Olympias, however, was at enmity with Eurydice, the wife of King Philip, who must have felt herself deeply injured by this arrangement between her and Polyperchon. These two allied themselves with Eumenes, who, having been nominated general-in-chief in Asia, with ample resources, was still fighting against Antigonus, and undertook to defend the rights of the kings. Eurydice allied herself with Cassander, who, through her agency, had been appointed regent by King Philip. The empire thus had two administrators, neither of whom had been appointed, as their two predecessors, by the really competent and popular representative body, the army, and both of whom were only partially recognised in the empire and at war with each other. Events in Macedonia were determined by the two hostile women, Olympias and Eurydice. Olympias, who had stayed in Epirus, availed herself of the absence of Cassander from Macedonia to make an inroad. Eurydice marched against her with an army; but it went over to her foe, since the Macedonians would not fight against the mother of their great king. So Philip and Eurydice fell into the power of the cruel Epirote princess, who caused both to be mercilessly tortured and miserably slain, and wreaked her fury equally on the kinsmen and adherents of Cassander. But when Cassander arrived from Greece and appeared in Southern Macedonia without Polyperchon's being able to hinder his crossing the mountains, Olympias shut herself up in Pydna: and when provisions gave out and the ship in which she wished to escape was taken away, she had to surrender. Impeached before the army by the friends and relatives of the many Macedonians killed by her, she was condemned to death; and as the old soldiers refused to slay the mother of their king, she was stoned by her accusers.

A War of Two Women

Roxana and the young king, Alexander, had fallen into the hands of Cassander at Pydna, and he kept them in strict custody. After the fall of Pydna, Pella surrendered to the conqueror, and soon afterwards the strong fortress of Amphipolis followed suit. Thus, Cassander was in a short time master of Macedonia. Polyperchon, it is true, maintained his position in the Peloponnese and some other places of Greece; but his post of administrator had lost all possible significance since the one king was dead and the other in the power of Cassander. Eumenes also, the ally of Polyperchon, and the most zealous protector of the royal rights, had been betrayed in the war against Antigonus by his own troops and murdered by his enemy. In fact, matters were in a favourable position for Cassander. His marriage with Thessalonice, daughter of Philip, who had been at Pydna in the suite of Olympias, was sure to increase his importance with the Macedonians, and even to give him claims to the Macedonian throne when Alexander's son was no longer alive. For the time being, indeed, he was alive and universally recognised as king. But some years later the young Alexander was murdered by his keeper, Glaucias, at the command of

Alexander's Son Murdered

Cassander. With the death of Alexander's son the empire of Alexander the Great became only a geographical conception. In fact, it was split up into separate parts, and the central power, continually weakened since Antipater's death, had completely vanished. The generals now regarded the provinces, which had been originally assigned to them by a higher power merely for administration, as their own dominions. It was, therefore, only natural that after 306 B.C. they styled themselves "Kings," for kings they had been for years.

Last of the Empire

However much Cassander may have striven at first for the possession of the Macedonian throne, in no case did he contemplate any scheme of world sovereignty or try to reorganise the empire of Alexander in its full extent. On the contrary, he opposed efforts such as Antigonus, for instance, made after the death of Eumenes, and was on the side of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus in their struggles against Antigonus, which lasted until his schemes of conquest were ended by the battle which the allies won at Ipsus in 301 B.C. Cassander's influence in Greece, which had been allied with Macedonia since Philip's time, and did not exist apart from Macedonia, no longer extended so widely, and was no longer so firm as it had been in his father's time. Demetrius of Phalerum, it is true, governed in his name at Athens; and Bœotia also, where Thebes had been rebuilt and repeopled by him, stood under his influence, as did Epirus and other districts. But Polyperchon still opposed him in Greece, and the feeling in Ætolia was very hostile to him. The importance of Polyperchon waned, indeed, rapidly. In the year 310 B.C. he dragged Heracles, bastard son of Alexander, out of his retirement at Pergamus, and declared him his heir with the intention of striking a heavy blow at Cassander; but he then suddenly entered into negotiations with Cassander and bought for himself the sovereignty over the Peloponnese by the murder of Heracles. From that moment the last imperial regent vanishes from history without leaving a trace.



PYRRHUS, KING OF EPIRUS
One of the greatest commanders of ancient times, who attempted to emulate Alexander, making himself master of part of Macedon.

A far more important antagonist in Hellas confronted Cassander in the person of Demetrius Poliorcetes "the Besieger," the son of Antigonus, who, in 307 B.C., starting with Athens, subdued for himself other Hellenic communities and territories. Cassander was himself freed from a great danger when, in 302 B.C., Demetrius was summoned by his father to Asia, in order to take part in the great struggle that was to end with the battle of Ipsus and the death of Antigonus. This forced Demetrius to abandon his plan of wresting Macedonia from his opponent. Now, for the first time, Cassander was able to subdue the Hellenic states, such as Bœotia and others, which in the interval had been subject to Poliorcetes.

Though Cassander's power was disputed in Hellas, in Macedonia itself his throne was firm. We have, unfortunately, little account of what he did for his country. He rebuilt Potidæa, the town in Chalcidice which Philip II. destroyed, and called it Cassandria. He considerably enlarged the former Therma, situated on the gulf of that name, and called this new and more extensive foundation Thessalonica after his wife. The town has kept this name to the present day. Cassandria and Thessalonica, supported in every way by the king, became the most important seaports of Macedonia. A proof of his desire to improve the country, which had been greatly depopulated by the large levies and long wars, and to attract new inhabitants, is the settlement of 20,000 Autariates on Mount Orbelus. These Autariates, an Illyrian people, being pressed by other and stronger tribes, invaded Pæonia, where the king, Audeleon, applied to Cassander for

Cassander's Improvements in Macedonia

help. Instead of slaughtering them, he settled them in his land, and by this means helped both parties. Cassander died in 297 B.C., and his son and successor, Philip III., did not long survive him. The two other sons, Antipater and Alexander, divided the power between them. Now began for Macedonia a time of terrible struggles and great revolutions. Antipater killed his mother, Thessalonice, and expelled his brother, Alexander. The latter sought help from Pyrrhus of Epirus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, while Antipater solicited the aid of Lysimachus. Demetrius was occupied by Greek affairs, and could not immediately furnish the desired help; but Pyrrhus, to whom Alexander, as a reward, had conceded Tymphæa and Parauæa, besides Athamania, Ambracia, and Amphilochia, succeeded in driving Antipater back and restoring Alexander to power. Lysimachus did not, it is true, make any armed intervention in Macedonian affairs for the support of Antipater, but mediated a peace between the two brothers, and induced Pyrrhus, by a bribe of 300 talents to desist from helping Alexander, clearly because he wished to keep his enemy, Demetrius, away from Macedonia.



PHILIP III. & ALEXANDER II.
Sons of Cassander, king of Macedonia, who, after very short reigns were succeeded by their brother Antipater.



DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES
Son of Antigonus, who subdued Athens and other Hellenic states, and became a king of Macedon.

He failed to do this; in fact, Demetrius Poliorcetes appeared now, when he was no longer welcome, resolved to use this opportunity and to make himself master of Macedonia. Alexander went to meet him as far as Dion on the southern frontier of Macedonia, in order to make it evident that his interference was no longer necessary. In spite of feigned friendliness, the two princes regarded each other with great mistrust, since one was secretly plotting against the life of the other. In fact, Alexander was murdered while leaving the banqueting hall where he had dined with Demetrius, and his army declared Demetrius, who justified himself before it, to be king of Macedonia. Antipater, who had made himself hated by the murder of his own mother, was banished without trouble. Demetrius was now king of Macedonia (294–287 B.C.). His restless spirit did not content itself with firmly establishing supremacy in Macedonia and Hellas, but wished to reconquer Asia, which Seleucus and Lysimachus had divided between themselves after the death of Antigonus.

The mighty preparations made for this purpose aroused the anxiety of these kings, so that they formed fresh alliances. Pyrrhus joined them. Demetrius proposed to open the campaign with 98,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 500 ships. The kings advanced against him simultaneously from different directions. Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from the Thracian side, but was defeated near Amphipolis. Pyrrhus advanced from the west, and Ptolemy appeared with his fleet on the coast of Hellas. Demetrius was fated to learn now how detested his rule was. An insatiate love of war and the imposition of heavy taxes cannot win the hearts of subjects. As he was encamped opposite to Pyrrhus, his army went over and proclaimed the Epirote king. Demetrius had to flee from his kingdom in disguise. He died in Asia in 283 B.C., a prisoner of Seleucus, while his son, Antigonus Gonatas, held his own in Hellas. In Macedonia, Pyrrhus came to an agreement with Lysimachus, who naturally claimed his share of the booty, on the conditions that the western districts with Edessa fell to Epirus. But this state of affairs did not last long. Pyrrhus, who was king only by a temporary arrangement, was driven out by Lysimachus. In the previous year Lysimachus had



COIN OF ANTIGONUS GONATAS
Son of the great Demetrius Poliorcetes, whose conquests he retained. This coin shows the Macedonian shield.

united under his rule a great part of Alexander's empire. At the distribution of satrapies at Babylon, Thrace had fallen to his share. When he came into his new province he was unpopular. During the government of Antipater, as we have seen above, the Odrysæ, under Seuthes, had already risen, and, as it appears, had won their independence. When Lysimachus came, the same Seuthes had succeeded in rousing his fellow countrymen to war, and marched against him with a strong army of 20,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. Lysimachus, notwithstanding his far inferior numbers, did not avoid a battle, which, thanks to the excellent discipline of the Macedonians, remained indecisive. Seuthes was afterwards conquered and forced to submit. Thus it was only by fighting that Lysimachus acquired possession of his province. But once in possession of the country of the Odrysæ, the fertile and favoured valley of the Hebrus, he extended his power gradually over the Hæmus up to the Danube.

Lysimachus Fights for Thrace



SEUTHES IV.
King of the Odrysæ, deposed by Lysimachus.

Here, on the coast of the Black Sea, were Greek colonies, Odessus, Callatis, Istrus, and others, which, like the Greek towns of Asia Minor, were proud of their freedom, and sought to retain it by force of arms. Lysimachus evidently succeeded at first in making himself master of these towns and occupying them with garrisons. In 313 B.C., Callatis expelled the garrison, declared itself free, and liberated Istrus also and other neighbouring Greeks. This was the signal for the outbreak of a war, in which Lysimachus very soon retook Odessus and Istrus, but was compelled to besiege Callatis for a considerable time. When the Scythian and Thracian tribes also encroached and Seuthes again revolted, Antigonus supporting the hostile movements by sending troops, Lysimachus required all his skill to defend himself against the different enemies. But the Scythians were beaten, Seuthes was overcome in battle, Antigonus' general was conquered, and Callatis finally surrendered. From that time, it appears, the Greek towns on the coast of the Black Sea were permanently subject to Lysimachus.

In 306 B.C. he, like the other governors, assumed the title of king; and in 301 B.C. he was, next to Seleucus, the chief participator in the decisive fight against Antigonus at Ipsus. Lydia, Ionia, Caria, and Hellespontine Phrygia fell to the kingdom of Thrace. Notwithstanding its magnificence, it was not securely founded. The Thracians themselves were difficult to pacify and always inclined to rise, especially the unruly and unmanageable Getæ and Scythians in the north. Lysimachus once marched against the Getæ over the Danube, but got among the barren steppes between the Danube and the Pruth, and, continually surrounded and harassed by the bands of the enemy, was finally forced to surrender unconditionally to their king, Dromichætes. The conduct of the barbarian king was, indeed, noble and magnanimous: he let his prisoner go free on the promise to give up the portions of Getic territory which he possessed and to give him his daughter in marriage.

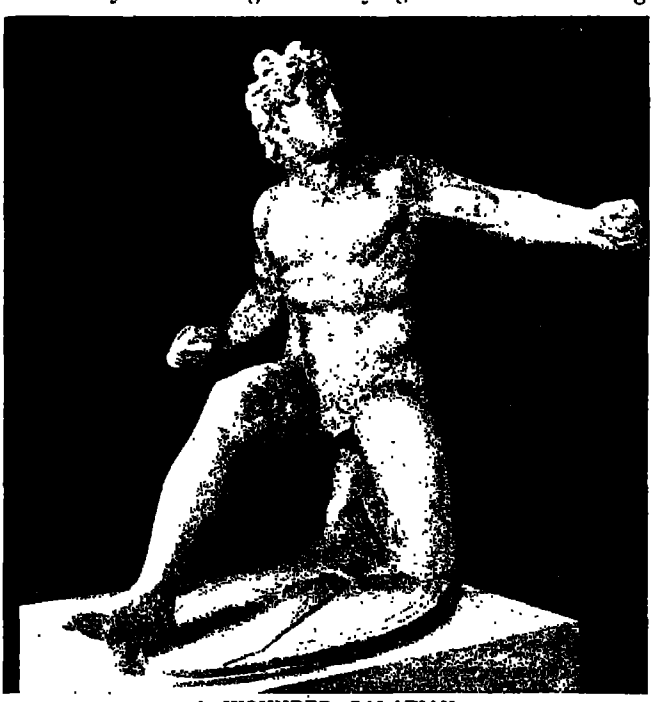
In 287 B.C. Macedonia also fell to Lysimachus. From 285 B.C. on he was king there, but in 281 B.C. he was defeated and killed in battle against Seleucus. Neither Thrace nor Macedonia was destined to enjoy quiet during the ensuing years. Ptolemy Ceraunus, who, abandoning the prospect of the Egyptian throne in favour of his younger brother, according to the wish of his father, Ptolemy Soter, had left his fatherland, struck down the old Seleucus, placed the double diadem of Macedonia and Thrace on his own head, and married the widow of Lysimachus, Arsinoe, who was his own sister. He then killed her children of the first marriage, who had claims on Thrace. But fate soon overtook him.

In the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. appear the earliest signs, for us at least, of a movement which, coming from the north-west, convulsed Thrace and Macedonia. On the south bank of the Danube there dwelt in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the Getæ, between the sea and Mount Hæmus. To the west of them were settled some smaller tribes, which in turn the Oscius, now the Isker, divided from the Triballi, living in modern Servia. About 340 B.C. the Getæ had, to a large extent, left the south bank of the Danube and had crossed over to the other bank of the river, while the Triballi, pushed further westward, occupied the districts between the Danube and Mount Hæmus, abandoned by them. Diodorus relates that

Barbarian Invasion of Thrace

the Triballi, compelled by hunger, marched out with bag and baggage about 370 B.C. and in their invasion of the neighbouring Thracian territory reached the town of Abdera, situated on the coast of the Ægean Sea, defeated all its effective forces, and besieged the town itself. The Athenian Chabrias liberated the beleaguered town and drove the enemy from the land. We know nothing more of this expedition, except that it clearly did not have the desired success; as a fact the Triballi changed their abode only by an expedition made towards the east.

This was no ordinary marauding expedition, as Diodorus thinks, for the point was that, being pressed by other stronger tribes, they were forced to leave their old homes. It was, indeed, through the Kelts, who, from the northern side of the Alps and from the plains of the Danube, pressed southward on the Illyrians and there produced revolutions—20,000 Autariates, who had abandoned their homes, had been settled on Mount Orbelus by Cassander—just as they strove to spread eastward and thereby pushed the Thracian tribes onward. The Keltic Scordisci pressed on as far as the valley of the Morawa, where formerly the Triballi dwelt.



A WOUNDED GALATIAN

After the fall of Lysimachus the barbarian Galatians overran Macedonia, but, marching into Greece, were defeated and nearly annihilated at Delphi. One of a series of Greek sculptures commemorating the victory, now in the Louvre.

These are the first discernible traces of a flood of nations which was destined to break over Macedonia and Thrace. Powerful rulers, indeed, like Philip, Alexander, Antipater, Cassander, and Lysimachus, had kept the surrounding nations in check, and, in any case, protected their own territories. An expedition into Thrace for plunder and conquest by the Kelts, or, as they are mostly called, the "Galatians," under their leader, Cambaules, must, indeed, come within the time of these last-named rulers; but that expedition did not at the time assume formidable proportions.

On the fall of Lysimachus the Galatians poured in three separate bodies over the Balkan peninsula; the bands of Belgius turned towards Macedonia, demanded money from King Ptolemy Ceraunus in case he wished for peace, and when he refused, invaded the land, ravaging and laying it waste. The king was defeated and killed. The whole land was at the mercy of the barbarians. The inhabitants fled into the fortified towns, where the Galatians could not attack them with any prospect of success. At last, after some months, Sosthenes was able to drive the unwelcome guests out of the land. The army then placed him on the throne. The next year the Galatians made another incursion, attracted by the rich booty which their comrades had brought home, but also with the intention of conquering new settlements. Lutarius and Leonnorius overran Thrace, Brennus marched into Macedonia. Sosthenes fell; once more the inhabitants had to fly into the strong towns. Brennus marched further into Greece. There fate overtook him; the united forces of the Greeks, whom Apollo himself helped, so it is related, succeeded in defeating the Galatians at Delphi and in nearly annihilating them. Those who escaped

from the disaster, as well as the hordes which, meantime, had plundered other parts of Greece, withdrew to Macedonia. While a part of them returned home and another part went into Thrace to join Lutarius and Leonnorius, the third remained in Macedonia, in order completely to ravage the disorganised country. At this crisis Antigonus Gonatas, the son of the king Demetrius Poliorcetes, appeared with a strong fleet and a well-equipped army. He succeeded in defeating the Galatians, who offered him peace in return for money, as they had once offered Ptolemy Ceraunus; and the people, at last set free from the oppression of the invaders, welcomed him with acclamation.

Macedonia Freed from the Galatians

But Thrace, which Philip and Alexander and lately Lysimachus had ruled, together with Macedonia, became for the ensuing period the prey of the Galatians. Thither also had fled those able to escape from the battle with Antigonus. When Lutarius and Leonnorius, who had made Byzantium and the whole coast of the Propontis tributary, conquered Lysimachea and the Thracian Chersonese, and crossed over in 277 B.C. to Asia Minor, in order, after many random expeditions, finally to found a kingdom, the hordes of Brennus which had escaped from the disasters at Delphi and in Macedonia remained behind in Thrace and entered, as it were, on the inheritance of their brethren who had gone to Asia. Under their leader, Comontorius, they brought into subjection the Thracians, who often endeavoured to shake off the yoke and had again to be conquered, and see their valour yield to the greater valour of a still ruder people.

Thrace thus became the spoil of strangers, who organised a state there and made their leader, Comontorius, the first king. The capital of the kingdom was Tylis; from its situation we may conclude that its dominion extended as much over the territories north as over those south of Mount Hæmus. The conduct of the Galatians is shown by their treatment of Byzantium, the rich Greek emporium on the Bosphorus. This town, to have peace from these pests, was forced to pay yearly first 3,000, then 5,000, later 20,000 pieces of gold, and finally 80 talents. And the other seaports the Galatians treated in the same way. The rule of the Galatians in Thrace lasted several generations. About 213 B.C. the Thracians succeeded in shaking off the yoke. King Cavarus was, indeed, peaceful and sensual, weaknesses which aided the Thracians. Perhaps also the tendency of the Galatians to enlist as mercenaries may have stripped the land too completely of men capable of bearing arms.

Thrace the Spoil of Barbarians

As we have seen above, Antigonus Gonatas had become king of Macedonia after his victory over the Galatians. In Hellas he exercised sovereignty over Thessaly, Bœotia, and Eubœa; and in the Peloponnese, Corinth, Argos, Sicyon, Megalopolis, and Messenia were subject to him. In the north the task to which he first devoted himself was tremendous, for not only had the swarms of the Galatians cruelly wasted and impoverished the land, but pretenders, who since the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus and Sosthenes were for ever rising up and fighting, kept Macedonia in a perpetual state of disorder, and prevented all prosperous development.

Antigonus put an end to this confusion. First of all, he secured the frontiers of his kingdom by taking, after a long siege, Cassandria, where the cruel Apollodorus had seized the power, and deposing the tyrant. When he soon afterwards celebrated his marriage to his niece, Phila, by festivities to which Greek philosophers, men of letters, and poets were summoned, he wished to show to the world not only that his power was firmly established, but that he, like Archelaus, wished to foster the development of the moral and intellectual powers of his people and to make room for poetry at his court.

Antigonus Restores Order in Macedonia

Antigonus was not fated long to enjoy quiet and peace, for, in 275 B.C., Pyrrhus of Epirus, who had just returned from Italy, undertook a war of conquest against Macedonia. His pretext was that Antigonus, in spite of his requests, had not sent troops to his assistance in Italy. In reality, he wished to avail himself of the present situation of his opponent, who was not prepared for a war, to break into the neighbouring country with his veteran troops, and to reconquer his old possessions. In point of fact, this preliminary success answered the expectations of the king. Antigonus, with his hastily levied troops and Gallic mercenaries could offer no resistance to the attack of Pyrrhus. Beaten, he was forced to withdraw to Thessalonica, and saw his power limited

to this town and some towns on the coast. while Thessaly and the whole of Upper Macedonia with the old royal town of Edessa fell to the Epirote. It was brought as a reproach against Pyrrhus even in antiquity that he allowed the sepulchres of the kings there to be plundered by his Gallic bands without interfering or punishing the miscreants. He also treated the inhabitants harshly. These were not means calculated to secure the possession of the land, which had hardly been conquered and had never been entirely subjugated.

Shortly afterwards Pyrrhus's army advanced into Greece, in order primarily to expel the garrisons of Antigonus from the towns of the Peloponnese, and thus to deprive his adversary of his bases of operation and supplies in that country. At the same time it was not unwelcome to him that Cleonymus, son of King Cleomenes, who had been forced reluctantly to renounce his claim to the Spartan throne in favour of his nephew, Areus, placed himself under his protection and hoped with his help to bring about his accession to the throne. If this succeeded, Pyrrhus would have a devoted friend in the king of Sparta, who must stand or fall with him, while otherwise he had only opposition to look for in Sparta, should he wish to win the Peloponnesian towns for himself. After marching through Laconia and laying waste the country, Pyrrhus attacked the capital, but was repulsed.



CLEOMENES III.
Who ruled in Sparta from 236 to 222 B.C., greatly extended her power, but was defeated by Antigonus.

Meantime, Antigonus Gonatas had reconquered Macedonia and had then advanced with an army into the Peloponnesus. At the news of his approach Pyrrhus went as far as Argos to meet the enemy. There Pyrrhus was killed in a street fight at night in 272 B.C. Antigonus ordered his body to be burnt with every token of respect, and gave the ashes of it to his son Hellenus, who led the Epirote army back home. In this manner Antigonus Gonatas rescued Macedonia and restored his influence in Greece. This powerful position, however, was soon to entangle him in a new war, in preparation for which the kings Ptolemy of Egypt and Areus of Sparta, together with Athens, formed a confederacy. The old catchword of the liberation of Greece was again called into play; yet nothing is more certain than that every one of the kings taking part in this war understood by freedom merely the destruction of the Macedonian influence and aimed only at the widening of his own sphere of sovereignty. This war, usually called the Chremonidean War—after Chremonides, the leading statesman in Athens, under whose archonship the alliance for the freedom of Greece was concluded—was fought mostly round Athens, which was besieged by Antigonus and at last captured in 263 B.C. The attempt of the Spartan king to relieve Athens was unsuccessful.

Death of the Great Pyrrhus

Athens Falls Again to Macedonia

Areus fell in a bloody battle in 265 B.C.; even the expected help from Ptolemy failed, the Egyptian fleet having been completely defeated near Cos. Athens was forced to surrender to Antigonus, who treated it with leniency. He placed garrisons on the Museum and in Munychia and Piræus. So Athens, after it had been free for some twenty-five years, was once more dependent on Macedonia, as formerly in the first years of Cassander's rule.

But the rest of Greece withdrew itself more and more from the influence of Macedonia. In 280 B.C. four Achæan towns had united into a league, which six others soon joined, the professed object being the expulsion of the Macedonian garrisons and the overthrow of the Macedonian supremacy. Its importance was insignificant at first. Yet in 251 B.C. Aratus liberated his own town of Sicyon from tyrants and induced it to enter the Achæan League. Acrocorinth was then wrested from the Macedonian garrison, and Corinth likewise joined the same league.

At last Megara, Troezen and other towns were won for the Achæans, and withdrawn from the Macedonian hegemony. And just as in the Peloponnese, the Achæan League gained ground, and with set purpose checked Macedonia, so the Ætolian League was founded in Central Greece, which, gaining ground more and more, attached towns and districts to itself, and in 245 B.C. compelled the country of Bœotia to join it. When Antigonus Gonatas died, in 239 B.C., at an advanced age, the Macedonian supremacy over Greece had thus suffered great loss. Only in Macedonia itself was the throne of the Antigonides still firm.

Demetrius II. (239-229 B.C.) failed to evoke in Greece any important reaction in favour of Macedonia. The attitude of Demetrius towards the Illyrians was fated to bring about most weighty consequences in the future. It was admittedly to the interest of Macedonia, as of Greece, that all these northern barbarian tribes should be as much as possible kept in check. But Demetrius, far from attacking and attempting to weaken the power of Agron, prince of Scodra, who with his large pirate fleet rendered the Adriatic Sea unsafe, making raids as far as Elis and Messene and harassing the Greek settlements on the Illyrian coast, actually supported him with money in order, with the assistance of the Illyrians, to rescue the Acarnanian town of Medeon, which was besieged by the Ætolians. He attained, indeed, his immediate object. In order to check the growing insolence of the Illyrians and to prevent the subjugation of the Greek colonies, Rome had to interfere. Illyria was humiliated, and its fleet of corsairs broken up. Corcyra, Epidamnus, Apollonia, and the Epirote tribes of the Parthini and Atintani became allies of Rome.

Macedonia Supports the Barbarians

Rome had broken the power of the Illyrian princes, deserved the gratitude of the Greeks, and opened the way for the establishment of her influence in Greek affairs, thus undertaking the duty, which once Macedonia was accustomed to discharge, of protecting the civilised world from the wild barbarians of the north.

A near relation of the royal house, Antigonus, surnamed Doson, took over the government of Philip V., the infant son of Demetrius, who was killed in 229 B.C., in battle against the Dardani, who were invading from the north. In both cases there was absolute need of a grown man. In the north the Dardani had overrun Macedonia. In Central Greece, it is true, Demetrius had, by the recovery of Bœotia, restored the Macedonian influence; and even Athens, still a very important town, submitted, so long as Macedonian garrisons occupied Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium. But now Athens, too, was lost for Macedonia, since the commander of the garrison, bribed by Aratus, the general of the Achæan League, gave up these places to the Athenians. Thessaly, too, which since Philip's time had been allied with Macedonia, revolted. Antigonus Doson secured his frontier for the time by driving out the Dardani. He then brought back the greater part of Thessaly to its allegiance. He also won successes in Greece. The progress which Sparta made under King Cleomenes, and the expansion of the Spartan power in the successful war with the Achæan League, compelled Aratus, general of the Achæan League, finally to seek help against Sparta from Macedonia, the very power by combating which the league had grown strong. Antigonus naturally granted the request, came with an army to the Peloponnese in 223 B.C., once more took possession of the citadel and city of Corinth, and defeated Cleomenes so decisively in the battle at Sellasia in 221 B.C. that he was forced to fly to Egypt for safety.

Athens Lost For Ever to Macedonia

The newly acquired power of Sparta was crushed at a blow; the supremacy of Macedonia in the Peloponnese, from which it had been forced since Antigonus Gonatas to retreat step by step, was restored, and in most states of Hellas the Macedonian overlordship was again recognised. An inroad of the Illyrians summoned Doson back to Macedonia; he defeated them, but soon afterwards died from apoplexy, in 220 B.C. Philip V., son of Demetrius, for whom Doson had been regent, now became king. The Ætolians, fearing Doson, had for some time kept quiet; but now, despising Philip's youth, they renewed their old raids. At this time Rome was engaged in the Second Punic War, and had been reduced by Hannibal to a perilous situation. Philip, in order to satisfy the hatred of the Romans, which he had inherited from his father, concluded peace with the Ætolians and an alliance with Hannibal, under which a Macedonian army was to be landed in Italy; in return the Roman possessions in Epirus were to be given to him.

Macedon's Supremacy Restored

Thus the First Macedonian War broke out (216–208 B.C.). Philip, however, did not rouse himself to vigorous action. Moreover, the plan of landing a Macedonian force in Italy waned in proportion as the position of the Romans gradually improved and that of Hannibal grew less favourable. In 210 B.C. Rome concluded a treaty of alliance with Ætolia, Sparta and other states, so that Philip was again occupied in Greece and involved in a war, in which the Achæans stood on his side, and the

movements of his opponents were supported by a Roman fleet. After he had come to terms with the Ætolians and the other Hellenes, Philip concluded a peace with Rome also, which had no intention of carrying on the war against Macedonia without Greek help. Rome kept her possessions in Epirus; Philip took the territory of the Atintani. But this was, after all, only a truce between Macedonia and Rome; a decisive settlement between the two was reserved for a later time. Philip turned his attention for the moment to affairs in the east, since Rome was still fully occupied in the west.

Truce With Rome

The death of Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt, in 204 B.C., who was succeeded on the throne by a minor, led to a treaty of alliance between Philip and Antiochus III. of Syria. The two allied monarchs had no meaner schemes in view than the partition of the possessions of the Lagidæ (that is, the house of the Ptolemies). While Antiochus immediately set about the conquest of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, Philip crossed to Asia Minor, took Chalcedon, stormed Chios, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. Such acts justly incensed the Greeks. Byzantium, Rhodes and Pergamus concluded an alliance and declared war on Macedonia. Pergamus and Rhodes sought help from the Romans. At first they hesitated; finally, the invasion by Philip of the territory of their allies, the Athenians, gave the pretext, and the Second Macedonian War then began. In autumn, 200 B.C., the consul P. Sulpicius Galba landed at Apollonia, and in the spring of 199 B.C. invaded Macedonia from Epirus, being supported by simultaneous attacks of the Dardani and Illyrians on the north and of the Ætolians and Athamenians on the south. Philip was in a critical situation, but he repelled his opponents; Galba withdrew, and the Ætolians were beaten on the Peneius. The year 198 B.C. also brought no decisive result.

In the summer of 197 B.C. the decisive battle was at length fought near Cynoscephalæ—the Dog's Head Hills—in Thessaly; Philip was totally defeated, and accepted the conditions of peace which he had previously rejected. He had to give up to the Romans, who left them once more free, all the towns recently taken or previously possessed by him in Asia Minor and Greece. He was also compelled to surrender his fleet and to pledge himself to keep up only 5,000 armed men and to wage no wars outside Macedonia.

In this way Macedonia was struck out of the list of great powers. In the war of Rome with Antiochus III., which broke out shortly after, Philip stood on the side of Rome, but was disappointed in his hope of being permitted to hold some of the conquered Thessalian and Thracian towns. He did not, however, give up his hatred of Rome and the expectation of better times. He contrived skilfully to evade the command not to keep more than 5,000 armed men. He was continually training the young men—of whom he certainly never had more than 5,000 under arms at the same time—so that he left behind a well-disciplined army of 30,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. He also knew how to make skilful use of the royal powers of taxation; he revived the working of the mines and made them profitable to the state coffers. At any rate, at his death, in 179 B.C., there was money in the treasury sufficient to keep 10,000 mercenaries for ten years, and in the state granaries a supply of corn also for ten years.



PHILIP V. AND PERSEUS, KINGS OF MACEDON

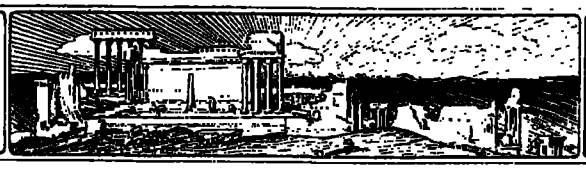
Philip V. of Macedon allied with Illyria and Carthage, and began the First Macedonian War with Rome, but, like his son Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, was totally defeated.

His son Perseus tried to carry out his father's unaccomplished plans, directed against Rome. In spite of a favourable start, the Third Macedonian War (171-168 B.C.) ended only in the overthrow of the Macedonians at Pydna by Æmilius Paulus. Macedonia was divided into four independent departments. This state of things was not permanent; after a pretender, Andriscus, had come forward and had been defeated by a Roman army, Macedonia became a Roman province in 146 B.C., and her history is absorbed in that of the Roman Dominion.



THE LAST DAYS OF ANCIENT GREECE: THE DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH BY THE ROMANS

From the terrible days of the last stage in the political history of ancient Greece, when the national life was hurrying towards the precipice and a contemporary historian had to describe his countrymen as a nation of lazzaroni, having no hope for the future, from this ruin the yoke of Rome was a release. From the painting by Fleury in the Luxembourg



THE PASSING OF ANCIENT GREECE

THE LAST STAGE IN HER POLITICAL HISTORY

ALEXANDER THE GREAT had assumed the part of a champion of freedom in Hellas, since he put an end to the power of the tyrants and showed especial honour to Athens. But he kept in view his plans for creating a monarchy invested with religious attributes. While in the army of Alexander the Greek opposition made common cause with the discontented Macedonian nobility, the cities of Hellas were generally tranquil.

Athens, in whose case the war of desperation had already marked a departure from her previous policy, returned after Chæronea to the old paths, and flourished with fresh splendour under the guidance of Lycurgus (335-326) in the time of Alexander. In this era of peace the Ministry of Finance became the most important office in the state: like military offices, it had to be filled with experts—who, contrary to democratic traditions were elected and not chosen by lot—and secured from rapid changes by a four years' tenure.

Revival of Athens Under Lycurgus

Athens had found in Lycurgus one of her greatest finance ministers. This man, who amid the growing luxury of his native city led a studiously simple life, understood not only how to raise the state revenue once more to twelve hundred talents, but also how to turn his personal credit to the advantage of the state, since private individuals would lend their money to it only on his personal guarantee. In order to increase the public interest in the figures of the revenue, the budget was publicly displayed on tablets. The immense naval arsenal at Piræus was now constructed; accommodation for the fleet was for the future provided by three hundred and seventy-seven boathouses. A pan-Athenaic racecourse was built, and the fleet was put on a war footing. But after the downfall of Lycurgus Athens entangled herself in the Lamian war with Macedon, and had to consent to a diminution of her political privileges and to the introduction of a Macedonian garrison. The attempt of Polyperchon to restore the old constitution on a democratic basis failed completely. Demetrius of Phalerum, at once a statesman, philosopher, and orator, made Athens independent under a moderate oligarchy, even though the Macedonian garrison was left. Under his government (318-307) not only did a sound financial policy prevail, so that the revenue rose again to the amount which had been realised under Lycurgus, and the burdensome requirements for the theatre could be paid out of the state coffers and splendid festivals held, but, owing to Demetrius, the researches of his master Theophrastus in the field of jurisprudence were revived and a reformation of the laws was carried out. But the luxury of the "Tyrant," and the way in which he allowed himself to be feted, made him hated: Athens therefore greeted with effusion the man who liberated her from the Phalerian, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus. All Central Greece and the Peloponnese, with the exception of Messenia and Sparta, were freed from Macedonian and Egyptian garrisons; the old Congress of Corinth was solemnly revived to maintain the national peace; and Demetrius Poliorcetes, like Philip and Alexander, was nominated

Downfall of Lycurgus



LYCURGUS
One of Athens' greatest finance ministers, under whom she flourished anew.

commander-in-chief of the league. The recall of Demetrius to Asia Minor by his father Antigonus did not directly destroy his power, but it gave opportunity for energetic opponents, such as Democharcs, the nephew of Demosthenes, to come forward, and led to the revolt of Athens after the battle at Ipsus in 301. Under the leadership of Lachares, Athens offered a desperate resistance, for which the temple treasures and the golden robe of Athene had to furnish means. In 294 B.C., however, Athens again fell to Demetrius, and henceforth was garrisoned for many years by the Macedonians. Victory over the Spartans, whom he had attacked, did not now attract Demetrius so much as the crown of Macedonia; this he secured by the conquest of Bœotia, where the historian Hieronymus of Cardia was governor, but he held it only for a short time. The son of Demetrius, the able Antigonus Gonatas, then ruled Greece on the basis of a new treaty and by the help of partisans, who governed in the various towns as tyrants.

Athens' Desperate Revolt

It was everywhere evident that a more effectual resistance to despotism could be offered by the new leagues than by the antique city-state. The individual Greek city-state was a shuttlecock in the hands of the "Diadochi," the warring kings of the divided empire. What assistance could be given in the struggle by alliances of the old pattern? To-day cemented, to-morrow disunited—there was no relying on them, and no strength in them. Finally, after centuries, the further step was successfully taken, and the union of the country was achieved under a form which allowed to the individual city-state self-government, its own laws, and "the constitution of its fathers," but also rendered possible a combination of all the states for foreign policy. The contest with the great powers was now put on another basis. The new form of union was the federation of which we have examples in the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues. This marks the greatest advance of Greek development since the seventh century B.C. In order not to leave the greater city-states at the mercy of a numerical majority of the smaller, votes were taken in the Achæan League by cities, each of which had more or less votes according to their population. The highest official of the league (strategus) had to attend to current business; he was assisted by a board of officials (Apocletæ in the Ætolian League, Demiurgi in the Achæan) who presided in the congress of the league. Most of the states of Central Greece united in the Ætolian League, the communities of the Peloponnesus in the Achæan League; a rural population formed the core of the first, while the second was composed mainly of the inhabitants of small towns.

The Greek States Re-combine

These leagues were now the representatives of the political power of Greece. But they found only clever diplomatists, not great men, to lead them. Thus Aratus, who was strategus of the Achæan League after 251 and 245, obtained some increase of territory and temporary successes, but he was quite incompetent to lead the whole federation firmly towards a great goal. Vacillation between a pro-Macedonian and an anti-Macedonian policy was an attitude most injurious to the Greek cause at those grave times. It was Sparta and her reforming monarchs that produced this wavering. The struggle between landowners and mortgagees under King Agis in 242 B.C., the revolution in all conditions of tenure by the "Lycurgan" redivision of the soil under King Cleomenes in 226 B.C., and the hegemony which Sparta claimed, and indeed already had assumed, over the Achæans, led to a great combination between Antigonus Doson of Macedonia, the Achæan League, the Thessalians, Epirotes, Acarnanians, Bœotians, Phocians, Locrians, and the towns of Eubœa in 223 B.C. The battle of Sellasia, in 221 B.C., drove Cleomenes into poverty and exile at Alexandria.

Downfall of the Spartans

The peace congress of Naupactus, in 217 B.C., welded together all the states which we have enumerated, with the Ætolian League, for common defence against the West. However the struggle between Carthage and Rome might end, the conqueror was certain to become a menace to the Greeks. An effort was made to ascertain more clearly the inner sources of the strength of the Roman empire. The treaty, the terms of which are still extant, between Philip of Macedon and Carthage, represented by Hannibal, shows the desire to resist the alarming growth of the power of Rome by an alliance with the Semite.

But the foolish policy of Macedonia had made it impossible that the league of Naupactus should lead to a combined movement of Macedonians, Greeks, and Semites. The Ætolian League, in combination with the new military monarchy of Sparta, the Messenians, Eleans, and Athenians, took the side of Rome in 210 B.C., but were soon compelled to conclude a peace with Philip, to which the Romans became a party in 208 B.C., since the Achæan League under Philopœmen and Philip himself achieved considerable successes. The combined attack of Syria and Macedonia upon the Asiatic possessions of Egypt (204–201 B.C.) not merely broke up a federation of the states which, like Rhodes, desired to preserve the old balance of power in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, but compelled Rome also to interfere. The independence of all the Hellenes formerly dependent on Macedonia was solemnly proclaimed by T. Quinctius Flamininus at the Isthmian games of 196 B.C.

The discontent in Greece increased, since neither had the Ætolian League obtained the alliance of Thessaly, nor the Achæan that of Sparta. In the latter state a communistic military monarchy asserted itself. The interference of Antiochus II., king of Syria, in 192 B.C., who was called in by the Ætolians, was quickly averted by Rome; the Ætolian League consequently sank into absolute insignificance. In the meantime the Achæan League had attained the zenith of its expansion. But it was apparent that the external unity of the federal state could not overcome the diversity of its component constitutions. Such confusion reigned in Sparta that order could not be restored either by the Ætolian League or by the arbitration of Rome. Nabis, the military despot, had, since 206 B.C., exiled or executed all the wealthy, and divided their possessions, wives, and children among emancipated slaves and hordes of mercenaries. But after the conquest of Sparta by Philopœmen in 192 and 188 B.C. the position of affairs was not improved; even Charon confiscated property and distributed it as he liked.

Growing Power of Rome

At other points of Greek territory national life was hurrying towards the precipice. In Bœotia only those were elected to office who could gratify the palate of the populace with something new, division of property, or an embargo on all criminal procedure. Trials lasted a lifetime, and a man who embarked on a lawsuit did not venture to show himself if he wished to escape assassination. The rich man showed more favour to the members of his dining club than to his relations, or even to his children, who frequently received a smaller heritage than the boon companions for whose carousals the month had not days enough. A fictitious brilliancy solaced the emptiness of an existence which was enlivened only by civil feuds, wholesale executions, and exiles, robbery, and redistributions of land.

Anarchy in Sparta

A nation of lazzaroni physically effete, self-indulgent, without loyalty or religion down to the very swineherds, having no confidence in themselves or hope for the future—such was the description which the Arcadian historian Polybius of Megalopolis sorrowfully gave of his countrymen of the second century B.C. Terrible wars of class against class are recorded in Arcadia and Messenia, Ætolia and Thessaly; even the last hopeless struggle for independence was utilised for their own purposes by men—as, for example, Dikeus, the head of the league—who only wished to fish in troubled waters and to obliterate accusations against themselves in the general confusion. There is a ring of mockery at this grave crisis in the speeches of the orators, who roused popular feeling first against Sparta and then against Rome, and wished to conciliate the masses by the repeal of the laws of debt and the enlistment of slaves in the army. Greece, unable to defend herself, felt the Roman yoke to be in some sense a release. Polybius would never have been able to write his history had he not realised this when face to face with the intolerable conditions of his day; it was not merely the friendly influence of the Scipios and their circle which taught him to value the firm fabric of the Roman empire, but the contrast between that fabric and the crumbling Greek confederations, which the Romans were now demolishing.

Terrible Last Days of Greece

Corinth a wilderness, the leagues politically dissolved and tolerated only as the managers of festivals, the imposition of a tribute and the supervision by the governor of the city constitutions—such was the last stage in the political history of ancient Greece.

RUDOLPH VON SCALA

GREAT DATES IN ANCIENT GREEK HISTORY

1200	Mycenean period
1183	Fall of Troy (traditional date)
1103	Doric migration; invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ
1068	End of the Monarchy at Athens
884	The Spartan constitution established by the Laws of Lycurgus
850	Period of Homer's epics
776	First record of the victor in the Olympic games; era from which the Greek system of dating by "Olympiads" begins
743	First Messenian war
734	Founding of Syracuse; period of colonisation
723	Messenian war ends; victory of Sparta
700	Perdiccas I. King of Macedon
664	Great naval battle between Corinth and Corcyra
655	Cypselus tyrant of Corinth
645	Second Messenian war
625	Periander tyrant of Corinth
621	Draco's legislation at Athens
600	Thales of Miletus
594	Solon's legislation at Athens
546	Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus the Persian; the "Ionic" states of Asia subjected to Persia
537	Pisistratus tyrant of Athens
510	Expulsion from Athens of the Pisistratidæ; destruction of Sybaris by Croton
509	Democratic reforms of Clisthenes at Athens
499	The Ionians revolt from Persia; burning of Sardis
493	Suppression of the Ionic revolt
492	Persian expedition under Mardonius is broken up by storms, and by the Thracians
491	War between Athens and Aegina
490	Persian invasion; victory of Athenians, helped by Plataeans at Marathon
482	Development of Athenian navy
480	Second Persian invasion; Leonidas and the 300 at Thermopylæ; Persians occupy Athens; overthrow of Persian fleet at Salamis, due to Athenians and Themistocles; defeat of Carthage by Syracusans at Himera
479	Persian army annihilated at Plataea; Greek naval victory at Mycale
478	Athens restored; the Piræus built
475	Establishment of the Delian League; Athens at the head of the Maritime States
469	Pericles appears in public life at Athens
466	Victory over Persians at the Eurymedon
458	Athens attacked by allied Peloponnesian states
456	Death of Æschylus
452	Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta
449	Athens renews the Persian war; wins victory by land and sea at Salamis in Cyprus
447	Boeotians defeat Athenians at Chæronea
445	Thirty years truce between Athens and Sparta; ascendancy of Pericles at Athens
444	Hostilities with Persia ended by peace of Callias; Sophocles, Phidias, Euripides
440	Revolt and reduction of Samos
432	Athens rejects dictation of Sparta
431	Peloponnesian war begins, lasting till 404
430	Plague at Athens
429	Death of Pericles
428	Fall of Plataea
427	First comedy of Aristophanes
425	Surrender of Spartans at Sphacteria; Cleon at Athens
424	Brasidas in Thessaly
421	Truce between Athens and Sparta
415	Ascendancy of Alcibiades at Athens; the Sicilian expedition despatched
413	Renewal of war with Sparta; occupation of Decelea by Spartans; destruction of Sicilian expedition
411	Overthrow of the Democratic Government at Athens
410	Athenian victory at Cyzicus
406	Athenian victory at Arginusæ
405	Lysander captures the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami; blockade of Athens
404	Submission of Athens; end of war; supremacy of Sparta; the "thirty tyrants" at Athens
403	Overthrow of the thirty by Thrasybulus
402	Expedition of the "ten thousand Greeks" in the revolt of Cyrus agains Artaxerxes
399	Death of Socrates
395	Agesilaus the Spartan in Asia
394	Corinthian war with Sparta; Spartan victories of Nemea and Coronea; Athenian naval victory of Cnidos
393	Walls of Athens rebuilt
387	Peace of Antalcidas
379	Revolt of Thebes against Sparta
378	Second Delian League, headed by Athens; alliance with Thebes
376	Athenian naval victory at Naxos; Jason of Phera
375	Spartans defeated by Pelopidas at Orchomenus
371	Defeat of Spartans by Thebans at Leuctra
370	Establishment of the Arcadian confederacy; Megalopolis founded
369	Thebans invade the Peloponnesus
362	Epaminondas of Thebes invades Peloponnesus; defeats the Spartans at Mantinea, but is himself killed
359	Philip becomes king of Macedon
358	Revolt of the allies from Athens
355	The Sacred War against the Phocians
352	Progress of Philip
351	First "Philippic" oration of Demosthenes
348	Philip captures Olynthus
347	Death of Plato and Aristotle
346	End of the Sacred War; destruction of Phocis
340	War between Philip and Athens
338	Victory of Philip at Chæronea; Philip chosen to command a Greek national invasion of Persia
336	Philip murdered; Alexander the Great succeeds
334	Alexander invades Persia; Asia Minor secured by victory of the Granicus
333	Alexander routs Darius at the battle of Issus
332	Siege of Tyre; Alexander in Egypt
331	Final overthrow of Darius at Arbela
327	Alexander invades India
323	Death of Alexander; partition of the empire
322	Death of Demosthenes; supremacy of Macedon
307	Ten years contest between Cassander and Demetrius Poliorcetes
287	Pyrrhus of Epirus in Macedon
281	Formation of Achæan League
279	Invasion of Gauls broken up at Delphi
272	Death of Pyrrhus
226	Contest between Achæan League and Sparta
225	Restoration of Spartan constitution by Cleomenes
216	Treaty between Philip of Macedon and Hannibal
208	Philopœmen at head of Achæan League
200	War between Philip of Macedon and Rome
197	Philip overthrown at Cynoscephalæ
192	Resistance of Ætolians, supported by Antiochus of Syria, to Rome
191	Victory of the Romans at Thermopylæ
188	Philopœmen overcomes Sparta
183	Death of Philopœmen, "last of the Greeks"
171	War between Perseus of Macedon, and Rome
168	Macedon absorbed into the Roman Empire
147	War between Achæans and Rome
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A GENERAL SURVEY OF GREEK CIVILISATION

By Professor Rudolph von Scala

PERSIA and Greece began at an early period to exchange the products of their civilisations. The palaces of the Persian kings were adorned not merely with the spoils of their victories over the Greeks, such as the brazen rams' horns found at Susa in 1901—which the Greeks cast from captured arms and had offered to Apollo of Didyma—and the statue of the god which Canachus of Sicyon had sculptured. The palaces at Susa must have been built and decorated by Greek artists. The name of one of these alone, Telephanes of Phocæa, who worked at the court of Darius, has come down to us; but their traces are visible in the whole style of Persian architecture, in the harmonious agreement between the interior and the facade, in the great audience-chambers and halls of columns (*apadana*), in the fluted pillars and their bases [see page 1800]. In sculpture and painting the bold treatment of the dress and hair, which, in spite of all similarity, is sharply differentiated from the Assyrian style, the drawing of the eye, the representation of the step, are all thoroughly Greek. Together with Greek artists, who must have been nearly akin to those of Ægina, numerous Greek works of art reached Persia and in their turn served as models.

Greek Art in Persia

The minor products of Persian art are equally Greek. The splendid amphora, of which two handles have found a resting-place in the Louvre and the Berlin Antiquarium, is, with its Ionic acanthus leaves and Persian winged ibexes, as completely Greek as the golden bowl of Theodorus of Samos, as the golden vine with the emerald-green grapes which shaded the throne of the Achæmenidæ, or the golden plane-tree, masterpieces which Antigonus Monophthalmus ordered to be melted down. Numerous gems were made by Greeks for Persians, in Oriental setting but with Greek designs. Thus on a cylinder of chalcedony, found at Kertch, Darius is represented chastising the rebel Gaumata, the latter in Grecian garb. Another gem exhibits a scene of ritual, a Persian queen entering the presence of a deity; her cloak is drawn as a veil over the back of her head in the Greek fashion. Hunting scenes, with Persian cuneiform inscriptions, point to Greek workmanship in the fidelity to Nature with which the deer and trees are delineated. Indeed, the political disruption of the Greeks is strikingly expressed to us on one such Persian gem: a noble Persian holds two naked Greek prisoners fastened by a rope, and the guard of the prisoners appears as a Greek in full armour.

Greek Gems Made for Persians

In other spheres, also, Greek culture was employed by the Persians. The Greek physician Democedes of Croton practised at the court of Darius, the first of a series of physicians in ordinary at the Persian court, and was sent on a journey of exploration. A Carian explorer, Scylax of Caryanda, used the Greek language to describe his travels, undertaken by the order of Darius, which included the courses of the Kabul river and the Indus down to the sea. Finally, this intimate intercourse increased the awe with which the Persian kings regarded the Greek gods. A strong proof of this is afforded by the well-known decree of Darius to the governor Gadatas, expressing his royal dissatisfaction that taxes had been imposed upon the officials of the shrine of the Branchidæ. Three

hundred talents of incense were offered to the Delian Apollo, and the most complete immunity was assured to all his subjects. Thus the every-day intercourse of Greece and Persia presents a picture quite different from that afforded by the Persian wars of traditional history. Phrygian art also was stimulated by Greece. Façades in the style of the Greek temples took the place on the tombs of the native Phrygian façades with their Egyptian pylons and lions like those of Caria and Mycenæ. The tombs of Ayazinu show us the increasing effect of Greek influence, until finally the façade on a tomb at Gherdek-Kaiasi bears all the characteristics of a Dorian temple.

Widespread Influence of the Greeks

But the Greeks did not live merely among foreigners and near foreigners; the Greek community included members who spoke alien tongues. The Greeks thus lived with foreigners on the closest terms of intercourse.

Scattered over the wide expanse of the Mediterranean, on the desert which fringes the highlands of Barca, on the fertile banks of the Rhone, on the slopes of Etna, in the hill country of Epirus, on the coasts of the Black Sea, and in the valley of the Nile, the strangest types of city-state developed and adapted themselves to the country without faltering in their loyalty to their common home.

Prehistoric strata were preserved on completely Greek soil, as in Lemnos and Crete, down to the age of writing—witness the so-called Tyrrhene inscription from Lemnos and Eteacretan inscriptions from Praisos. The language of every-day life at Ephesus was permeated with Lydian, while the vernacular of Tarentum showed Italian elements; the town of Perinthus had a Thracian tribal division; Bithynians of Thrace served the Byzantines as bondsmen, and Siculi were the serfs of Syracusan landholders. The petty townships of the peninsula of Athos were inhabited by a Thracian population, which was, however, so far Græcised that it employed Greek as the colloquial language; while in towns of what is now Southern France, Iberian and Greek quarters existed, and from this region was diffused through the Greek world that influence of Northern, and especially Keltic, civilisation which is termed the La Tene culture. The language, writing, and products of Greece were disseminated through purely Keltic regions. To this intercourse are due those imitations of Greek gods and letters on Keltic coins which were prevalent from the mouth of the Seine to Bohemia, and on the commercial highway as far as the Lower Rhine and Northern Italy.

Languages and Racial Intercourse

In Egypt the Greek enclaves, the Greek mercenaries of Daphne or Tell Defennet, and the Greek manufacturing and commercial town of Naucratis carried on a brisk trade with the Egyptians, in accordance with whose customs scarabæi were made and engraved, and with whose neighbourly assistance a whole cycle of Græco-Egyptian myths was formed. It was then that the pretty legend of the treasure-house of Rhampsinitus originated, which throughout is not originally Egyptian, but an imitation of the legend of Trophonius and Agamedes, who built the treasury of King Augeias of Elis. The priests then adopted the legend of Proteus and the Egyptian king who tore Helen away from Paris in order to restore her to her husband. This arrest of Paris in Egypt looks much like a frivolous travesty of the Greek legend. The festival of Perseus was celebrated at Chemmis with gymnastic contests in imitation of the Greek games; in fact, the entire cycle of Delian myths is transplanted to Egypt, and a floating island was discovered there also. This mutual exchange of intellectual wealth between Greeks and Egyptians may account for the introduction of the bands and the annulets of the Doric columns which encircle the floreated Egyptian capitals. Pharaoh Necho, after the victory over King Josiah of Judah at Megiddo, dedicated his coat of mail to Apollo of Branchidæ, and the earliest dated Greek inscriptions of 590–589 B.C. relate to an expedition of King Psammetichus II. against Ethiopia, in which Greek mercenaries were engaged; they are engraved on the leg of a colossal Rameses in the splendid rock-temple of Abu Simbel far up in Nubia.

Greek Myths Adapted by Egyptians

Amasis the Philhellene contributed to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, dedicated in the temple of Lindus a linen breastplate, in which every thread was woven out of 360 strands corresponding to the days of the year in the old calendar, and sent presents to Sparta. In his reign the settlements of the Greeks were trans-

ferred from the Pelusiac arm of the Nile to Memphis and further, a place in the Delta, subsequently Naucratis, was assigned to them, which was entirely disconnected from the Egyptian state and received complete self-government. The Greeks, faithful to their language, manners, and customs, erected there a central shrine, the Hellenion, for all their Egyptian colonies, which thenceforward multiplied more rapidly and extended far into the desert. The Samians had founded a factory in the great oasis of Uah el-Khargeh, seven days' journey from Thebes.

We hear of the brother of the poetess Sappho as a wine merchant in Naucratis; Alcæus, the poet, stayed in Egypt, while his brother distinguished himself in the service of Nebuchadnezzar. The foremost men of Greece either actually visited Egypt, or, according to the legend, drew wisdom from these newly opened sources. Solon and Pythagoras undoubtedly stayed in Egypt. At this period the terms for coarse linen and fine linen, and linen tunics ornamented with fringes, found their way from Egyptian into Greek. There were three strata of population in Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia: a Greek (Æolian or Thessalian), an Illyrian, and a Corinthian (or North-west Greek) imposed one on the other, and these tribes were usually regarded by the Greeks as mixed nationalities. In fact, the strong Thraco-Illyrian strain among the Macedonians enabled the more exclusive spirits of old Greece to stigmatise the Macedonians as barbarians.

Great Men of Greece in Egypt

The numerous Carian names among the families of Halicarnassus show how strongly the original population was represented, while the naming of Milesians after the goddess Hecate illustrates the power of the Carian cult. The intimate union of races is proved by the fact that the fathers of Thales (Hexamyes) and of Bias (Teutamos), the uncle of Herodotus (Panyassis) undoubtedly, and his father Lyxas probably, bear Carian names, such as occur also in Samos and in Cos. A similar mixture of blood occurs in Græco-Libyan and Græco-Thracian districts; Hegesypyle, wife of Miltiades, was a Thracian princess; Thucydides was descended from her father Olorus, and the two Dions and also the historian Arrian had Thracian blood in their veins. In the aristocratic and agricultural state of Lycia Greek settlers filled the rôle of a commercial and money-making middle class, and disseminated a knowledge of the arts for which their native land was famous. Dynasts of Lycia struck coins which represent them with the Persian tiara, but bear on the reverse the figure of the goddess Athena. Monuments were erected to the princes, which extol them in the Lycian and Greek languages, and an Attic epigram on the Columna Xanthia praises the son of Harpagus, because, with the help of Athena, the destroyer of towns, he laid low many citadels, and dedicated to Zeus more trophies than any mortal. Greeks and Dynasts together drew up in bilingual agreements the regulations for festivals, as is shown by the inscription of Isinda. The coins of the towns of Mallos, Issos, and other places on the Cilician coast bear Greek inscriptions by the side of those in Aramaic.

Curious Results of Greek Influence

The Greek towns of the kingdom of the Bosporus, such as Panticapæum, near the modern Kertch, founded by the Milesians, which climbs the hills in terraces, not only accepted the Phrygian Mother, but, since Scythians also lived in the same political community, had in great measure adopted Scythian manners. Thus they covered their lower limbs with the trousers and high boots of the barbarian. Masterpieces of Greek art, like the silver vase of Kertch [see page 2448], originated in these towns; nevertheless an Oriental influence became more and more prominent, in the huge sepulchral mounds which they raised, in the decoration of their robes with gold leaf, in the use of the Persian mitre and the golden diadem as the royal head-dress. Olbia also enjoyed brisk commerce with the Scythians, and was subject to Scythian influence. A flourishing inland trade was conducted along the Dniester, Bug, and Narew, and the connections of the traders extended to the mouths of the Vistula; on the caravan road to Central Asia, which even at the present day possesses importance, and suggests the line of the future trans-continental railroad, there lay in the middle of forest-country a town, built of wood and surrounded with palisades, in which Hellenic farmers and trappers settled. They borrowed largely from the language of the adjoining tribes, and, far from their homes in the northern forests, worshipped their own deities, especially

Greek Culture in Distant Lands

Dionysus. A Greek cup found on the Obwa, representing the dispute between Ulysses and Ajax, and a statue of Hygeia found at Perm, show that Greek trade flourished even in those parts.

The Greek people thus grew to maturity in constant intercourse with every nation of the civilised world. The ancient bonds of union, the national games, which united the Greeks of the most various regions, and the common religious centres, soon made the whole nation share alike in the lessons which had been learned on the fringes of the Greek world. It was only when all intellectual importation had become unnecessary that exclusiveness became a feature of the city-state, and it was in the age of Pericles that Athens first regarded mixed marriages with non-Athenian women as invalid.

Hellenism throughout Civilisation

The founding of Alexander's empire brought to the East an expansion of Greek culture; it promoted an exchange of commodities between East and West, and a mixture of barbarian and Greek nationalities, such as the ancient world had never seen before. Iberian tribes in Spain, Keltic clans in Southern France, Etruscan towns, Italian arts and crafts, Egyptian military systems and Egyptian legends, Lycian sepulchral architecture and Carian monuments, the work of Scythian goldsmiths and Persian palaces had already long been subject to Greek influence, so that the Greeks won their place in the history of the world far more as citizens of the Mediterranean sphere than by their domestic struggles. But now the old colonising activity of the Greeks, which had been relaxed for two centuries, was renewed over the whole expanse of a broad empire, whose political life was Greek, whose government was Persian, whose rulers and army were Greek. The founding of Alexandria and revival of Babylon had created great cities in the East, which, from the height of their intellectual and material civilisation, were destined to become the centres of the new empire. The whole stream of their wealth flowed westward; the stored-up treasures of the Achæmenids once more circulated in the markets; the observations and calculations of Chaldæan astronomers, which went back thousands of years, became available to the Greeks. Pytheas, and after him Hipparchus, used Babylonian measures in calculating the distance of the stars. The political and religious traditions of Babylon, which had already brought the Assyrian monarchs under their spell, and made a coronation in Babylon appear the necessary condition of a legitimate title, played a foremost part in the world-sovereignty of Alexander, and fitted in marvellously well with his schemes for investing his empire with a religious character. The building of the temple to Marduk played in Alexander's plan a part not less important than the construction of harbours and dockyards.

Culture of the East Flows West

Hellenism could now regard these conquered countries as a real intellectual possession. The reports of the general staff, which contained an exact survey of the conquered country, were deposited in the imperial archives at Babylon. Special officials—Bematists, or step-measurers—were responsible for the measurement of the distances. Trustworthy figures were forthcoming, instead of the estimates based on the caravan trade with eastern countries, against the inaccuracy of which Aristotle so vigorously protested. The course of the Indus and Ganges, and the island of Taprobane, or Ceylon, became known. The reports of Nearchus the Cretan effected a scientific conquest of the coast between the Indus and Euphrates. In December, 323 B.C., this explorer, the leading member of the scientific staff of Alexander, entered the Persian Gulf with a fleet for which the Himalayas had supplied the timber. To his pen is doubtless due that wonderful account of the tidal-plants—the mangroves with their supporting roots, which grow on the shore and spread far out into the sea—in Theophrastus.

Scientific Conquests of Greece

Alexander had entrusted to Heraclides the exploration of the Caspian Sea and its connection with the ocean—his death prevented the execution of the plan—and three times he organised attempts to circumnavigate Arabia; but Archias of Pella, Androsthenes of Thasos, and Hieron of Soloi were all equally unable to pass the surf-beaten Cape Musandam. To the second of these naval explorers we owe the masterly description of the isle of Bahrein, Tylos, with its flowering gardens and cool fountains, on which Androsthenes stayed from December, 324, to January, 323 B.C. Here the discovery was made that plants sleep, and we are given a beautiful description of the way in which

the ficus-leaves of the Indian tamarind fold up for the night. The cotton plantations, which recalled so vividly the vines of Hellas, were carefully studied. Thus we possess in this account, extant in Theophrastus, a brilliant commentary on the difference of the methods by which this expedition of Alexander opened up the conquered territories from those, for instance, of the Arabian conquerors, who saw barely anything on this marvellous island.

We do not know who of Alexander's staff supplied the observations on the banyan which were made about 326 B.C., during the halt at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, nor who so accurately mapped out the species of the trees on the north-western Himalayas, nor who discovered, from the case of the citron-tree, the existence of sexual differences in the vegetable kingdom. However easy it was to exaggerate in the description of the gigantic Indian fig-trees, where the Bematists fixed the circumference of the foliage at 1,450 yards—considerably less than that of the still existing giant trees of Nerbuda—and however difficult it was to explain the aerial roots which spring from the older branches and become supporting roots, we are everywhere astonished at the way in which these phenomena were surveyed with open eyes and intelligent appreciation. Nothing has been preserved for us of the reports of Gorgos, a mining expert, who explored, probably at Alexander's command, the gold and silver mines as well as the salt mines in the Indian kingdom of Sopeithes: and the treatise on harbours by Cleon of Syracuse is lost. But the comprehensiveness of the survey by which the new world was opened up is clearly shown us from such broken fragments of the keenest intellectual activity.

Intellectual Conquest of the East

The intellectual conquest of the East was thus achieved by the keen Western faculty for scientific observation. But the nuptials of the Orient and Occident which were celebrated at the wedding festival in Susa remained a slave-marriage, in which the East was the lord and master. The admission of the Persians and other races into the great frame of the Macedonian army signified, it is true, a further victory of Western organisation; but the contemplated admission of Persian troops into the Macedonian phalanx would have ended in breaking it up.

And yet Alexander thought that the political organisation of Hellenism, the world-empire, was possible only by a fusion of races. By the transplantation of nations from Asia to Europe, and from Europe to Asia, it was proposed to gain for the world-monarchy, with its halo of religious sanctity, the support of those disconnected masses who were united with the ruling dynasty alone, but had no coherence among themselves. At a distance the Hellenic Polis, the city-state, seemed the suitable representative of a new culture; at home, however, the old constitutional life might become dangerous, so that all recollections of the Corinthian League were suppressed, and decrees were published by Alexander which counselled the return of the exiled, but prohibited the combined meetings of Achæan and Arcadian towns. Garrisons were placed in the towns, tyrants were favoured or condemned, so that Oriental despotism seemed to have won the day over all Western developments.

Alexander's Dream of World-Empire

In the East the association of Alexander's sovereignty with the substrata underlying the Persian imperial organisation was unmistakable. We see how fully Alexander used the religious convictions of the Egyptians and Babylonians, and perhaps even the political traditions of the latter, for his own ends, and how he restored to the city of Sardis and the Lydians the old Lydian rights.

Court etiquette and official institutions were, on the other hand, largely borrowed by Alexander from the Persian empire. His father, Philip, had taken the first step in this direction by imitating a Persian custom, the military education of noble youths at court. It was not the study of Herodotus's history and Xenophon's "Anabasis," but the presence of Persian exiles at the Macedonian court, that led to these views. The custom at the Persian court of kissing the ground, the harem, the Persian state-robe, the Persian criminal code, as in the case of Bessus, were adopted; and the eunuchs were taken over with the Persian court officials. The vizir was called in Greek, since Æschylus's "Persians," Chiliarch, a name which was now officially borne by Hephæstion. Chares of Mytilene was nominated chief chamberlain, and the head scribe or secretary took a prominent

Customs Borrowed from Persia

position. The official protocols and royal diaries were kept up in the new Macedonian world-empire after the old Persian style. These royal diaries of Alexander form the core of the tradition on which our knowledge of the era of Alexander ought to rest, but owing to the later literature of romance they are not always recognisable beneath the mass of legends. A considerable fragment, which comprises the last days of Alexander, has been preserved for us in tolerable completeness. The Persian system of roads and the Persian imperial post were maintained; and the basis of the imperial administration was the old division into satrapies. But the powers of the governors were kept as before in close connection with the centre of the empire. The command of the army and the administration of the finance were detached from the office of satrap; the rights of coining money and keeping mercenaries were altogether abolished.

The Diaries of Alexander

The last year of Alexander's life was typical of the world-wide position of the Græco-Macedonian kingdom. Embassies from the sources of the Blue Nile and from the steppes of Southern Russia, from Ethiopia and the Scythian country, from Iberians, Kelts, Bruttians, Lucanians, and Etruscans, and, above all, from Rome and Carthage, came in that year to Alexander's court. Arabia was to be circumnavigated, and a scheme initiated to regulate the irrigation of the Euphrates region by lowering the weirs, repairing the canals, and building dykes. The coast and the islands of the Persian Gulf were to be colonised. It was intended also to rear temples on the most ancient holy sites of Greece—Delos, Dodona, Delphi—as well as at home at Dion, Amphipolis, and Cyrrhus. The old hereditary culture of the East and the energy of the West seemed to be welded together, and Greek had become the language of the civilised provinces of Western Asia, just as Babylonian had been a thousand years before. And this inheritance of Alexander was not transitory. Even if on that summer's evening of 323 B.C. (June 13), when the news that he was dead, and that the world was without a lord, burst on the passionately excited populace at Babylon, the plans for the future were dead, and the disintegration of the mighty empire was inevitable, yet the creation of a new sphere of culture, which partially embraced the ancient East, is the work of Alexander. No Roman world-empire, no world-embracing Christianity, no Byzantine empire, with Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, as provinces, would have been possible without this monarchy of Alexander.

Great Schemes of Alexander's Last Year

At the time when geographical knowledge was immensely widened towards the east by Alexander's victories, a bold mariner set sail from Marseilles, or Massilia, the chief emporium of the products of the north, of amber, and of tin, and the centre from which Greek influence spread among Kelts and Iberians. This was Pytheas, one of the most successful explorers, and also the first Greek to reach the Teutons. As Humboldt characterises the great and common impulse which mastered the spirits of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries with the words, "The age of Columbus was also the age of Copernicus, Ariosto, Dürer, and Raphael," so we may point to the fact that the age of Pytheas was also that of Plato, Aristotle, and Lysippus, of Philip and Alexander of Macedon. Columbus started out in pure faith; that is shown by his *libro das profecias*. But Pytheas not only stood at the head of the science of his day, but increased that science by new discoveries which held good for all time. He worked with comparatively small apparatus for observation, with the gnomon (shadow-indicator), a rod, the length of whose shadow at noon during the equinox, compared with the actual length of the rod, gave the geographical latitude of the place where the observation was taken. Yet in spite of this insufficient apparatus, the latitude of Massilia, as determined by him, is correct within five minutes. The old idea that the Pole star marked the celestial Pole was definitely refuted by him.

An Era of Intellectual Energy

Scientific problems, such as the inquiry into the size of the globe, and the extent of the inhabited world, led him far into unexplored regions; his intention was to reach the polar circle. As soon as the limits of the Mediterranean were passed a multiplicity of phenomena attracted the attention of the bold explorer; the phenomenon of the tides, which was explained even by Plato as due to supernatural causes, was then for the first time assigned by Pytheas correctly to the action of the moon. At first driven by south-westerly winds, and then pressing

forward more slowly without any assistance, he reached the north-west corner of Spain in thirteen days, and then steered out into the open sea with a northerly course for three days. The Pole star showed the observer the direction of his course, and ultimately the geographical latitude was determined from the altitude of the Pole. Westerly and south-westerly winds, as well as the Gulf Stream, drove Pytheas out of his course, and thus, under the belief that he had sailed continually northward, he reached the western point of Brittany and the island of Ushant.

He then circumnavigated Great Britain, since he first sailed thirteen days to the north, reached the most northerly cape of Britain, and, two days later, the Shetland Islands, which he calls Aibudes. The longest day, of nineteen hours, which he records, exactly tallies with this latitude. Accounts of "Thule" (Iceland) found their way to him. He brought with him mysterious tales of a mixture of water, air, and earth, comparable rather to the gleaming of a medusa or jelly-fish—a long misunderstood description, not merely of the thick, grey mist which makes earth, the water, and the air indistinguishable, but of the Northern Lights. He then sailed to the mouths of the Rhine, penetrated to the Elbe, to the land of the Teutons, to the islands which at low tide were dry land, and to the island of Abalos, perhaps Heligoland, whither in spring the waves bring the amber; finally, he reached the coast of Jutland.

Extraordinary Voyage of a Greek Explorer

Pytheas, the discoverer of the Germans, undertook his bold voyage in the interests of science, and offered to science enormous tracts of new territory, which, from foolish but explicable doubts, it long wished to relegate to the domain of fable. Some practical extension of the sphere of Massilian commerce, in fact the founding of a settlement at the mouth of the Loire, may well have been connected with this important expedition. An excessive estimate of the distance over which he sailed, and the consequent assumption of the immense expanse of the coast of Britain, certainly caused errors in the chart of Pytheas; but our age is competent fully to grasp the high importance of Pytheas as one of the earliest and most successful explorers of all times.

Greek daring and Greek intellect thus surveyed the then known world from the Shetland Islands to modern Turkestan, from the west coast of Libya to the Ganges. The survey of Britain and Persia, the Aurora Borealis, the tides in the Atlantic, no less than the growth of banyans and mangroves, amber on the shores of Germany, gold and silver mines in India, and scientific inquiry into the outer ocean and the limits of the land, were objects of Greek investigation as much as the laws of social development and the laws of thought itself. Thus the philosophy of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) seems to us like the pæan of this world-embracing thought, teaching that thought itself is the immaterial divinity, the cause of all movement, the absolute self-consciousness. Insight into the laws of human thought is the most certain starting-point of all knowledge. We follow in thought the universal cause into its particular effects, just as we see the white light break up in the prism into its bright component colours. That thing which, through every period of change, preserves its comprehensible existence is the object of true knowledge. All development consists in the relation of potentiality to realisation, of matter to form. If the matter develops to the form which is latent in it by design, then, according to the laws of predisposition and necessity, it develops progressively, without beginning or end, in unceasing movement, from the formless, that is, the pure matter, through an immense series of graduations, upwards to the immaterial form, to the divinity. And in this scale of graduations, where even the changes of the inorganic imply a development of latent potentialities, the evolutionary process passes through the lower forms of life, possessing but a vegetative soul, to man, whose soul is reason. Happiness is the aim of human life, and to obtain it the ethical virtues, which are rooted in the will, come into play together with knowledge. But man can never pursue his goal in solitude. He requires fellow-men and society; he is a "political animal," a social being. One of the great intellectual discoveries of the age of Alexander shows itself in the doctrine that man cannot fully realise his latent potentialities except in the state; this doctrine supplies an irresistible protest against those cowardly and selfish anarchist delusions of the Cynics and Megarians,

Origin of Aristotle's Philosophy

A Great Intellectual Discovery

who held that the only happiness possible to the individual by himself consisted in the reversion to impossible conditions of barbarism and in the enjoyment of the moment. All intelligent persons grasped clearly the importance of the fact once established that only a combined social effort and the strength of the community had created for Hellenism that predominant place which it held in the world. Thus Aristotle, whose influence has been felt for two thousand years, is the best personification of that age which created a living and active philosophy from the results of its achievements, and no longer clung to political phrases, but from an investigation of the abundant historical material brought into clear relief the outlines of the state and its primary object, the education of the citizens.

Philosophy that Lives after 2,000 years

The focus of political activity shifted towards the East, and the direction of world commerce changed; the centres of trade were now the new Greek cities, in comparison with which the ancient capitals seemed insignificant settlements. Alexander valued the Semite as a necessary complement to the Persian; he was also not without reverence for old traditions and for scientific eminence. He therefore promoted the prosperity of Babylon; but Seleucia on the Tigris, not Babylon, became the metropolis of the fertile plain of Mesopotamia.

The combined commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Egypt itself converged on Alexandria, that city of world trade and cosmopolitan civilisation. It was there, close to that emblem of world trade, the marble lighthouse, the Pharos, which towered high above the palm-trees [see page 232], and near the museum and the library, the homes of civilisation, that the mortal remains of Alexander's fiery spirit found their last resting-place. How small seemed the "great" cities of the mother country compared with this city of Alexander, covering some 2,200 acres (three and a half square miles) with its 500,000 of inhabitants. Carpet factories, glass-works, the production of papyrus and incense, gave the commercial city the stamp of a manufacturing town. Alexandria, as the centre of a new movement, became also the headquarters of the new industry of cameo-cutting. That marvellous Farnesettazza, which has rightly been termed the foremost product of Alexandrine art, came from its workshops.

The Mighty City of Alexander

Alexandria, then, was the starting-point of that policy, justly to be compared with the attitude of the English in India, which ruled the Nile country in civilisation, politics, and nationality. It forced upon the native population the language of their rulers, and burdened the natives alone with a poll-tax: but in compensation it allowed an infinity of religious ideas to ascend from the lower strata of society to the ruling class. Districts, towns, and villages were given new Greek names, and at the period when the Greek influence was at its height many of the old population Græcised their names or gave them a Greek look; and not only were the royal edicts published in the Greek language—occasionally with an Egyptian translation—but also the private contracts of ordinary business, such as leases, labour contracts, and conveyances, are in Greek. Ptolemy Philadelphus succeeded in assigning the proceeds of a very ancient tax (the *apomoira*, or one-sixth of the produce of vineyards, orchards, and kitchen gardens) to the cult of his sister Arsinoë—that is, to the Ptolemaic government (264–263). The assignment of other imposts in compensation did not check a considerable shrinkage in the revenue of the native temples. The prevalence of Greek notions in the worship of Serapis is incontestable.

Greek Ascendancy in Egypt

Counter influences, generated in the lower levels of society, offered a stout resistance to the potent ideas of the Hellene. The old native divinities brought not merely Alexander, but also the Ptolemies, so strongly under their spell that numerous temples were built in their honour. The old administrative divisions were left, with the natural exception that the Ptolemies, following Alexander's uniform policy in Persia, placed military commanders by the side of the civil officials. The wonderfully close-meshed net of taxation which the Pharaoh dynasty had drawn round its subjects was preserved and developed as a welcome institution; so also the system of monopolies, the exploitation of the royal demesnes, and the official hierarchy of the court. The old magic formulæ, the influence of the Magi, the mythology, and the religious ideas of Egypt poured in mighty streams into the Hellenic world.

And even if these latter suffered a transformation at the hands of the Stoics and other Greek schools, yet their essential features persisted, and showed a marvellous power of revival. Even in art the old Egyptian style carried the day. We find a princess of the Ptolemaic house depicted on a cameo as an Egyptian; and if artistic representations may be trusted, the princes themselves adopted native dress.

The ancient cities of Syria were so far Græcised that the new capital, Antioch, on the Orontes, with its suburb Daphne, henceforward the emporium for the Euphrates trade, was surrounded by a chain of Greek settlements. Military colonies, inhabited by veterans who had earned their discharge, as well as by natives, were founded on the model of the city-state, both in the old country and in Asia Minor. City life, with a government by a mass assembly and an organisation of the citizens in tribes, flourished in these colonies. Supported by the national government, occupying the position of the dominant class, the Greeks acquired enormous influence upon social life. How completely the Greek *polis* had conquered the Semitic East is proved by the forms of worship and of law. Ascalon could produce a Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo, in addition to Astarte and the fish-goddess—Atargatis-Derketo. The coins of Damascus show, it is true, a Dionysus who exhibits some assimilation to the Arabian god, but they bear also the heads of Artemis, Athene, and Nike. The so-called Syrian Code was compiled in these regions on the basis of Greek legal notions. Even in the era of the Maccabees a gymnasium in Jerusalem shocked the orthodox Jews; the Feast of Tabernacles was, by the introduction of thyrsus wands, made to resemble the Dionysia, which, however, a Seleucid could not introduce.

Greek Influence in Syria

The Jews of the Dispersion were Hellenised in various ways. The translation of the Scriptures, the Septuagint version, was due to the necessity of keeping up the knowledge of the Bible among those who had gradually lost their acquaintance with the sacred language. Thus a new channel was opened for the diffusion of Greek influence, although diffusion was accompanied by a process of corruption, and the Greek language took a tinge of Hebraic idiom among the Jews of Alexandria. Even the remote countries of the East now drew nearer to Hellenism. The Greeks of Asia Minor had, of course, belonged to the same empire as a part of the Indian nation, so that commerce was early able to bring into the Punjab the products of Greek art; and philosophical ideas, such as the Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls, found their way into Greek territory. It is certain that the Indians, at the time of the grammarian Panini, had become familiar with the Greek alphabet, and had struck coins after the Athenian pattern. It was not until Alexander's expedition that the country was conquered by science, and the Indian trade, which was now so important to Alexandria, became a part of Greek commerce. The Indian custom of ornamenting golden vessels with precious stones was adopted in the sphere of Greek culture; thus Stratonice of Syria sent golden cups inlaid with ivory as an offering to Delos, and Indian jacinth became a favourite material with lapidaries.

India's Influence on Greece

After the conquests of science the spirit of romance asserted its claim; the imaginative writers of Alexander's age busied themselves with India. At a much earlier date the Greeks had welcomed the fantasies of Indian folk-lore, such as the gold-mining ants as large as jackals and clad in skins, which some wish to explain as a Tibetan fur-clad tribe. Even if the myth of the Cyclops, who occur substantially in the Mahabharata as Lalataxá, arose independently among the Greeks and the Indians, those tribes which always carry their homes with them, since they only require to wrap themselves up in their enormous ears, are distinctly the creation of an Indian story-teller. They also appear in the Mahabharata as Tscharnaprawarana. In the age subsequent to Alexander a flourishing commerce was maintained with India, and Megasthenes in astonishment tells of the marvellous country, its splendid mountain forests, its smiling well-watered plains, and the strong, proud race of men which breathes the pure air. What a fluttering, crawling, and leaping there is under the mighty trees, whose topmost foliage rustles in the wind! Tigers twice the size of lions, and coal-black apes, whose faces are white and bearded, roam through the Indian forest in the daytime. Gigantic

Greek Tales of Indian Marvels

serpents with bat-like wings whiz through the air at night; innumerable kinds of birds screech and coo and sing in a bewildering babel.

Philosophy in Ancient India

Among the men, however, the most remarkable were the Philosophers, who meditated over the problems of the universe in solitude for thirty-seven years, and then never discussed them with women. For, as Megasthenes naïvely thought, if women were unworthy of the high teaching, a grievous sin would have been committed in wasting it on them; but if they were worthy of the teaching, they would certainly be diverted from their own duties, or, to express the idea in modern phraseology, they would be filled with ideas of emancipation. The philosophy itself was gladly recognised as akin to the wisdom of the Greeks. Megasthenes, perhaps, when he makes this statement, has in mind the doctrine of transmigration. So, too, the Greeks, when they saw the procession in honour of Siva winding through the vine-clad valleys, with the clash of cymbals and kettledrums, may have thought themselves transported to their own homes during the noisy passing of a Dionysiac rout. With the Indian precious stones came their names—opal, beryl, etc. —into the west. Indian fables influenced the Greek travellers' tales, the true precursors of Defoe's immortal work. Thus the romance of Iambulus shows an unmistakable likeness to the adventures of Sindbad, which are the products of Indian fancy, and were later incorporated by the Arabians in the collection of "The Arabian Nights."

But an influence spread also from the west to the east. A typical instance of this is shown by the fact that Indian expressions connected with warfare found their way into Sanscrit from the Greek. An echo of the great struggles between Greeks and Indians is heard even in the commentaries of the grammarian Panini, and intellectual links of connection are forged in abundance. Alexander had brought the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to India with him, and his gigantic train included numerous actors. We must date back to that period the similarities which the Mritshtshhakatika present to the Attic comedy, the imitation of the Greek stage, which calls the curtain in Indian *yawanika*, or "the Greek," the transference of Homeric legends into the Indian epics, the beast fables on Indian soil, until later even the Greek romances of Achilles Tatius served to adorn the romance "Kadamhari" of Bana (600-630 A.D.) and his son. The plastic arts were enriched. Doric (Kashmir), Ionic (Taxila), and Corinthian (Gandhara) pillars arose in that fairyland, which, under King Asoka, after the Persian model, had passed from the stage of wooden buildings to stone buildings; the symbol of the god of love, the dolphin, may have been transported from Greece to India by the sculptor's art. Coins were struck on the Greek model. Finally, the Greek dialogue served as a framework for the discussions of Greeks and Indians on philosophic subjects; thus the Melinda = panha — of a somewhat later date— presents one such dialogue between King Menander and the Buddhist priest Naya Sena.

The Reign of Hellenism in India

The relations of Asoka with the West in the field of religion and politics are somewhat audaciously stated in his thirteenth inscription, and the assertion that he, the "pious" king, had succeeded in winning over even the Greek princes Amtiyoga (Antiochus), Tulumaya (Ptolemaus), Amtekina (Antigonus), Maka (Mayas), Alikasadala (Alexander of Epirus) cannot be seriously entertained. The Indo-Bactrian empire and the petty kingdoms parcelled out of it were long a home of the Greek spirit. Great vitality must have been latent in these kingdoms of the Greek conquistadores, since they did not shrink from the danger of mutual hostility. The struggle which was carried on from these parts seemed to the adjoining peoples more colossal than the conquests of Alexander the Great. Its importance for the establishment of relations between the Greek-speaking world, India and East Asia, has not yet been sufficiently appreciated.

Indian Home of the Greek Spirit

King Demetrius (180–165 B.C.) and the town of Demetrias, which he built, appear in the stirring verses of the Mahabharata. Tibetan hordes drove him out of Bactria and forced him completely into the Punjab. The huge gold coins of his successor Eucratides, with the bust of the king and a horseman, are described by Chinese records of the first century B.C. Indian culture and philosophy must have gained a footing in this kingdom by degrees.

King Menander (about 125–95 B.C.) was already a Buddhist; but, even when fading away, this Greek civilisation had strength enough to influence the adjoining Indo-Scythian territory. The coins of this empire usually bear Indian and Greek inscriptions in Greek letters; then Indian in Greek letters; finally the native language, but still in Greek letters.

But the influence reached still further eastward. The Bactrian province of Ferghana (in Chinese, Ta yüan), was occupied by the Chinese general Li Kuang li in 101 B.C.; we find here the bridge connecting the Greek and Chinese civilisations over which came the movement which revolutionised Chinese art under the emperor Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.). It had long been clear that the Chinese at this time and from this district imported the noble Turkoman blood-horses, lucerne as excellent horse fodder, and the vine. After Chang Kien, the explorer, had brought the vine from Ta yüan to China the emperor Wu Ti had it planted in the palace gardens at Singan fu. But now critics of Chinese art assign to this very period metal mirrors which show marvellous vine-leaf ornamentation, as well as the lion and the winged horse. It is more than mere conjecture that Chinese art, which had stood still since the second millennium B.C., owed its sudden renascence to Græco-Bactrian influence and the naturalism of Greek art.

Connection of Greece and China

The excavations of Aurel Stein, 1900–1901, in Khotan, have brought to light fresh evidence of the expansion of Greek culture, as well as a further station on the road by which the peoples of the West migrated towards Eastern Asia. A Pallas Athene, represented on a seal in archaic style, a seal with a sitting Greek figure, probably Eros, and, above all, a seal with a portrait head after a Western model, but with thoroughly Chinese features, show that here, half-way between West Iran and Peking, Greek culture had established a firm footing. The types of the coins for Transoxania or Western Turkestan originated in the Greek centres of civilisation in Bactria, so that the silver tetradrachms found in Samarkand and Tashkent must have been struck after the pattern of the coins of Heliocles and Euthydemus, and similarly the path of Greek influences must have led thence through Ferghana, past the Greek city of Alexandria Eschate and Kashgar and Yarkand, to Khotan.

And while thus in the remotest east of the countries which were included in the habitable world, on the fringe of the East Asiatic world, the Greek spirit, wantonly prodigal of its forces, was tearing itself to pieces, and nevertheless was able to influence coinage, art, and flora, as far as India and East Asia; while in the Nile valley and at Babylon native authors wrote in Greek; while Greeks had explored the Red Sea, the Nile, the Caspian, and Scythia, this same Hellenism had founded for itself in the west a province of Hellenic manners and customs, and had completely enslaved it. This was the Roman empire, now coming to the fore, which, as it took its part in this international commerce, offered the Greek intellect a new home with new constitutional and legal principles.

Rome Rises Under Greek Culture

Roman historiography, philosophy, eloquence, mathematics, medicine, sculpture, and poetry, the games of Rome, the fauna and flora of Italy, the forms of daily life and the religions of Rome, became Greek. A world-empire could not be won except in alliance with a cosmopolitan civilisation—Rome herself was powerless to create both these at once. The Greeks had given the Italians the fruit trees of the East, peach and almond, walnut, chestnut, and plum. In the midst of this enriched flora there now arose in Italy the Greek house, with its two divisions, ornamented with Greek marble, or the old Italian house transformed with the Greek ridged roof; its rooms, which bore Greek names, were divided by Greek tapestry curtains. In the dining-room (triclinium), the guests reclined, wearing long woollen tunics. The soft house-shoes, slippers, and sandals of the Greeks were in use. The girls in the house wore the Greek skirt (cacomboma). On the high-roads were seen the Macedonian kausia as head-wear, together with the Greek (broader-brimmed) petasos; for cold weather the fur tippet (arnacis) of Greek pattern had come into fashion. Whether we regard the higher employments of life, education with its three grades and its three classes of Greek teachers, or the new professions which originated in the development of the luxuries of the table, everywhere Greek

Rome's Debts to Greece

influence is predominant. In ancient times a critical period, such as famine or pestilence or a practical want, may have called in individual divinities of the Greek religion, and these motives were indeed always important. On the occasion of a pestilence in 293 B.C. the worship of Æsculapius was brought to Rome from Epirus, and attracted at the same time the Greek art of medicine. The war troubles of 249 B.C. effected the transference of the Greek ideas as to the lower world from Tarentum to the Ara Ditis—in the "Tarentum" on the Campus Martius—so that henceforward Pluto and Proserpine are worshipped as native divinities. Again, the defeat at Lake Trasimene in 217 B.C. aroused a desire to bring in new deities; Venus of Mount Eryx and Mens (Sophrosyne) then came into the Italian capital.

Greek Art of Medicine

But now another point made itself felt. There was not only the continual wish to invoke the help of the Greek gods, but a desire was felt for the noisy festivals of the Greeks; thus in 238 B.C. the feast of a Greek goddess was introduced under the name of the Floralia. The ritual of the Greeks was so much more elaborate and artistic than that of Rome that a religious revolution at once resulted. Thus both Italian and Capitoline divinities —for instance, Juno Sospita, of Lanuvium, and Juno Regina of the Aventine—were now honoured with Greek rites. To the latter a procession of virgins went in pilgrimage, chanting the refrain of the propitiatory hymn which L. Livius Andronicus, a Greek of Lower Italy, had composed. The circle of the twelve gods was completed after the Greek model; other assimilations were made, and Greek myths then completely concealed from view the old Italian divinities. But where, nevertheless, some clear ideas of their nature were preserved, there the plastic art of Greece, with its powerfully elaborated types of divinities, crushed the last remnants of native imagery. These dethroned deities seemed almost to exist on sufferance in order to fill up gaps in the chronology. What had become of the time when foreign deities might be worshipped only outside the boundaries of the city?

Greek Myths Adopted

With the Greek religion came Greek philosophy, Greek rationalism, and religious inquiry into Italy, and although hindered in various ways—for example, by the censorship which prohibited the "Pythagorean" books and the expulsion of individual teachers—finally, in the dress of the Stoic school, attained to undisputed sovereignty.

Thus the past history of Rome was remodelled and given a Greek colouring. The national fancy had already tried to illuminate the obscure beginnings of the city, borrowing many details from the legend of Cyrus in Herodotus. Greek imagination now bestowed form and colour on the dark history of the kings of Rome. The siege of Veii was retold with incidents suggested by the Trojan War. Gods of the Greek type take part in the battles: characters are created according to Greek models (Decemvirs as a parallel to the Thirty Tryants, Scipio as a new Alcibiades, Fabius as a modernised version of Nicias). How excellently the occupation of Athens by the Persians supplies particulars for the Gallic conquest! How the accounts of Greek battles (the battle of Cunaxa is a prototype for Cirta) and the stories of sieges (Halicarnassus, Saguntum) make up for the Roman deficiency in imaginative power! To fill up the great void of the national past the Roman historians, if so we may call them, borrowed from their Greek precursors the descriptions of diplomatic negotiations, satirical reflections suited to the surrounding tribes of Italy, and questions on the theory of history. It is little wonder that the Roman historians, down to M. Porcius Cato, wrote in Greek.

Roman History is Greek

The world has hardly ever seen such vast districts and nations so various thus steeped in a civilisation—however much it may have been a "world-civilisation" —which still showed its national origin in the greater majority of its component parts. The larger area belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race of to-day is dominated by the English world-language; but the civilisation which goes with the language is not purely Anglo-Saxon, it bears only an Anglo-Saxon tinge. Those centuries preceding the Christian era saw the language of Athens become the Greek vernacular, which, in its turn, became the language of the world; and a large part of the known world became at the same time a sphere of Greek culture and intellect. RUDOLPH VON SCALA



THE SPIRIT OF ANCIENT ROME

BY W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A.

GREEK and Roman civilisations are two component parts of one great whole. Politically the form of state and the ideas of government which we meet in Greece and Italy are substantially the same. Greek literature, art, and science survived with abundant vitality throughout the period which we roughly call Roman; in half of the Roman empire Greek was the universal language, and every educated Roman of the later period spoke and wrote Greek almost as easily as Latin. Roman literature was modelled upon Greek; every Roman poet thought it a matter of duty to imitate some Greek original. The Christian fathers wrote both in Greek and Latin, and thus Christian thought was passed on into the Middle Ages strongly tinged with both Greek and Roman ideas.

Yet Rome was very far from being merely an outgrowth of Greece. Rome grew from her own root, and Greek ideas were grafted on to her stock only after it had attained a certain maturity of its own.

Rome's Original Culture

Rome made an independent contribution to the great whole which we may call Mediterranean civilisation, and thus also to the civilisation which we may call modern and European. The Roman spirit, though it came to be so greatly affected by the Greek spirit as to tempt us to call it Græco-Roman, did in reality survive all through the history of the Roman people, and it is the object of this section to trace it continually at work.

Let us begin by asking what was the peculiar contribution of the Romans, as distinct from that of the Greeks, to that great Græco-Roman whole on which our modern civilisation is so largely based? We can separate it from the other chief contributing element if we steadily bear in mind two facts. First, Rome became

Guardian of Greek Civilisation

the guardian of Greek civilisation after the political and material decay of Greece; she supplied the military force and the organising genius which saved the choicest products of the Greek spirit for centuries from destruction at the hands of semi-barbarous peoples of the east and wholly barbarous peoples of the north; and when at last the invaders broke through the barriers she had planted, her spirit was still so completely in the ascendant as to move them with an awe which secured the immortality of her long-guarded treasures. Secondly, the Roman genius for public and private law supplied a common basis of orderly life for the whole Græco-Roman world. Mommsen, the great historical exponent of Roman law, defined law as state interference in the interests and passions of humanity.

Applying this to the work of Rome in the world, we may say that in her a state power at last arose, after long periods of tentative and unintelligent government, which did so effectually interfere among the interests and passions of humanity in that Græco-Roman world that we still feel it at work among us.

The Roman "civil law" is still the basis of our best conceptions of jurisprudence. These two facts, the military defence of civilisation, and the legal ordering of human life, may both be summed up in a single expression—the Roman peace (pax Romana). Roman arms defended civilisation, allowing no enemy to invade its sacred precincts; and Roman law was thus able to develop itself leisurely and peacefully, to the infinite and permanent benefit of mankind. Incidentally, we may note that room was found under this Roman peace for the growth of Christianity, the most remarkable phenomenon of the later Græco-Roman period.

The Roman Peace

Such then was the main result of the work of Rome; and it shows us that the Roman had two great qualities which were denied to the Greek, and which, taken together, constitute what we may call the Roman spirit. The Roman could fight, not only in short campaigns or in single battles, but in long and protracted struggles, constantly defeated, yet never permanently losing ground, and holding tenaciously to the main object of securing a territory or organising a frontier. And he had the power of orderly government, taking shape not merely in a neat legal code suited to a single city-state, but adapting itself to the needs of a great variety of peoples, incorporating their usages, learning from their experience, yet subordinating all this variety to a single great end. In the possession of these two qualities the Romans seem to have stood alone among all the peoples of the Mediterranean basin. We see them at work throughout the whole of Roman history, in spite of many dark periods and many national shortcomings. Can we account for them by any reference to early Roman experience?

To some extent we may get an idea of the conditions under which they developed, even if we cannot altogether explain them, by fixing our attention on some unquestioned facts in the early history of Italy. Let us look at the map, and mark well the position of Rome in relation to Italy and the peoples inhabiting it. The long, narrow peninsula is cloven in two parts by the river Tiber, the largest stream south of the Po, draining almost the whole middle portion of the mountainous region of Central Italy. The whole country to the north of the Tiber, when Rome first appeared on the scene, was held by the Etruscans—a mysterious people, whose origin is still unknown, a warlike people, spreading their dominion far to north and south, and an adventurous people, building fleets and engaging in commerce in the Western Mediterranean. To the south of the Tiber lay the territory of the Latins, extending over what we now call the Latin Campagna, on which from east and south the outskirts of the Apennines look down, then inhabited by peoples related to the Latins, but at constant feud with them. The natural centre and citadel of Latium is the Mons Albanus, which rises some miles to the south of Rome to a height of 3,000 feet. But this was too far from the river, the natural frontier against the Etruscans, to defend the Latins from these enemies; what was needed was not only a citadel of refuge, but an outpost to anticipate the need of such a citadel.

Conditions of Rome's Development

Rome was this outpost; sitting astride of the river in the post of danger, about twenty miles from its mouth, holding land on both banks, guarding the sacred wooden bridge which might be broken at any moment, and owning the mouth itself of the river with a settlement there by way of port (Ostia), she was obviously exposed to continual strain, while the kindred and allied peoples in her rear enjoyed comparative peace. Here we have something at least of the secret of Rome's genius for war; her training in the art of war was not that of a petty community apt to attack a neighbour or to be attacked by him, to raid or be raided in the course of a summer; it was that of a people having a continual duty before them, many miles of frontier to hold, constant liability to surprise and defeat, yet bound by sheer necessity to cling for very life to their position, and when and where possible, to advance and strengthen it.

Rome at the Outpost of Danger

Such advance, as time went on and the position was still held, became ever more possible and more tempting; the Tiber valley was the natural entrance into the heart of Italy. So it came about that the Romans, having learnt their lesson of military endurance in the school of defensive warfare, were able to put it to use in the slow but steady acquisition of the dominion of the whole peninsula. For of them alone could it be said, as the historian Tacitus said of the Chatti people

in Germany, that other peoples went out to battle, but the Romans went out to war.

But warfare of this steady, dogged kind, in which the Roman people have hardly ever been equalled, cannot be carried on without a habit of discipline, of obedience to constituted authority, for which the military position of Rome will not by itself account. To explain this we must turn to that other great quality of this wonderful people—the instinct for law and government. Can we find, in the internal organisation of the Roman people, or in their early experience, anything which helps us to explain not only their later genius for law, but their instinct for order and discipline?

One fact we know which will go a long way towards supplying the explanation we need. From the earliest times the basis of Roman society was the family; and the family was organised and governed on a principle at once simple and stringent. It was under the absolute authority of the head of the household (pater familias), subject only to the tradition that in matters of great moment he should consult his relations in a family council. Wife and children were "in his hand," and had no legal status of their own; and in all the relations of the family to the beings both human and divine who dwelt around them he was absolute arbiter. He was chief priest of the family, and on his knowledge of the ritual necessary to the propitiation of its deities or the discovery of their will the very existence of it depended; for without the proper rites and formulæ—so the Romans at all times firmly believed—the gods could not be induced to perform their functions as guardians of the land and its products, on which the family subsisted. Thus there must have grown up, long before the state came into being, the idea of authority, both civil and religious, vested in a single individual, to defy which was almost impossible and unthinkable, because the safety and welfare of the ruled depended absolutely on the ruler.

The Family the Model for the State

It was only natural that as the state gradually arose, built upon a concentration of families, its order of government should be based on the same ideas and traditions. In the earliest form of Roman state of which we know anything, the king (*rex*) was the sole interpreter of civil and religious law, subject only to the tradition that in civil matters of great moment he should consult a council of heads of families (*senatus*), and in matters of religious difficulty a college of persons skilled in religious law and ritual (*pontifices, augures*); in war he was probably even more absolute than at home. Thus there developed itself that wonderful conception, the *imperium* of the chief magistrate, of rex in the earliest age, and of consuls and their representatives afterwards, in which a Roman of all ages recognised a state force, which it was practically impossible for him to defy, because, like the members of the family, he had learnt that all that made life worth living for him depended upon his obedience to it. For this famous word, *imperium*, the Greeks had no real equivalent; it sums up the genius of the Roman for discipline, whether in the observance of civil and religious order at home, or in obeying their commanders in the field. Even the limitations placed upon it as time went on—the discovery, for example, that the voice of the people is necessary to make a legal enactment binding on all, and to confirm a magisterial sentence of death—do but bear out the truth that this people had an instinct for law and order, for while they recognised the necessity of modifying their institutions to suit changed conditions of life, they never lost sight of the supreme value of the idea of *imperium*, or of that wholesome adjunct of it, the idea that its holder should in matters of moment consult those who were qualified to advise him.

Obedience the Keynote of Citizenship

Thus the Roman character was built up under a combination of external warfare and internal discipline. This character, as we might expect, was not altogether a pleasing one; but it was admirably adapted for the work Rome had to do in the world. The typical Roman was hard, stubborn, narrow, unsympathetic; he was intellectually somewhat slow, wanting in the quickness and versatility that characterised the Greek; wanting also in imagination, and in the adventurousness which is the practical side of the imaginative faculty. Deeds pleased him more than words, and it was long before he began to learn the wonderful resources of his own tongue. Seriousness (*gravitas*) in all his conduct, public and private, was the quality he

Traits of the Roman Character

most admired, and this was expected also in married women, and even in children. He was not indeed without a certain sense of humour, but his humour was rough and apt to be coarse, and later on in literature developed into satire, the one original contribution of the Romans to literary form. In morals the Roman seems to have been strict rather than delicate, and always more lenient to the man than to the woman: in religion he was—like all Italians, ancient and modern—peculiarly superstitious, but here his natural tendency was checked and regulated by his religious law and its administrators. This and all other tendencies to emotional excess or display were discouraged both in public and private life; marriages "for love," for example, were quite unknown, and at all times in Roman history love was an illicit passion only. The emotional characters with whom we meet in later times, such as Cicero and Catullus, were not Roman by descent; and Virgil, who stands alone in Roman literature for sympathy and tenderness, was perhaps of Gallic blood. Cæsar, on the other hand, a true Roman by birth, had all the old characteristics of the race, but tempered by the courtesy and *humanitas* which had come in with Greek education and a wider experience of the world.

Roman Morals and Ethics

The character thus built up was put to severe trial in the third century B.C. The invasion of Pyrrhus and the long first struggle with Carthage strained the endurance and resources of the people to the utmost; but the war with Hannibal was a trial such as no people has ever gone through before or since, and survived. Fortunately, Rome had by this time become the head of what may loosely be called an Italian federation, using her conquests not to destroy the conquered, but to unite them with herself on terms by which both might profit; and the additional strength thus gained was enough to disappoint Hannibal's expectations and, materially speaking, to carry her through the ordeal. Yet it is none the less true that it was the Roman spirit that saved her—the "courage never to submit or yield," the tenacity that was the result, as with the Boers of the Transvaal, of an imperfect education and a narrow range of vision. For fourteen years her deadly enemy was in Italy, bent with an incredible vindictiveness on her destruction, ever victorious, and with famine and pestilence at his heels; but the great Roman families never gave up hope or allowed themselves to be beaten, and the people, trained to trust them, never really failed to answer to the call of duty. Whoever would really understand the Roman character, with all its strong and weak points, should read the story of this great struggle, and note how in such a crisis in the history of civilisation the victory lay ultimately with the people that could endure and obey.

The Greatest Ordeal in History

And such a study is all the more valuable, because from this time forward the Roman character began to deteriorate. Rome passed safely through the struggle, but at the cost of the best part of her strength, moral as well as physical. The strain had been too great for her, and, indeed, for Italy as a whole. It is difficult to trace the subtle processes by which such a trial can affect the nervous tissue of the people, weakening its virility, laying it open to the temptation to indulge in ease, to look for wealth and comfort, and so gradually destroying the sense of duty towards family, state and gods. And here, indeed, it is not possible to say more than that a careful study of the two centuries that followed the war will show that alike in family life, in religion, in the performance of state duties, the Roman fell rapidly away from the old ideal of conduct: the true Roman spirit seems to have vanished. The state went on conquering and organising her conquests. Rome became the arbiter of the whole civilised world; but the spirit in which the work was done was not that which had built up an Italian federation, and driven Hannibal out of Italy.

Aftermath of Rome's Success

It is now the individual Roman who comes to the front, seeking his own advancement; and this simply means that the best qualities of the old type were failing, and the worst gaining strength. The individual had been subordinated to the state, and had found his best life in that subordination. In forgetting the state and working for his own ends, he simply gave the chance of growth to all his lower instincts, and neither Greek philosophy nor an improved system of education had the least power to check this growth permanently. We meet, indeed, with a few leading men of a finer

type than Rome had yet produced—Scipio Æmilianus, the two Gracchi, Mucius Scævola, Sertorius, who added the grace of learning and humanity to much of the old cast of character; but the typical Roman of this age was the man who gained office by corruption, plundered the provincials whom he was called upon to rule, and then retired into luxurious ease to enjoy the fruits of his misdoings.

The result of this deterioration was that Rome ceased to perform adequately that function for which, as we saw, she was wanted in the world; Mediterranean civilisation was no longer protected securely from enemies within and without. In the western half of her empire wild tribes from the north invaded the province of Gaul at the end of the second century B.C., and finally penetrated even into Northern Italy; and the defeats the Roman armies suffered at their hands were due, not to the skill of the enemy as in the Hannibalic war, but to bad discipline and the corruption of generals. Then for nearly forty years Mithradates of Pontus continued to menace the Greek half of the empire, and at one time overran the province of Asia, and was with difficulty beaten back from the walls of Athens. The sea was infested with pirates, and no traveller's life or property was safe. All this was due to the supineness of the Roman government, and to the violence of party faction, in which the true interest of the state and of civilisation were lost to view. The Senate, the great council which had carried Rome safely through so many dangers, seemed to have lost its capacity for business, and wasted time in personal quarrels or in satisfying the interests of individuals.

The Leaven of Corruption

Even after it had been reorganised and politically strengthened by Sulla it failed to hold the empire together effectually, and each provincial governor ruled his province only for his own advantage, or for the advantage of the companies of tax-collectors (*publicani*), with whom all Romans of property invested their capital. Thus the administration of the law was unsound and corrupt throughout the empire, for in every province it depended on the caprice of the governor, and the money extorted from the provincials was used at home for corrupt purposes in the courts. The genius of Rome for law as well as for warfare might well seem to have deserted her. Unless the Roman spirit could be revived, the prospect for civilisation was dark indeed. True, Roman literature grew in this melancholy period into greatness; the intense individualism of the age left us at least one valuable legacy in the works of such men as Cicero, Lucretius, and Catullus; sound and able men like Mucius Scævola, and Sulpicius Rufus carried the philosophic treatment of jurisprudence to a height which it had never yet reached in any state. But in the field of action, whether in war or government, we can hardly find a trace of the old Roman spirit.

Reviving the Roman Spirit

Yet this spirit was to be revived, but not in the body politic, which it had once animated. That body politic no longer existed; the Roman city-state had been merged in something new and strange, which we call empire, but to which the Romans themselves were only just beginning to apply that famous word of theirs—*imperium*. The Roman citizen body was scattered all over this empire, and probably the meanest part of it was that which played at politics for money in the capital. The forms of the old constitution were still there, but they were forms without substance. No vital force underlay them; neither magistrates nor senate, and not even the people, understood what the condition of the civilised world called on them to do, or had the will and energy to do it.

If in such an age the Roman spirit was to be revived, this could be done only by the character and genius of some individual having the necessary understanding and the necessary will, the understanding capable of grasping the conditions of the problem which Rome had to face—the defence of the frontiers and the internal organisation of the empire—and the will to carry this work through with infinite patience and perseverance. The actual material for the accomplishment of this great task must now be drawn not only from Rome or even from Italy, but from all the resources of the empire; the army must henceforth be organised on an imperial basis, and the host of workers in the domain of peaceful organisation must be recruited from east and west alike. But the animating spirit of it all was still to be Roman, and if it was to be found anywhere, must be found in an individual Roman of genius and industry.

The Times Call for a Great Man

Such a man was C. Julius Cæsar, a true Roman of one of the oldest patrician families, and, as has been already said, not without some traits of the old Roman character. We may allow that for the greater part of his life, like most of his contemporaries, he was playing for his own hand; but the last fifteen years of it he spent in continual hard work, to which he brought an amount of insight and determination such as had never yet been combined in a Roman statesman. His first work was the creation of an army thoroughly disciplined, ready to go anywhere and do anything, with which he conquered the great province of Gaul, henceforward to become the most valuable of all the Roman possessions, and established a permanent frontier for the empire in the Rhine and the ocean, removing far from Italy all danger of immediate invasion.

Cæsar, the Greatest Roman Statesman

That he found himself compelled to use this army for the overthrow of the old constitution we may regret; but in this he was perhaps more sinned against than sinning. When he had grasped supreme power, he went on indefatigably with the work of internal reform, and all that he had time to achieve before he was struck down by fanatical assassins shows the same keen scientific intelligence that marks the conquest of Gaul as we know it from his own commentaries. His work is indeed only a torso; not only the internal reorganisation of the empire, but the completion of its military frontiers had to be left for others. Yet if we ask who it was that inaugurated the new type of Roman spirit—the spirit of hard work and rational intelligence in matters both military and civil—there is but one answer.

Cæsar woke the Roman world from the lethargy which had so long been paralysing it, and stood out as the visible impersonation of the Roman state and its function in the world at a time when men had almost forgotten that there was a state claiming loyalty, and an empire demanding efficient work. We have a large correspondence surviving from the years in which he was in supreme power; and the impression it leaves on the mind is that the men of that time were fairly amazed at the audacity, energy, and ability of the new master. But there was also resentment, and Cæsar's opportunities were cut short. If we wish to study the new Roman spirit, as it was applied to the necessary work without let or hindrance, we must turn to the long reign of Augustus the nephew and the pupil of Cæsar.

The Augustan Age

When Augustus became undisputed master after the defeat of the self-seeking Antony at Actium the empire was in chaos and confusion, the frontiers undefended, the provinces disorganised, the finance unscientific; and for many years men's minds had been given up to apathy and despair. When he died, forty-five years later, the pax Romana was firmly established, the empire was knit together in every department of government, the frontiers were adequately defended by an admirable standing army, or by the prestige arising from the long successful reign of the ruler, and, what was perhaps even more important at the moment. Augustus had succeeded in creating an almost universal confidence in himself and his government, and in renewing the conviction that it was the mission and the destiny of Rome to defend and to govern the whole civilised world.

This confidence and conviction are fully reflected in the literature of the age, and more especially in the history of Livy and in the Æneid of Virgil. The historian's part was to recall men's minds to the wonderful story of the growth of the Roman dominion, to induce them to look back on the past and be worthy of their great ancestry. The work of the poet was to paint a national hero, endowed with qualities which every Roman would recognise as the finest of his race; to tell the story of that hero's divine mission, to which he faithfully adheres in spite of many dangers and temptations. In a form which all educated men could appreciate, the Æneid showed the Divine Will guiding the Roman state from infancy onwards, and individual passion forced to give way not only to the will of the gods but to the interests of humanity. It pointed to the sense of duty, *pietas*, as the Romans called it, as the virtue which alone had enabled Æneas to fulfil his mission, and which alone could qualify Rome and Augustus to fulfil theirs. In the Æneid the Roman spirit is indeed idealised; but this itself explains why it took such strong and permanent possession of the Roman mind. Augustus himself was no heroic

The Roman Spirit Idealised

character, and the great impression he made on the world can be explained only by the persevering industry and unfailing good judgment which he and his chief helpers devoted to the defence of the frontiers and the organisation of the provinces, thus at once exemplifying and stimulating the true Roman genius for warfare and for law.

Let anyone who would appreciate this industry follow the story of the gradual establishment of the military frontier from the mouth of the Rhine to the Euxine, which, as the map will show him, was a screen effectually covering all Græco-Roman civilisation from Spain to Asia Minor. In this story he will find the old Roman genius for protracted persevering warfare fully illustrated, and in the man who bore the brunt of the work and wore himself out in the prosecution of it—Tiberius, the stepson of Augustus, and afterwards his successor—all the true Roman caution and tenacity of purpose, shown especially at one period of extreme danger, in which he may almost be said to have saved Italy and the empire. Or let him follow the work of Augustus himself and his faithful helpmate Agrippa, who spent year after year in reorganising the provinces both in east and west. This means that every community in the empire, and every individual in each community, was placed in a definite legal status, was secured in respect of his person and his property, and was no longer at the mercy of rapacious tax-collectors or provincial governors. His status (*jus*) might, indeed, be an inferior one; he might not have attained to any part of the Roman citizenship; but the central government now had a long arm, and as his legal position was defined and recognised, redress was to be had if injustice were done him. And in the course of the next two centuries the *jus* of all communities, of all free men, was gradually raised to the same level; the Roman citizenship was extended to the whole empire, and the Roman law—the interference of the state in the interests and passions of humanity—was administered in every court.

Imperial Roman Citizenship

The Roman spirit, in this new phase of its being, can be discerned not only in the civil and military history of the empire, but in the great works of architectural art, bridges, aqueducts, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, of which the huge remains are still to be seen wherever Roman occupation left a lasting mark on the land. They are not the beautiful handiwork of a gifted race, but they seem to tell us of strong will, powerful organisation, love of things large and lasting. They are all on a large scale; size predominates over beauty, and details are wanting in delicacy, and in true relation to the whole; the eye does not rest on them so much in admiration as in wonder. Here is laborious tenacity of purpose, never that inherent love of perfect proportion that inspired the Greek artist.

Americans of the Ancient World

The same tendency is to be seen in the sculptures—in the scenes crowded with soldiers and captives adorning the triumphal arches—and again in the realistic portrait-busts of men who defended the frontiers or governed the provinces. Even in the greatest Roman poets, even in Virgil himself, some trace of the same spirit is visible; here, too, realistic descriptions and crowded scenes may be compared with the inimitable touch of the Homeric story-teller; and the minor poets, Statius or Silius Italicus, are as monotonously lengthy as the Colosseum is monotonously huge. Individual genius is absent or suppressed; the artist works on traditional lines, whether he produces poems, buildings, busts, or even coins, and does not indulge his fancy—because fancy, like adventure, was no part of the Roman mental equipment. Solid practical work, obvious to the eye in the public places of a crowded city, obvious to the mind in all the intercourse of human life—this was what the Roman spirit expected from all her great men, whether soldiers, legislators, or artists, and with this from first to last it was faithfully supplied.

This is not the place to explain the weak points of the Roman empire, or the internal cankers which slowly paralysed its strength. The real value of the empire to mankind lay in the fact that for four centuries it did effectually protect the civilisation which had been developed in the basin of the Mediterranean, and by an elaborate internal organisation raised the whole level of human comfort and confidence. Thus, the chance was given to Christianity to grow, with comparatively few interruptions, into a universal

What Rome Did for Mankind

religion of high and low, rich and poor; and as the invaders also gradually embraced this religion there arose upon the ruins of the Roman dominion the new far-reaching organisation of the Church of Christendom, inheriting not a little of the old Roman spirit, as well as of the prestige of the great system on which it was built. The Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages was rather an idea than a fact of overwhelming importance to mankind; it is in the Latin Church, with its genius for law and organisation, and with its popes and their claim to universal supremacy, that we may see the legitimate heir of the Roman dominion.

W. WARDE FOWLER



THE TRIUMPH OF A CÆSAR IN THE DAYS OF ROME'S GRANDEUR
From the painting by F. W. Topham, R.I., by permission of the Corporation of Leicester.

A PAGEANT OF ANCIENT ROME

AS REPRESENTED IN THE PICTURES
OF ITS GREATEST MODERN PAINTER

SIR LAURENCE ALMA-TADEMA, R.A.



AN AUDIENCE AT AGRIPPA'S

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London.



LIFE IN ANCIENT ROME: "LOVE IN IDLENESS"

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.



"FÊTE INTIME": BEING A BACCHANALIAN DANCE FROM "THE VINTAGE FESTIVAL

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.



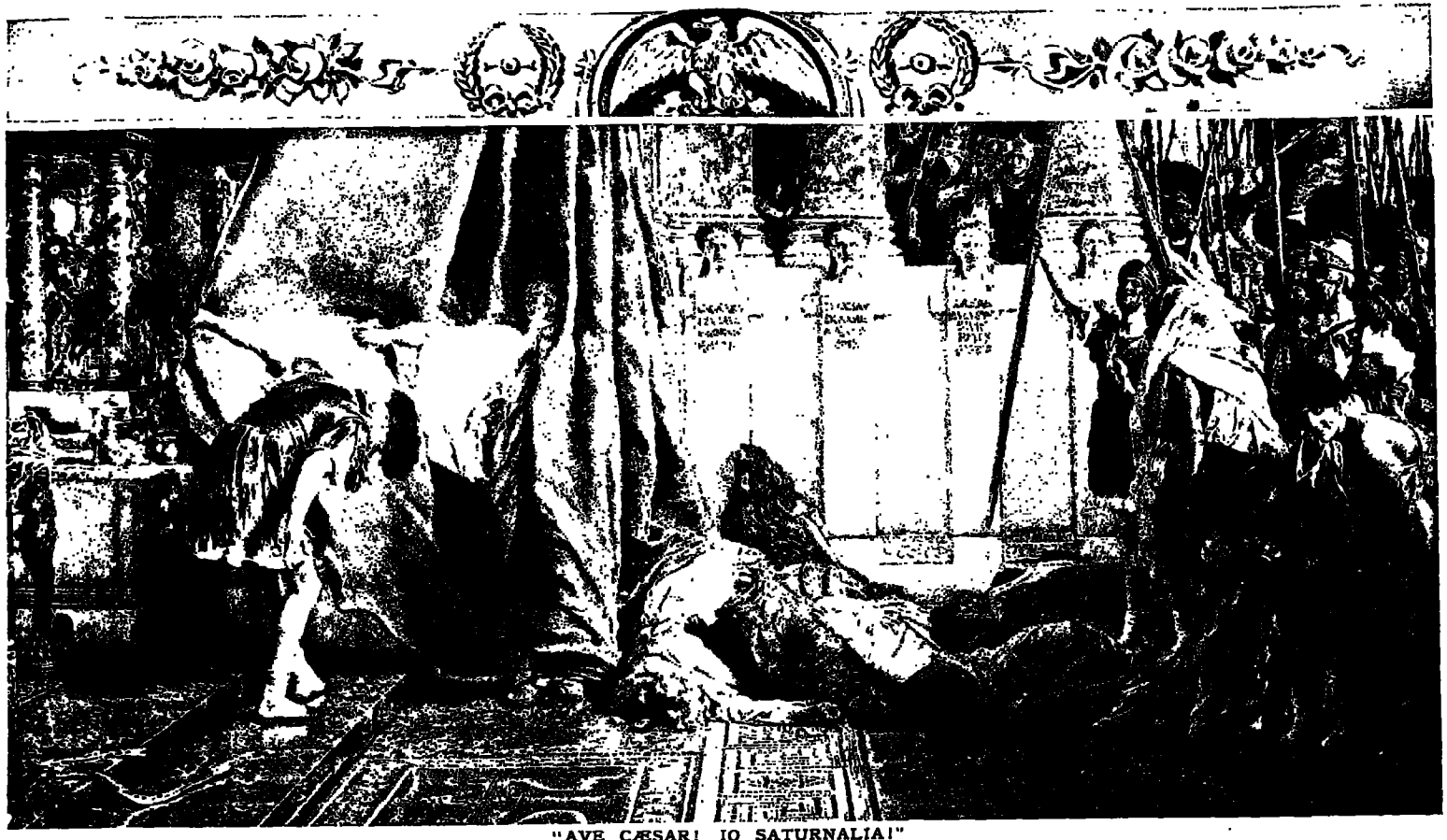
"SPRING": THE ROMAN FESTIVAL OF FLORALIA IN HONOUR OF FLORA

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.



THE COLOSSEUM: THE GREAT AMPHITHEATRE IN TIME OF FÊTE

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.



"AVE CÆSAR! IO SATURNALIA!"

A favourite subject of Sir Laurence Alma-Tadema. The terrified Claudius, hailed by the soldiers as Cæsar with the expectant "Io Saturnalia!" of the populace, half hides behind a curtain, unwilling to come forth as emperor, while the bodies of men and women who have been despatched, like their patron Caligula, lie before the busts of the Cæsars. By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.



"CARACALLA"

The Empéror Caracalla, son of Septimius Severus, and murderer of his brother Geta, was infamous for his cruelties and his inhuman conduct. His imperial pretensions were unbounded, but were unsupported by any kingly quality. He was assassinated in the year 217 A.D., ending a life of unrestrained license at forty-three. By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.



"AT THE SHRINE OF VENUS"

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.



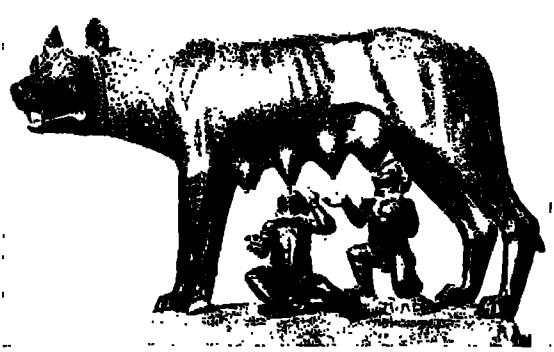
THE STORY OF ANCIENT ROME

ITS RISE TO WORLD-DOMINION AND ITS DECLINE AND FALL

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CITY-STATE

THE pleasing legend told by the Romans concerning the origin of their city has passed into the literature of the world. Art in early times embellished it. The she-wolf with the sucking twins appears on the Roman-Campanian coins of the fourth century B.C. In the year 296 B.C. the government erected a bronze monument representing this group in the "Wolf's Cave," the Lupercal, on the Palatine, where the wolf is said to have suckled the twins. Sacrifices were offered here on February 17th, the festival of the Lupercalia, to Faunus, god of the woods and fields, and to Lupercus as "guardian from wolves." The so-called Capitoline wolf has been partially restored in later times. We know, besides, that in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. a "Lupa" stood near the Lateran. Afterwards the mother-wolf was known as the divinely honoured symbol of the Roman state throughout the world which was ruled from the city on the Tiber. The birthday of Rome was celebrated at the same time as the Palilia, the spring festival of the herdsmen, on April 21st, on which day King Romulus, with herdsmen from Alba Longa, is said to have planned the foundation of the city. The Roman historians afterwards calculated the year of the foundation to be the year 753 B.C., if we may anticipate our own era. The millennial jubilee of the city of Rome was celebrated, therefore, in the year 248 A.D., under the Emperor Philip, the Arabian.

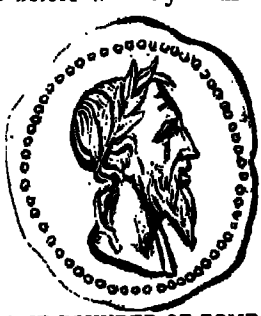
A partially trustworthy tradition begins in the fifth century B.C., when the record of the lists of magistrates—the Fasti Consulares, as the Romans called them—and the publishing of the calendar by the Pontifices, or colleges of priests, come to be supplemented by notices of the most important occurrences of each year, which increase in amount as the town becomes of more consequence. Disasters, such as the taking of Rome by the Gauls, were, naturally, recorded the most fully. The decisive phases of the constitutional struggles also were noted. The earlier period is veiled for us in darkness or semi-darkness,



THE CAPITOLINE SHE-WOLF OF ROME

The legend of the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus, being suckled by a wolf in their infancy has been for ages the subject of many statues in the city. This is reproduced from the most ancient existing group, which has been partially restored in modern times.

notwithstanding the many legends which are to be read on the subject in the Roman historians. Oral traditions, fables, myths, and etymological interpretations are worked up together, from which we must strip away the husks before we can disclose the true kernel. In order that the historical state of affairs may be clear, we must go further back in our narrative. At the period when Phœnicians and Greeks were disputing the supremacy over the islands and coasts of the Sardinian Sea the Etruscans appear as the predominant power in the central and northerly portions of the Apennine peninsula. They frequently took part in those struggles as the allies of the Phœnicians, in order to protect themselves in their own Tyrrhenian Sea against the aggressive Greek seafarers. The ascendancy of the Syracusans was particularly hateful to the maritime towns of the Etruscan country, and they therefore sent some ships to aid the Athenians in their expedition to Sicily in the year 416 B.C. We see from this that the Etrurians preferred the more distant powers to the nearer; that is to say, leaving the Carthaginians out of the question, the Corinthians and Athenians, who were rivals on the coasts of Italy since the fifth century B.C., were preferred to the Syracusans and the Massiliots. Even Cumæ, an ancient colony of the Chalcidians and the Græi (Latinised as Græci) on the Campanian coast, the mother town of Naples, had to keep its maritime communications free from the Etrurian privateers by force of arms, until finally the Etruscans were decisively beaten in a great sea-fight by the allied Cumæans and Syracusans. The Etruscans, at the height of their prosperity—sixth and fifth centuries B.C.—had the upper hand in the neighbouring regions inhabited by the Umbrians, Sabellians, and Latins down to Campania.



THE FOUNDER OF ROME
Romulus, the legendary king who is said to have founded Rome in 753 B.C. From a coin.

Beginnings of Roman History

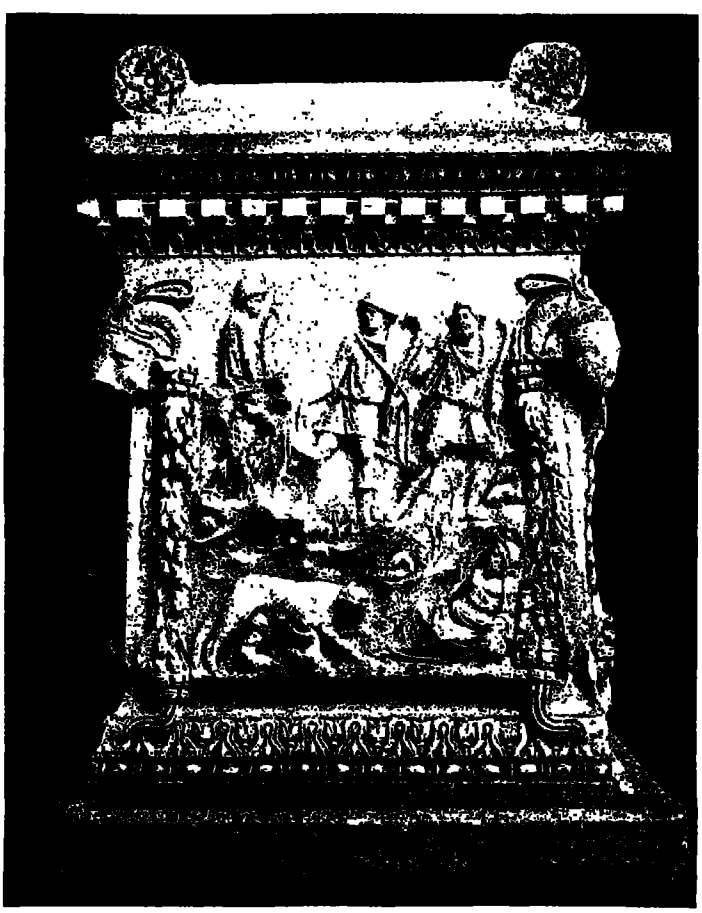
According to tradition, Rome, the frontier town of the Latins, was repeatedly captured by the Etruscans, and, indeed, became a large city under the rule of dynasts of Etruscan descent. In details the Etruscan account varies from the Roman. On the wall paintings which adorned a tomb at Vulci, the present Volci, in Southern Etruria, a place where many Etruscan vases are found, is a representation of the liberation of Caile Vipinas (in Latin, Cæles Vibenna), whom the Romans had taken prisoner, by his friend Macstarna and his companions. During this fight Cneve Tarchu Rumach, that is, Cn. Tarquinius, the Roman, found his death. His troops, it is to be noticed, equally bear Etruscan names. The Roman account, on the other hand, names a Tarquinius the Elder, with the prenomen Lucius, which is derived from Lucumo, the designation of the chief men in the Etruscan towns. It is said that he came from the Etruscan town Tarquinii (near the present Corneto) to Rome, and there became king. Since, however, the name Tarquinius is a well-accredited native Roman name, the whole story seems to owe its existence to the unfortunate etymology of later historians. So much, at any rate, is certain: though the development of the constitution proceeded on native, that is to say, Latin, lines, the relations with the towns of Southern Etruria from the beginning decided in many respects the political position of Rome. In architecture, in art, in religious ceremonial, this influence was only gradually crossed by the Greek power, which spread through the whole Mediterranean. On the other hand, the country "beyond the Tiber" was considered a strange country, into which the hard-hearted creditor sold his debtor. The Greek influences which come to Latium proceed from towns which are hostile to the Etruscans, as Cumæ and Syracuse. Writing, indeed, developed in Latium, as in Etruria, under Greek influence, but independently, a fact which shows that the two countries were for a long time closed to each other. In this uncertain light Rome appears to us at the beginning of her history. The town had sprung up on the lower course of the Tiber, the largest river of Central Italy, which was then navigable for ships far upstream. Besides this, the Via Salaria—that is, the salt road—which touched Rome, led inland from the sea into the country of the cattle-breeding Sabines. This Sabellian stock lived in villages, so that for them Rome

Rome in the Twilight of History

became "the town." The towns of the Latins also, which lay on the terrace at the foot of the Alban Hills, were outstripped in development by Rome. Alba Longa, the acropolis of which has lately, and with some probability, been supposed to be Castel Gandolfo, stretched along the Alban lake. Alba Longa was the chief town of the Latin confederacy, which held its conferences by the Ferentine spring, in the beautiful part of the valley between Albano and Marino. The sacrifices of the league were offered on the Alban Mountain, from which the whole country of Latium could be surveyed down to the sea. The sacred grove of Aricia also, the "Nemus Dianæ," on the Lake of Aricia (now Lago di Nemi), was at all times one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage for the Latin race.

Rome Leads the Latin Confederacy

It is significant that Rome very early acquired the headship of this Latin league, which in the first instance served religious objects. Alba Longa, which appeared as a rival, was destroyed, the confederation of towns was dissolved, and the foremost families were compelled to remove to Rome. In this way the union of the two ruling towns into a single power was effected at that time: Alba Longa, the mother city, was blended into Rome, the daughter. At the same time the commanding positions on the mountain ridge came into the possession of Rome, in consequence of which the Latin national festival was from that date held every spring on the Alban Mount under the presidency of the Roman magistrates. Thirty "cities" were entitled to take part, and their emblem was a sow with a litter of thirty young. After the sacrificial bull had been offered to Jupiter Latiaris, the tribal deity, the flesh of the sacrifice was divided among the rightful members of the league.



THE LEGEND OF THE FOUNDING OF ROME

This ancient sculpture from Ostia, now in the National Museum at Rome, illustrates the legend of the suckling of Romulus and Remus and their coming with their shepherds to plan the foundation of the city, the god of the Tiber being shown below.

While extending her influence towards the mountains, Rome took possession of the most commanding position down-stream—namely, the mouths of the Tiber, where the port of Ostia was constructed and secured against attacks by a permanent garrison. On the other side of the river the Roman territory abutted on the district owned by the Etruscan towns, Cære and Veii. Cære lies near the modern Cerveteri. The town was removed in the Middle Ages on account of its unhealthiness, in consequence of which another Ceri was founded in the neighbourhood. The whole district has been deserted since the close

of the Middle Ages. Rome early established friendly relations with Cære, which maintained one harbour for Greek and another for Phœnician ships. On the other hand, a war broke out with Veii, which was waged partly for the salt meadows at the mouth of the Tiber, partly for the possession of Fidenæ, the tête-du-pont of Etruria to Latium, on the left bank of the Tiber. The citadel of Veii lay near the modern Isola Farnese; Fidenæ was near Villa Spada, four miles from Rome. The Romans interrupted the communication between Veii and Fidenæ by building a



THE SABINE WOMEN INTERVENING BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND THEIR OWN KINSMEN

According to the legend, the Romans needed wives, so Romulus invited his neighbours of the Sabine Hills to a series of games, and at a signal the Roman youths made captives of the Sabine women who had come as visitors. Later on the Sabines attacked Rome, but the women interceded with their kindred, and the two peoples joined hands.

fort on the brook Cremera, which flows into the Tiber opposite Fidenæ, and placed a garrison there. It is recorded that the clan of the Fabii undertook this task, but sustained an almost annihilating defeat.

At the same time the war was constantly renewed until Fidenæ fell, when hostilities were directed against Veii itself. The Roman population received great additions, since other towns had been incorporated, like Alba Longa, into the Roman territory; but, in order that the population might not be crowded there, and that the social crisis, which was threatening in Rome, as in all the agrarian communities of antiquity, might not reach a dangerous point it was necessary to tread the path of conquest and to colonise new tracts with settlements dependent on Rome. Therefore, the tedious siege of Veii was afterwards compared with the Trojan War by the poetical narrators of early Roman history, Nævius and Ennius, who flourished during and after the Second Punic War. This war with Veii was of decisive importance for the development of Rome. In fact, the fall of Veii immediately doubled the power of the Romans. Hardly a town of Italy could now compare with Rome in extent of territory. Added to this, the Latin league, under her headship, showed itself to be far more firmly united than the confederation of the Etruscans, which held its meetings in the sacred grove of Voltumnia. Veii, left to itself, was plundered and destroyed by the Romans, who sallied out in small bodies; the population was put to the sword or sold into slavery, and the territory of the town declared the property of the



MAP OF ITALY, CISALPINE GAUL AND THE ISLANDS IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Roman people. This territory reached as far as the ridge of the Ciminian Forest, north of Sutri (beyond the Ciminian lake, now Lago di Vico, past which the Ciminian road led), and up to the mountain group of Soracte, which can be seen from the hills of Rome. Soracte is the present Monte Sant' Oreste, so called because in the Middle Ages an inscription was misinterpreted and a new saint created in consequence. Here the Romans and their allies some years later planted the settlements, or *coloniæ*, of Sutrium and Nepete, employing a strictly regulated ritual,

since they had first to determine, by observation of the flight of birds and other signs in the sky, whether the gods approved of the founding of the town. Such colonies were termed "Latin" because the same autonomous position was conceded to them as the old Latin towns enjoyed, and because, like them, they remained in their external policy independent of the head community, Rome. Thus the destruction of the one city, Veii, was followed by the founding of two towns, which were, so to speak, scions of Rome, while the remaining portions of territory were left as public land of Rome, and as such could be used by the citizens entitled to do so. Sutrium and Nepete formed afterwards the advanced posts of the

The Early Latin Colonies

the metropolis of the Etrurian league of twelve towns, was compelled to abandon its resistance.

The towns lying to the north soon found themselves obliged to seek support from the Roman-Latin power, since the Gauls, who had established themselves at the cost of the Etruscans and Umbrians on the Po and southward on the Adriatic, were already extending their inroads over the Apennines. Here, some years after the capture of Veii by the Romans, an army of the Senonian Gauls besieged the town of Clusium, the modern Chiusi, whose territory extended in the north as far as Lake Trasimene, where Cortona and Perusia meet. Clusium had formerly taken a leading position in Etruria; and, according to tradition, under its king



THE MOTHER CITY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE: ANCIENT ALBA LONGA

From the Alban Hills south-east of Rome came the people who founded the imperial city. Alba Longa was the chief of the Alban towns, and in this sense the mother city of Rome, with which it became incorporated as Rome rose into power. The present Castel Gandolfo, a general view of which is given, is supposed to be the ancient Alba Longa.

Roman-Latin power in Southern Etruria, which underwent such great political and agrarian changes.

The neighbouring communities of the Capenates at the foot of Soracte, which formed a canton among themselves, and Falerii—which was moved by the Romans westward into the plain, while in the Middle Ages the old site came again into importance as Civita Castellana—where the population was not Etruscan, but more nearly akin to the Latins, recognised the supremacy of Rome. Finally, Volsinii also, near the present Orvieto—Urbs Vetus, because the Romans, in the year 264 B.C., founded a second Volsinii as a colony on the Lake of Bolsena, near which the "old town" still continued—

Porsenna had actually defeated Rome. The Romans, although not directly menaced, sent two envoys in order to collect accurate information as to the state of affairs. As these envoys treated the Gauls as barbarians, with whom the rights of the law of nations might be disregarded, a disaster ensued, which re-echoed throughout the whole of the then predominantly Greek world. Since the older Roman chronology can be only approximately determined, this may have happened about 387 or 386 B.C. Other calculations place it in the year 390. The Gauls marched against Rome without encountering opposition, since the Veientine territory was not yet colonised; the Roman

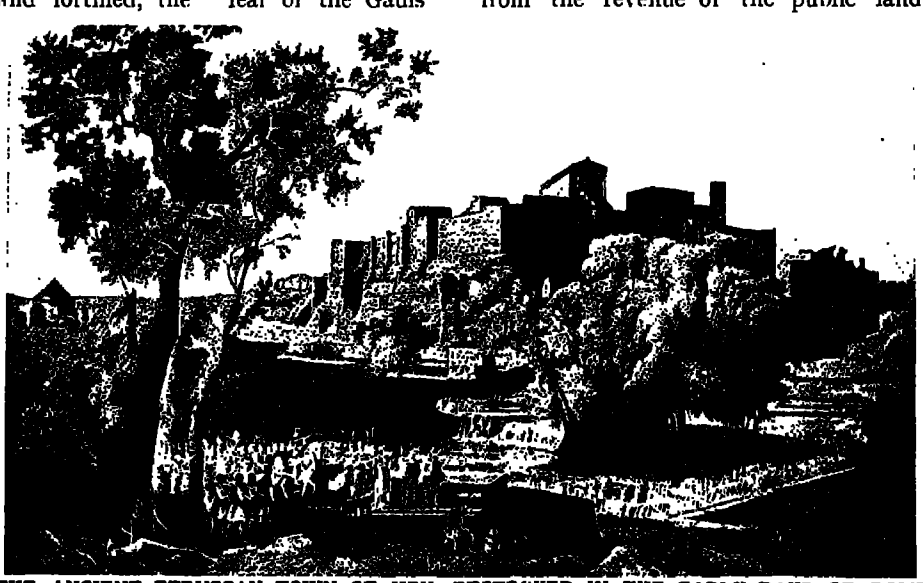
Gauls March on Rome

army was overthrown and scattered at the brook Allia; on the fourth day the town was captured after the inhabitants had taken refuge in the neighbouring places, such as Cære, carrying their sacred objects thither for safety. Only the highest quarter of the city, the Capitol, where the chief temple of Jupiter and the citadel connected with it stood, was successfully defended, and an attempt to scale the height was repulsed. After seven months the Gauls, suffering from disease and also seeing their homes threatened by the Veneti, consented to withdraw on payment of one thousand pounds of gold. The tradition which attributes the delivery of Rome to the victorious arms or Camillus is, beyond question, mythical. Although the losses incurred by the attack were soon repaired, and the city rebuilt and fortified, the "fear of the Gauls" was for centuries impressed on the Romans. The Gauls renewed their invasions periodically. At such times Rome put into the field every available man, not excepting the priests and law officers, who were otherwise exempt, until the danger was past. But these wars had another and wider significance. The Romans acquired in them an experience of the methods of desultory warfare which made them superior to the troops of the Etrurian, Latin, and Italian towns generally. At the same time the fact is emphasised that the Romans could be marshalled in large bodies, that after the siege of Veii they were accustomed to continue the war, if necessary, even in the winter season —"to go out to wage war, not merely to fight battles"—and that the grant of pay to the troops in the field, which was defrayed from the revenue of the public land,



CHIEF GODDESS OF THE ROMANS

Juno was the chief goddess of the Romans, and especially the patron of virtuous womankind. She was called also Matrona, or Romano, and Juno Sospita. Newly elected consuls made solemn sacrifice to her.



THE ANCIENT ETRUSCAN TOWN OF VEII, DESTROYED IN THE EARLY DAYS OF ROME

The ancient civilisation of Etruria, many centuries older than our earliest records of Rome, had its southern posts in the towns of Veii and Fidenæ, a few miles north of Rome on the other side of the Tiber. From Canina's reconstruction.

marked a considerable advance on the otherwise usual custom of a citizen army providing their own supplies.

With the fourth century B.C. the Romans, and not the Etruscans, became the representatives of Central Italy to the outside world, even to the great maritime Powers. Not merely the Greek towns, such as Massilia, but the Carthaginians, now concluded with the Romans, as formerly with the Etruscans, treaties for the protection of commerce, which suffered much from piracy. The allies of both parties were included. But the power of Rome had already expanded in a southern direction.

Rome's Final Triumph Over Etruria

The country of the Latins was bordered on the south-west by the Volsci, on the north-east by the Æqui. The Volsci were settled around Suessa Pometia in the Pomptine or Pontine plain, and in the hill country as far as the Liris and beyond its upper course. The Æqui, whose settlements extended up the Anio and as far as the uplands near the Fucine lake, disturbed the country round Tibur. Mount Algidus also, east of the Alban Mountains, was often the scene of collisions between Latins and Æqui. Occasionally the Æqui and Volsci made common cause. On the other hand, the towns of the Hernici, with Anagnia (now Anagni) as centre, early joined the Latins, who were headed by Rome. These founded along the line of communication from Rome to Anagnia on a slope in a strong position, from which the whole country of the Hernici is visible, the colony of Signia, of which the old walls and gates are still partly standing.

All the places of the Hernici are, like Signia, situated on high ground. The wars of these tribes turned for a long time on the possession of some few positions; sometimes they were mere raids, in which the mountaineers ravaged the plain, which was richer through trade and a more fertile soil. The unrest was fostered by immigrants and political exiles, who sought with the enemy a refuge from their victorious antagonists in the civil dissensions. In this manner Romans found shelter with the Volsci. Since the Romans, however, had obtained such successes in Etruria, and had repulsed the Gauls, their superiority over these small tribes was decisive. The war against the Volsci ended, like that against Veii, in the conquered being deprived of a portion of their territory and its addition to the Roman public domain, the *ager publicus*. Two colonies were also planted—namely, Satricum—in the plain, near the present Conca, where in 1896 the walls of circumvallation of the colony Satricum were discovered—and Setia. Velitræ was also occupied, and Ardea, the town of the Rutuli. Finally, we find Suessa Pometia made into a Latin colony in the middle of the region where, later, when the cultivation of the district was neglected, the Pontine marshes extended.

The Latin League Grows in Power

Of course, reverses occurred; a part of the Volsci rebelled, while others submitted and in return were placed on an equal footing with the Romans as regards rights of commerce and intermarriage. This prepared the way for the assimilation of the Volscian country to Latium, a process to be accomplished only in the course of time, and with variations of place and circumstance. It was an important fact that the seaports of the Volsci, especially Antium, Circeii, Anxur, or Tarracina, and the island group of Pontiæ, belonged henceforth to the Roman dominion. The majority of these places were not organised as autonomous communities, but were administered from Rome as Roman colonies; the burgesses settled there had to perform permanent garrison duty, as at Ostia, and were, consequently, only in exceptional cases employed in the field. Individual towns were treated differently, in order that common sympathies might not be aroused. The same policy was adopted by the Romans with respect to the Latin towns. When these resisted her encroachments Rome declared the Latin league to be dissolved; each town had to enter separately into a new agreement with Rome, which was dictated by the capital, and to some all municipal rights were denied. Thus, for example, Laurentum, the rival of Ostia, forfeited its independence. Its territory was conceded to Lavinium, which lies more inland, near Pratica, in the Roman campagna. In return Lavinium had to take over the traditional religious institutions of Laurentum, also, for the Romans did not wish to fight against the gods. This they had shown before, when Alba Longa was incorporated, for they took measures that the neighbouring Bovillæ should be responsible for carrying out the cult of the

How Rome Governed Her Colonies



HOW ROME WAS SAVED BY THE SACRED GEESE OF JUNO

About the year 390 B.C., when the Gauls attacked Rome and speedily occupied the lower parts of the city, the Capitol Hill remained uncaptured. According to legend it too would have fallen but for the sacred geese kept near the temple of Juno raising the alarm by loud cackling as the Gauls endeavoured to climb up the height under cover of the night.

From a photograph by Braun, Clement & Cie, of the painting by H. P. Motte.

Albans; the same thing occurred at the conquest of Veii, where Juno, the goddess of the town, had been expressly asked whether she, in fact, wished to settle in Rome. The goddess, so the holy legend ran, distinctly nodded assent. Isolated towns of the Latins, as, for example, Tusculum, "the proudest town of all," received favourable terms, which rendered the acquisition of the full Roman citizenship easier for their inhabitants; while to others, as to Tibur and Præneste, their communal independence was guaranteed in appropriate forms.

Extension of Roman Citizenship

In Rome itself the members of the old "families," or *patricii*, were for a long time very haughty towards the new citizens, or *plebs*, created by the destruction of neighbouring towns or by voluntary domicile. The plebeians were not admitted to the ancient Roman cults, the priesthoods or the magistracies, in accordance with the strict ritual of the ancients, by which each town formed a distinct religious association. But the plebeians increased in numbers, came to discharge military duties, created the office of tribune, which was held only by members of their own body, and enforced the promulgation of a legal code, so as to set bounds to the caprice of the magistrates. In these political struggles, which on one occasion led to an actual revolution and made the founding of an "opposition Rome" a possible contingency, the tribunes asserted themselves as the leaders and advocates of the plebs, and their "inviolability" had to be guaranteed by the state on the final restoration of peace. Rome, moreover, since the expulsion of the Tarquins, was a free state, where death was the price of any attempt at tyranny or kingly rule. This was, in fact, the fate of Spurius Cassius, who thrice filled the highest magistracy, and had effected the league with the Hernici; similar cases occurred twice again, for the Roman annals record the execution of M. Manlius and of Spurius Mælius by order of the government as a warning example. From that time it was considered dangerous at Rome to become too popular. Since the offices could now be held only for a year, no danger on this ground threatened the constitution.

When Rome Abhorred a Tyrant

On the other hand, the plebeians demanded to be admitted to the magisterial dignities and to the priesthoods, a claim which the patricians resisted as long as possible. For a considerable time, as in the years when Veii was besieged and conquered, military tribunes, to whom magisterial powers were given, governed the republic; the plebeians in this way first attained to the highest offices. But since the retention of the patrician privileges was not favourable to the general condition of the community, the admission of the plebeians to the consulship was finally granted in 367 B.C., while their admission to the ancient traditional priestly colleges of "pontifices" and "augures" did not follow for many decades. Some priestly posts, from consideration for the gods, to whom any deviation from traditional custom must be displeasing, remained even later in the exclusive possession of the patricians. These priesthoods were preserved as an honourable legacy of antiquity up to the time of the emperors, until, finally, there was no one left worthy to fill them.

In opposition to this conservative spirit of the old citizens, the practical requirements of the people were met by the Greek cults, which had been introduced into Latium and into Etruria at a very early period. At times of great crisis, particularly when pestilence or famine threatened, the oracular books, which had come to Rome from Cumæ, were officially referred to and consulted by the plebeian keepers of the oracles; and the usual result was the introduction of a new foreign cult, by which the inherent religious feeling of the country was satisfied.

Rome Looks to Greece for Religion

The supreme official power was exercised by two equally powerful magistrates, who were judges, as well as generals, and to whom, in fine, the term "consules" was appropriated. The year was dated after the two consuls. As the state expanded, separate functions were detached and entrusted to independent functionaries: to the prætors, the maintenance of justice; to the censors, the new assessment to be made every five years; to the ædiles, the police authority; to the quæstors, the financial business. When critical times demanded the concentration of the command in a single hand, one of the consuls, at the request of the senate, had to nominate a dictator, or "commander," who himself chose his subordinate colleague, the master of the horse (*magister equitum*). Both could hold office only for six months.



AN EARLY ROMAN IDEAL OF PATRIOTIC DEVOTION

Decius Mus was a celebrated Roman consul, who, in the year 338 B.C., when Rome was engaged in bringing all the Latin cities within her power, dedicated himself solemnly to the gods manes, or spirits of the dead, before going to battle, an example frequently followed in later years. From one of a series of paintings by Rubens, now at Vienna.

All these offices were developments of the municipal magistracy prevailing among the Latins.

By the side of the officials stood the senate and the popular assembly, the former for deliberation, the latter for the final decision of mere municipal business as well as state affairs. The magistrates had to lay motions before the senate. According to the order of business, the report on religious matters, which the municipal officers on entering office had to furnish to the communal council within ten days, had precedence of all others.

Here also great attention was paid to omens and to popular superstition generally; monstrous births, thunderclaps, wolves roaming over the Capitol, were appropriately expiated according to the advice of the pontifices. Special haruspices, or augurs, were appointed by the state for the inspection of entrails, according to the custom of the Etruscans, and augury from the flight of birds was practised by the magistrates themselves. The sacred geese of Juno on the Capitol, like the sacred fowls, which, by their manner of eating, foretold the issue of an enterprise, play a part in the traditional history of ancient Rome. Since the popular assembly did not meet very often, only the most important matters could be decided by it; for the ordinary transaction of business the decision lay entirely with the senate. The multitude was content with the government if salt was cheap, the "tributum" not assessed too high, and the forced labour imposed by the community, as, for instance, the rebuilding of the town walls, did not weigh too heavily on them, and, finally, if there was from time to time a distribution of conquered territory. Thus the Roman state continually gained ground.

The Apennine peninsula, which did not yet possess a collective name—the name "Italy" was only given to it in the second century B.C.—was now the scene of remarkable movements among the nations. Races which did not develop any fresh powers of expansion, as the Etruscans and the Umbrians, were crowded together within

narrow limits. The Sabellian stocks, on the other hand, which had their ancient settlements in the central mountain districts round the Gran Sasso and the Majella group, proclaimed, so often as they were threatened with over-population, a "sacred spring"; everything that was born of man or beast within a certain period was destined to be sent beyond their boundaries and to be, as it were, offered up to the gods. About the time that Romans were fighting with Veientines, Gauls, and Volsci, such bands of Sabellians occupied Campania, Apulia, and Lucania, making friendly terms with the natives, and waged war on the Greek towns. Cumæ and its daughter town, Neapolis, suffered especially in this way; but even in Magna Græcia proper many less populous Greek colonies were unable to withstand the attack. They were forced to capitulate and to give the immigrants a share in their territory; and since these were reinforced by fresh bands, while the Greek numbers diminished, an ethnical displacement resulted, of which the end could not be foreseen.

The Nations in Time of Change

Only towns like Tarentum, Croton, Thurii, Locri, Rhegium, could maintain their position. Tarentum being a not unimportant maritime power. The supremacy of the Sabellian immigrants was never, indeed, firmly established, chiefly because they were scattered over too wide areas, and often seized a more remote position before an important and nearer one was completely occupied: in contrast to Rome, they worked without a definite plan. In any case, the movement convulsed the whole southern portion of the peninsula, and those towns or districts which opposed the Sabellians looked round for aid in their resistance. This was the case of Cumæ and Neapolis in Campania, and Teanum also, the town of the Sidicini, which competed with Capua. Capua was, indeed, settled by Sabellians, but wished to develop independently. The opportune help was offered by Rome, since her sphere of power after the incorporation of the Volscian country extended to the Liris, and thence, through the territory of the Aurunci, came into touch with Campania. For some time the Samnites and Romans avoided all collision, and rather tried to mark out their spheres of interest, so that the Romans had a free hand against the Latins, Volsci, and Aurunci. But finally a treaty was made between Rome and Teanum; and, what was more important, Capua was forced to form the closest kind of alliance with Rome in 338 B.C. Capua was put on an absolutely equal footing with Rome as regards trade and commerce and even marriage rights, points which were usually treated by the ancients as exclusive privileges. In other respects Capua was left to the Capuans, who retained their own magistrates and Oscan as their language, since Capua was politically Roman in obligations, but not in rights.

Roman Power Reaching Southward

In particular, the Capuans had no right of voting at Rome; but they termed themselves "Romans," and the identity of the Roman-Campanian state was emphasised on the coinage, since the Capuans placed on their coins, which they still struck according to the customary Phocæan standard, the mother-wolf with the twins. The same thing was noticeable in their military system, for the Campanians formed their soldiers into legions, after the Roman style, not into smaller divisions, the so-called cohorts, as was customary in the more insignificant towns. Thus the Roman power was increased a second time, for that Rome was the leading party is clear from the above-mentioned circumstances, and is also expressed in a divergent tradition of the legendary founding of Rome, according to which Romus, a son of Æneas, is said to have founded both Rome and Capua. In this way the Roman power was established over the lower portion of Central Italy. Nine other places of Campania, Cumæ among the number, were, like Capua, given the right of citizenship without the right of voting, while a part of the district north of the Volturnus was embodied into the Roman public domain, or *ager publicus*, and two colonies were afterwards founded on it—namely, Minturnæ and Sinuessa, in the old country of the Aurunci.

More Land for the Mother-wolf

But soon the might of the Samnites was seen to be opposed to this power. On the upper Liris, in Fregellæ, in former Volscian territory, a Latin colony had been founded; and, secondly, the Romans forced a Samnite garrison, which had been imposed on Naples, to withdraw. On these grounds war was declared, for the Samnites did not choose to be cut

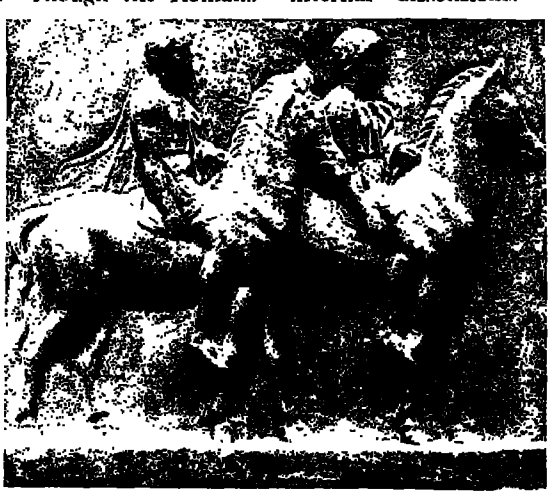


THE FATHER OF THE REPUBLIC WITNESSING THE EXECUTION OF HIS OWN SONS, WHOM HE CONDEMNED FOR TREASON

L. Junius Brutus, a connection of the Tarquin family, vowed as a young man to avenge the crimes of Tarquin the Proud upon his relatives, and it was due to him that the Romans finally banished the Tarquins and set up the republic. His own sons conspired to restore the Tarquins, and were tried and condemned before Brutus himself, who also attended their execution.

off from access to the sea or from their communications with the country round the source of the Liris. When the Romans took the aggressive and tried to force their way through the defiles of Caudium to Apulia, which had fallen to the Samnites, they suffered a severe defeat.

The Roman army was surrounded by the Samnites in the mountains of Caudium and "sent under the yoke," a sentence which was considered a great degradation. The consuls and the officers were forced to guarantee that the places in dispute would be evacuated by the Romans and that peace should be maintained. Nevertheless, the war was continued by the Romans, and lasted over twenty-two years. Though the Romans were not a match for the Samnites in the hills, they were superior to them on the plain. The Appian Way was then built by the censor Appius Claudius — from whom it derived its name — from Rome to Capua, the passage through the country of the Hirpini was permanently secured, and, to keep Apulia in check, the colony of Luceria was founded in 314 B.C. This became a populous Latin centre, possessing an ample territory. It lay in the plain, extending to the foot of the Samnite Mountains, with which it was most closely connected economically, since the mountain pastures in summer and the lowland meadows in the winter are, up to the present day, the alternate homes of the cattle-breeding industry.



THE TWIN GODS CASTOR AND POLLUX

The sons of Leda and Jupiter, the heroic twins were favourite gods of the Romans, and being supposed to have helped the Romans in the great battle at Lake Regillus against the Etrurians, who sought to restore the Tarquins, a temple was reared in their honour in the Forum.

The founding of Luceria was, therefore, a great event in the history of Italy, for by it the Samnite supremacy in those parts was checked and the Roman established in its place; and it is not strange that the war between Romans and Samnites centred for years round this town. The Romans, however, held it, and planted in 291 B.C. a second colony, Venusia. In order to secure once for all the connection of Campania with that part, the colony of Beneventum was afterwards founded in the country of the Hirpini in 268 B.C., while the Appian Way was extended as far as the Ionian Sea.

The Romans had already come into touch with Tarentum, which jealously guarded its sea route, with the other Greek towns, which rejoiced that Rome had humiliated the hated Sabellians, and, finally, with Syracuse. The latter, under the rule of the tyrants Dionysius and Agathocles, extended her power in the Adriatic, on the Campanian coast, in the Ægean Sea, and at the expense of Carthage, but was hindered from further advance by internal dissensions. With the pirate state on the Lipari Islands, which Greek settlers from Rhodes and Cnidus had founded, the Romans first came into contact when, after the conquest of Veii, they sent ambassadors to the oracle at Delphi. There was an old friendship with Massilia. With Rhodes the Romans concluded a commercial treaty in the year 306 B.C.; and it is also reported of the Antiates that they had extended their voyages as far as Asia Minor.

The nations conquered by the Romans resisted repeatedly the planting of colonies in their territory. The Etruscans and Umbrians actually called in their hereditary foe, the Gauls, to their help. The Samnites also joined the coalition. This gave the Romans a pretext to subdue the Etruscan towns and to bring the southern coast directly into their power by planting colonies, while Cære remained in possession of the Roman citizenship without right of voting. The Romans also won the pass over the Umbrian Apennines in a battle with the allies, after which they attacked the Gauls in their



A FRUGAL AND INCORRUPTIBLE HERO OF ANCIENT ROME

Curius Dentatus was three times consul, and had twice the honour of a triumph. To him was due the decisive victory over the Samnites. He was famed for his fortitude and frugality. It is said that Samnite ambassadors, finding him cooking some vegetables in an earthen pot, sought to bribe him to their side with offers of rich presents, which he firmly refused, saying that he wished to command those who lived in plenty while he himself continued in poverty.

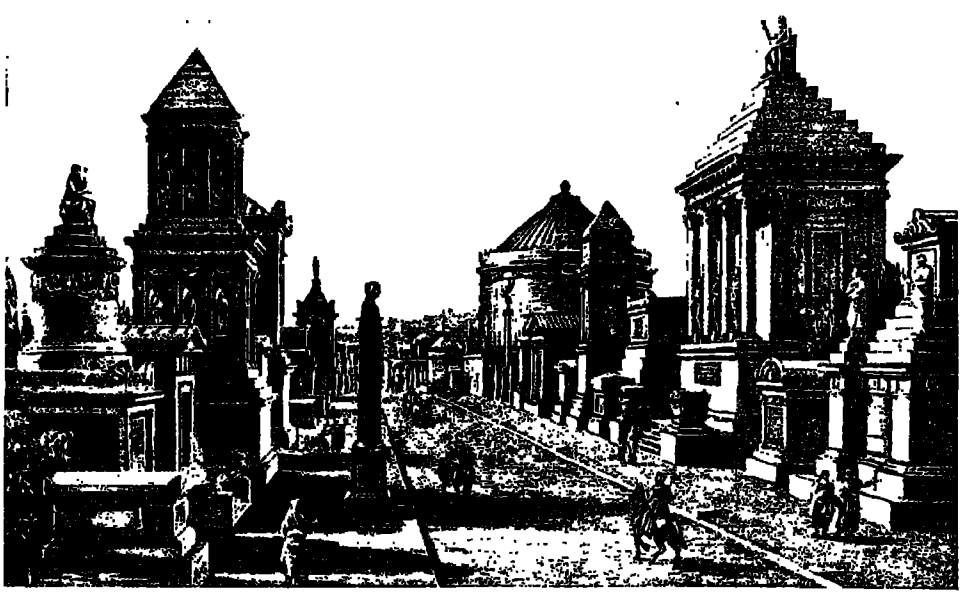
own homes on the Adriatic Sea. Part of their territory was taken from them, and the colony of Sena Gallica—now Sinigaglia—was endowed with it in 283 B.C.

The Romans established a firm footing also on the coast of Picenum. The Tarentines, discontented that "their sea" was no longer respected, and yet unable to check the encroachments of the Romans, called in the help of King Pyrrhus from Epirus. Pyrrhus appeared with a well-trained army in Lower Italy, where, as a champion not merely of the Tarentines, but also of the Samnites, who would gladly have seen Luceria and Venusia destroyed, he marched against Rome. By his skilful manœuvres he repeatedly gained the victory over the armies of the Romans, who for the first time faced the Macedonian phalanx and the war elephants of the East. But he could not prevail against the strong circle of colonies founded to secure Roman supremacy.

Besides this, Pyrrhus did not make directly for his goal. He allowed himself to be won over by the Syracusans, who called in his help against the Carthaginians, and the only result was that Carthage and Rome made common cause against him. The victorious advance of the king on Sicily was of short duration; when he returned to Italy he was defeated at Beneventum by the Romans, while Tarentum was threatened by the Carthaginians. Pyrrhus returned to Greece, for at that time there was a prospect of winning the throne of Macedonia; but not without having left behind a garrison in Tarentum in the expectation of returning to Italy. When the king soon afterwards was killed, the Tarentines had to join the Romans.

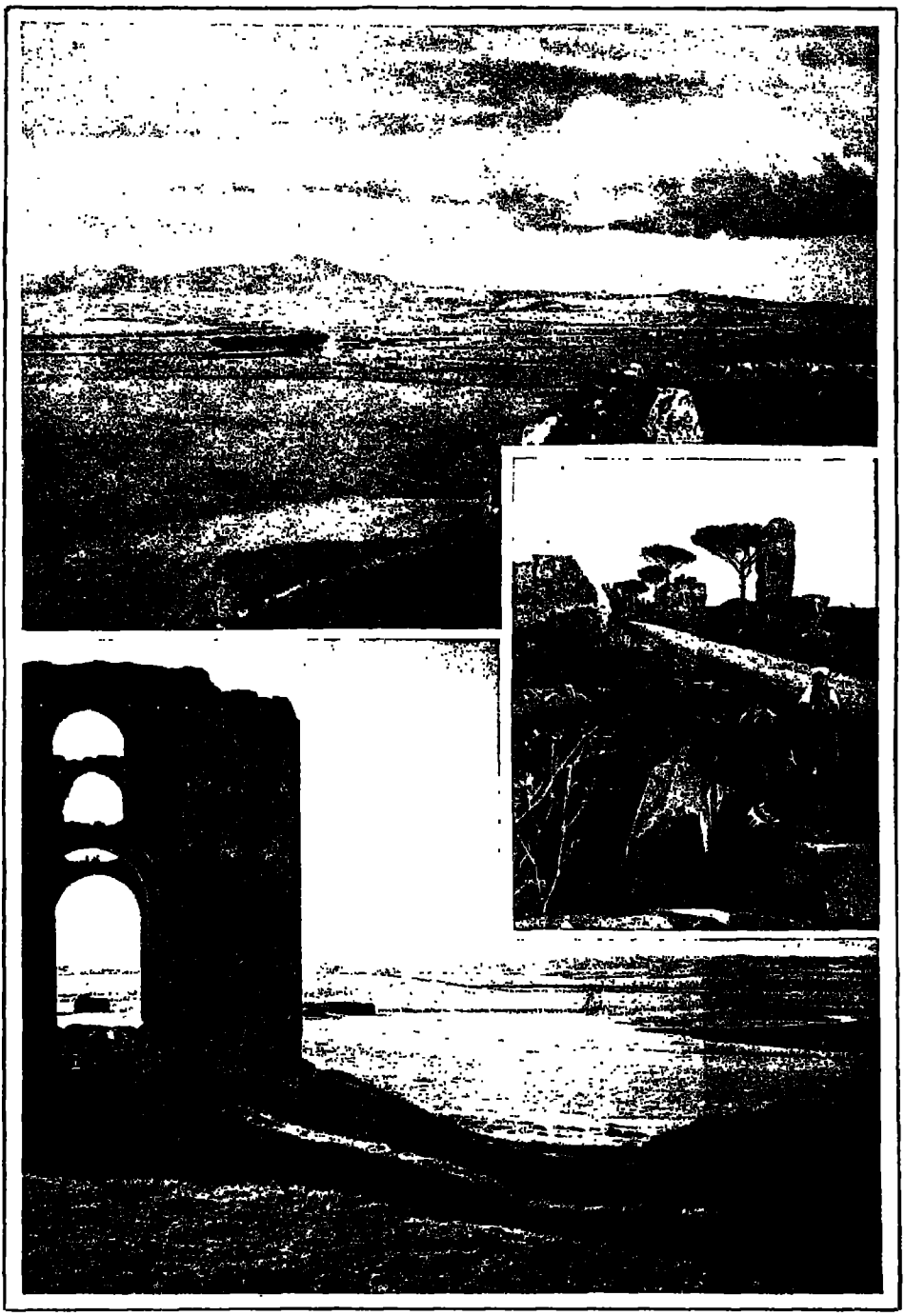
On the other side a colony, Æsernia, was planted right among the Samnite Mountains, situated so that it commanded the communications between the valley of the Volturnus and that of the Sangrus. In consequence, the newly founded town attracted all the traffic of the interior, since the upland villages of the Samnites were inadequate to meet the requirements of the improved conditions of trade.

The land of the Æqui also, which, since the successes against the Samnites, could be attacked from the side of the Liris, had been taken by force of arms. The Latins now wreaked vengeance on their hereditary enemies. Fully two-thirds of their territory was taken from the Æqui and employed for the establishment of two unusually strong colonies, Carsioli and Alba (on the Fucine lake). Where now the railroad mounts from the valley of the Anio to the uplands, between



THE APPIAN WAY AS IT APPEARED AT THE HEIGHT OF ROME'S PROSPERITY

Originally built about 310 B.C. by Appius Claudius, this great highway, paved with lava blocks, ran from Rome to Capua, and was later extended to Brindisi. Within some nine miles of its length from Rome it was lined with splendid mansions and imposing tombs of noted and wealthy Romans. On the opposite page it is shown in its existing ruin.



CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF ROME

Rome occupies a slightly elevated position in the midst of a plain with hills in view to the north, east, and south. The Alban Hills, whence came the pastoral peoples who founded Rome, are seen across the Campagna in the first view, while the lower picture gives a distant view of Rome across the Campagna. Inset is a scene on the Appian Way as it is to-day. Now infected with malaria, the Campagna was in ancient times very populous, and it is suggested that the destroying of the enormous aqueducts which extended over its entire length turned the plain into a swamp.

Photos by Anderson and Underwood & Underwood.

the modern Arsoli and Carsoli, near Piano del Cavaliere, lay the municipal centre of the territory of Carsioli, between the forty-second and forty-third milestones on the road leading from Rome. Carsioli and Alba were the Roman guard in the heart of Italy, half-way between the western and the eastern seas. The Valerian Way was the line of communication between Rome and the new Alba, which had been made one of the most important fortresses in Italy. Three hill-tops, on the most north-easterly of which, 3,200 feet above the sea, lies the modern Alba, were connected by a strong wall in the polygonal style, and each of them was separately fortified as a castle. Only a third of the territory, which extended to the frontier of the Sabines, was left to the Æqui, or, as they were so called, the Æquiculani; that is the district now called Cicolano on the River Salto, the Himella of antiquity, which in its upper course, in the territory of Alba, still bears the name of Imele. The Sabellian tribes lying more to the east, the Marsi, Peligni, Marrucini, and Vestini, who had not taken part in the resistance of the Samnites, and, besides, were not in the immediate sphere of the power of Rome, formed an alliance with Rome on favourable conditions. The Sabine country also lost its independence, and was deprived of some territory; but the Roman settlers soon amalgamated with the natives, with whom they had had intercourse from early times.

Great Fortresses in the Making



A LEGENDARY KING OF ROME
The long, peaceful, and enlightened reign of Numa Pompilius, the Sabine philosopher, belongs to the realm of legend.

In the course of the third century B.C. the Sabines were admitted to the full Roman citizenship, and were assigned to a particular division, with powers of administration and the right of voting, called the Tribus Quirina. Cures, the capital, though still in the Sabine country, took a privileged position, since it was allotted to the Tribus Sergia. From that time there grew up, side by side with the legends of the founders of Rome, the twin brothers Romulus and Remus, whose legal successors were the two consuls, the story of the Sabine kings, Titus Tatius and Numa Pompilius, such as we have it presented to us now in the historians of the Augustan Age. In Umbria the road which led on the one hand over the Apennines to Picenum, on the other to Perusia and Etruria, was guarded by Rome through the planting of the colonies Narnia and Spoletium. Rome itself, which had been surrounded with new walls since the Gallic disaster, could be reckoned an almost impregnable fortress. These are the walls mentioned in history as those of Servius Tullius, parts of which are still standing.

Thus a few decades after the death of Alexander the Great of Macedon a power was founded which, as the head of a confederation, could throw the weight of almost the whole Apennine peninsula into the scale. The foreign policy and the supreme command in war belonged exclusively to Rome; the contingent which the allies had to furnish and the duties of each separate colony were fixed as a matter of course. It was estimated that the league could furnish in time of need over 700,000 foot-soldiers and 70,000 horse. The places where the troops had to meet were once for all settled. Thus, for operations against the Kelts in the north the rendezvous were Arretium in Etruria, and Ariminum, a colony founded in the year 268 B.C., on the Adriatic coast. Both points were connected with Rome by national roads. These roads, with Rome as their point of departure, exercised a consolidating effect, while the former communications had rather served the needs of separate districts or towns. The Via Appia led southward to Brundisium, which had been secured by a colony in the year 244 B.C. The small navies of the Greek towns, together with the Etruscan, Volscian, and Latin ships, formed the beginnings of a maritime power, which was first to test its strength and grow powerful in opposition to neighbouring Sicily, which enjoyed a large commerce.

Importance of the Roman Roads

The real centre of the power lay in the Roman citizen class, which was divided into thirty-five departments, the so-called



THE MAKER OF THE APPIAN WAY AND HIS HISTORIC APPEAL TO THE HONOUR OF ROME

Appius Claudius Caecus, the senator whose oratory had raised him to a leading position in the state, and who built the first important aqueducts as well as the Appian Way, when old and feeble caused himself to be carried to the senate to appeal against the proposed peace with Pyrrhus, which, he urged, would be dishonourable to Rome. His appeal succeeded.

From the fresco by Maccari in the Senate House at Rome.

tribes, four urban and thirty-one rural. These tribes were made the basis both for voting and for levies, and thus became more and more important. Within the tribe the individual citizen was assessed according to his property, so that the man who was in a position to bear the larger burdens of the community enjoyed also the privilege of voting. Those without property were excluded on principle; but the social grievances were at all times successfully surmounted, since the newly-conquered territory was always redistributed among indigent citizens or the privileged classes of allies. The commonwealth was thus victoriously advancing, and the citizen body increased to an extent that roused the astonishment of the outside world. At the same time it was prepared to adopt vigorous action concerning every new question that arose.

Extraordinary Increase of Citizens

In the north the Roman sphere of power bordered on the Gauls. In the islands the Carthaginians tried to make themselves more exclusively supreme, as regards both the Syracusans and also any interference from Italy. Economic conditions, originally very simple, had been somewhat more developed under Greek influence since the settlement in Campania. The oldest standard of value in Latium, as among all pastoral peoples, seems to have been cattle, which is shown by the name "pecunia" (from *pecus*, cattle) for "money"; ten sheep were equivalent to one ox.

Besides this, precious metals were weighed out, and copper also, which served as the ordinary medium of exchange. The next step was to mark the bars of copper officially—for instance, with the figure of an ox. The later ones have the inscription *Romanom*—that is, Romanorum; over it is seen a pegasus, on the reverse a flying eagle with a thunderbolt in its claws. From this was developed the oldest Roman coin, the *as*, on the obverse a head of Janus, on the reverse the bows of a ship, the arms of Rome, all well executed, but massive. Rome appears to have been in advance of the other Italians.

Economic Advance of Rome



REMAINS OF THE SERVIAN WALL OF ROME, NEARLY 2,500 YEARS OLD

Parts still remain, such as this near the railway-station, of the walls of Rome built by the sixth king, Servius Tullius, who surrounded the city with new walls after the Gallic disaster, making it an almost impregnable fortress.



THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE

THE GIANT NATIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD AND THEIR FIGHT FOR MASTERY

BEING THE STORY OF THE PUNIC WARS

WITH the entrance of Rome into general commerce begins the struggle which in its consequences determined the course of history in our part of the civilised world. It was a contest between the foremost power in Africa—in the ancient and narrower sense of the word—formerly the ally of the Etruscans, and the new leading power in Italy. Often in later times these waters have been the theatre of conflicts and struggles for empire.

It was in the beginning a struggle for Sicily. Besides the Carthaginian power, which had its strongholds in Lilybæum, in Drepana, and in Panormus, and Syracuse, which ruled the south-easterly part of the island, Campanian mercenaries had seized the power in Messana, through a revolution, and set up a state there, in which Oscan was the official language.

How the Punic Wars Began

These so-called Mamertines found themselves forced to call in the help of their Italian kinsmen and even of the Romans if they did not wish to be overpowered by the Syracusans and Carthaginians. Only after considerable hesitation, and after the Carthaginians had already entered Messana, did the Romans determine to cross the straits. After this the Carthaginian garrison, by cunning, force, and negotiations, was made to withdraw in 264 B.C.

The Romans remained in Messana, much against the will of the Carthaginians and the Syracusans, who did not, however, long remain united. In the end Syracuse itself went over to the Romans, in order to win support against the selfishness of Carthage. During their united action Agrigentum, a Greek town, but allied with Carthage against Syracuse, was taken. The Carthaginians retained only the places on the western coast, especially Lilybæum, to which at the same time assistance could be sent from Caralis. On the other hand, the Romans renewed the attempt which Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, had made fifty years before to transfer the theatre of war to Africa.

But a fleet that should be able to face the Carthaginians had first to be built and organised by the Romans; and even then they were no match for their antagonists until they placed soldiers on board the ships and, by the employment of boarding-bridges, transferred to naval warfare the manœuvres of the land army. Thus in the year 260 B.C. the consul, M. Duilius, succeeded in defeating the Carthaginians at Mylæ, on the northern coast of Sicily, and in annihilating half of their fleet.

Rome's New Sea Power

Encouraged in their projects, doubtless, by this success, the consuls of the year 256 B.C. landed an army in Africa, in order to compel Carthage to submit. As the war dragged on, the senate ordered part of the troops to return to Italy, while one of the consuls, M. Atilius Regulus, encamped with the other part near Tunis, and from that point blockaded Carthage. But after the Carthaginians had succeeded in enlisting mercenaries, the Numidian cavalry had hurried to their assistance, and the Greek tactician Xantippus had properly drilled the troops, Regulus sustained a complete defeat in 255 B.C., and only a small portion of his army saw Italy again. The war was again restricted to Sicily, Corsica having been previously occupied by the Romans. On the whole, the Roman admirals proved themselves incompetent. In particular, they failed to take Sardinia. The southern coast of Sicily, which has no good harbour, and is excessively exposed to the tempestuous south wind, proved repeatedly disastrous to the naval operations. Even at the

Failure of the Roman Admirals

present day ships sail from Cagliari, the old Caralis, or from Marsala, the old Lilybæum, directly to Tunis, in the vicinity of which ancient Carthage stood; but not from Syracuse or Agrigentum. In Western Sicily the Carthaginians held the strongest positions on land also—Lilybæum, Drepana, and Mount Eryx, which commands the country eastward of Drepana, and was renowned for its temple of Venus. Mount Ericte, above Panormus (now Monte Pellegrino), was occupied by Hamilcar Barca, the boldest of the Carthaginian generals, and made the starting-point of his raiding expeditions.

Hamilcar's Army in Sicily

Both powers were weakened by a struggle which lasted twenty-three years, and was waged sometimes without spirit, sometimes with renewed energy. In Rome, which was the aggressive party, there were conflicting views. At the outset the senate, as well as the popular assembly, had supported the operations in Sicily, but their zeal cooled. The Italian peasantry saw that they would win nothing; that only the wealthy traders would gain by the continuance of the war, especially since the state of war stimulated profitable privateering. The great political aim, the liberation of the coasts and islands of Italy from the foreign dominion, seemed no longer attractive to the people. It was sufficient that Corsica was held, and that Syracuse was a strong ally of Rome in Sicily.

The decisive turn in events was given by the wealthy private individuals in Rome who directed the policy of the state, when they adopted the resolution of equipping a fleet at their own cost, and of once more trying whether permanent success could not be attained in Sicily. The attempt was successful. The Carthaginian fleet, which, heavily laden with reinforcements and provisions, was steering towards the harbour of Drepana, was attacked, defeated, and annihilated off the Ægatian Islands.

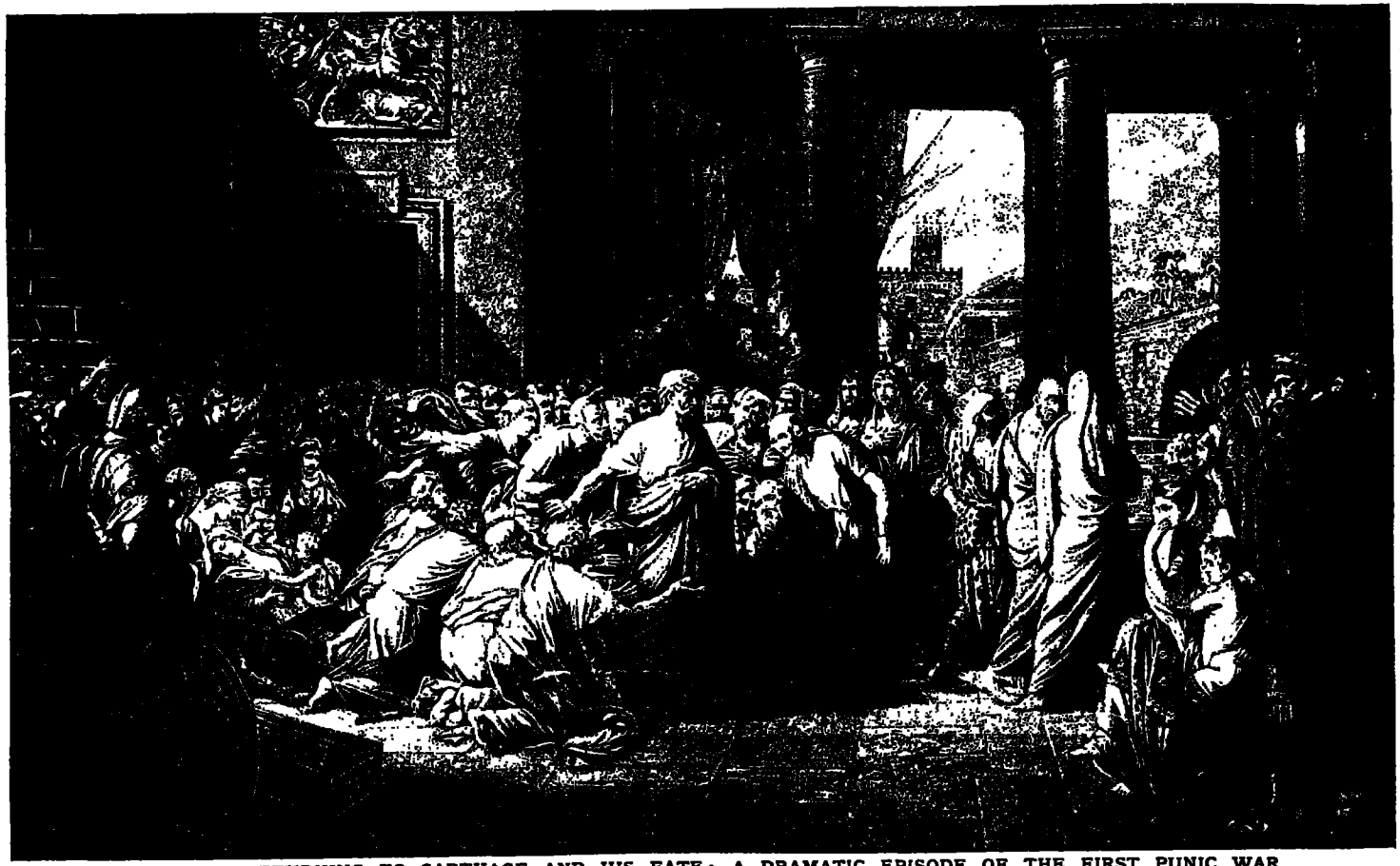


ATILIUS REGULUS
One of the most eminent of the Roman commanders engaged in the First Punic War.

The moral effect was still greater than the material loss. The Carthaginians were at the end of their pecuniary resources as much as the Romans were; but, while the latter were waging war with their own forces, the Carthaginians had their mercenaries to pay, which were collected from Libya, Greece, Gaul, Liguria, and even from among the Campanians. Now, after this disaster, these soldiers, who had long been put off with promises, could no longer be restrained.

They refused to obey orders in Sicily, and soon after in Sardinia and in Africa. The Carthaginian generals, who, with the exception of Hamilcar, had lost the confidence of their troops, adopted preposterous measures. Rome had offered peace on condition that Sicily was evacuated; Hamilcar, who conducted the negotiations, laid great stress on the importance of keeping Caralis for Carthage, and had given up Lilybæum and Drepana in exchange. In the meantime, the mercenaries were led over to Africa, although no means were forthcoming to satisfy their demands, and no plans had been formed for keeping the mutinous masses in check. The Carthaginian government had completely lost its head; incompetent aristocrats got themselves appointed as colleagues of Hamilcar, with equal powers, until he suddenly withdrew. The soldiers then mutinied, and masses of them chose leaders of their own, Campanians, Gauls, or Libyans, with the immediate object of obtaining their pay. But the movement might well have gone further, and Carthage have shared the fate of Messana, where the Mamertines had massacred the males, and taken the women for their wives. Even Syracuse had once been saved from its mercenaries only through the energetic measures of Hiero, a service which gained him the crown of the Sicilian kingdom. In the same manner Carthage was now saved, after years of desperate efforts, by Hamilcar Barca, to whom the terrified citizens entrusted the supreme command with unlimited powers. He brought about a thorough reorganisation of the whole political system. Hamilcar took over the command of the army and the direction of foreign affairs. The aristocratic party, which had shown itself as incapable in carrying on the war as in checking the mutiny, was completely crippled for the future, while Hamilcar handed down his

The Carthage Mercenaries in Revolt



REGULUS RETURNING TO CARTHAGE AND HIS FATE: A DRAMATIC EPISODE OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

The consul, Atilius Regulus, achieved immense success in the campaign against Carthage, but refused to grant peace. He was soon after defeated and taken captive to Carthage, whence he was sent to Rome to propose an exchange of prisoners and a peace arrangement; but in the event of failing, to return to Carthage. He dissuaded his countrymen from accepting the conditions he was sent to offer, and returned, in accordance with his oath, to Carthage, where he was tortured horribly before he died.



SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY THAT SAVED ITALY FROM HANNIBAL

A fine sculpture in high relief from the base of the Antonine Column, representing soldiers of the victorious Roman army, which, as Tacitus said, went out not to battle but to war. It is one of the least damaged reliefs of its kind in Rome.

post of general of the state first to his son-in-law, and then to his son. Their policy was directed towards an aggressive war against Rome, which had deprived them of their superiority at sea. The Romans perfidiously availed themselves of the revolt of the mercenaries to seize Sardinia and, above all, Caralis, a point most important for the position of Carthage in the world; and the Punic capital, busied with internal disorder, had been unable to prevent this. Hamilcar Barca, like any other Carthaginian, had never been able to forgive the Romans for this step.

If we would realise the importance of Caralis to the commercial and political power of Carthage, we must study the commercial treaties of the Carthaginians. From them we see that the foreign trade was organised in Carthaginian Sicily on a much freer system than in Africa or in Sardinia, which seemed an island belonging to the southern continent. Trade was here strictly supervised, and the Sardinian Sea closed to the subjects of a state which was not admitted to treaty rights. The indignation of the Carthaginians at the loss of Sardinia had greatly contributed to the granting of full power to Hamilcar in carrying out his far-sighted scheme of vengeance. Since Carthage was outstripped at sea, Hamilcar was driven to begin land operations, in order to acquire for Carthage enlarged spheres of commerce, and to renew her position as a power. He went with his army to Spain, where the Phœnicians had till now occupied merely the south coast and the Balearic Isles. Thence he pushed into the interior, seized the mining districts, and founded in the neighbourhood an arsenal, with the significant name of "New Carthage." The administration was completely in the hands of the general, who struck coins of his own, and set about bringing the Spanish chiefs into relations of personal loyalty to himself. The Spanish trade with Africa revived.

Hamilcar's Scheme of Vengeance

Founding of New Carthage

Nothing is more characteristic of the citizens of Carthage than that they regarded the whole enterprise from the commercial point of view, as one intended to replace the lost market with a new one. Only on the north coast was there competition with some Greek towns, which were favoured by Massilia and thus indirectly by Rome. The Romans demanded that Carthage should not cross the

line of the Ebro, and concluded with Saguntum, which actually lay to the south of that river, a treaty which was expressly recognised by Hasdrubal. The Greek towns in the country, moreover, took an active part in the newly-opened trade with Africa, and assimilated their currency to the Carthaginian monetary standards, as had been already done in Sicily by the Carthaginians, who elsewhere retained their Babylonian-Tyrian system of coinage. The Carthaginian commanders required time to complete their scheme of organisation. Hamilcar trained his army and the future generals by constant wars with the natives. Though the business interests of the republic were too vast to allow of any hard-and-fast policy, the preparations for the war of revenge were carried on for decades in Spain with marvellous pertinacity.

Long Preparations for Revenge

Meantime, the Romans secured the frontiers of their Italian dominion, in the country of the Po, and on the Illyrian coast. They chastised the pirates of the coasts of Dalmatia and Epirus, who harassed the trade between the seaports of Picenum and the country of the Senones and the Greek places on the islands and on the mainland. The Gallic tribes north of the Po also, especially the Insubrians, were attacked, and two colonies were founded to guard the passages of the river, which were called Cremona and Placentia.



HANNIBAL, THE CARTHAGINIAN GENERAL
Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, and a greater military genius, led the Carthaginian army in the Second Punic War.

Even the country lying further back, which was still swampy or wooded in many parts, was now opened up, and only the way across the Central Apennine passes was avoided, since the Roman generals preferred to march by a long circuit over the Umbrian Mountains in the east or over the most westerly pass from Pisæ to Placentia. Here, in the Keltic country, everything was still incomplete; the territory of the Senones had been allotted to Roman settlers, after the former inhabitants had been expelled by force, and the opposition of the Boii was still to be broken, so that no one at this time contemplated a new war between Rome and Carthage. The Carthaginians could make great exertions in the subjugation of Iberia, the Romans in their wars against the Kelts. Between them lay the civilised zone of Massilia, which stretched far into Gaul and the Alps, and after the close of the First Punic War had come into fresh prominence at sea. It was only owing to unforeseen occurrences that the efforts of Carthage did not lead to a permanent consolidation of its power in Spain. Hamilcar Barca, after nine years of splendid achievement, was killed in an attack by the enemy in 229 B.C.

Death of the Great Hamilcar

The army and the Carthaginian generals present recognised his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, as commander; Hamilcar's three sons, whom he had taken with him to Spain, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, were not yet grown up, the eldest being only nineteen years old. The new commander pursued the aims of Hamilcar until he too fell, in 221 B.C., by an assassin's hand. The officers and the army now raised the young Hannibal to the supreme command, but not without loud opposition in Carthage against this family policy. This was the reason that Hannibal made an active start to maintain his position. If once the war with Rome was on them, he knew he was secure. Hannibal, after subduing some of the tribes of Central Spain, advanced against Saguntum and besieged it with all his forces. He did not trouble himself about the intervention of the Romans; and, indeed, such intervention would have had little effect at Carthage. Thus, war was decided on; the senate at Rome deliberated the question at every meeting



HANNIBAL AS A BOY SWEARING ETERNAL ENMITY TO ROME

In Hannibal's early life Spain was the great scene of Roman and Carthaginian rivalry. The boy was educated in his father's camp, experiencing all the rough life of campaigning, and at nine passed into Spain with his father, when the latter made him take a solemn vow never to be at peace with Rome. Reproduced from the painting by Benjamin West.

until the capture of Saguntum was announced. Then it was decided to begin hostilities simultaneously in Africa and in Spain at the beginning of the following year, 219 B.C.

Every preparation had been already made at Carthage for this event. Africa was supplied with a strong garrison from Spain in order to keep in check the Libyan subjects and also the allied tribes, and to guard against any landing of the Romans. A second army, under the command of Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, was to hold Spain, not merely for Carthage, but especially for the Barcidæ. Thence were to be sent the reinforcements which Hannibal might at any time require. Hannibal,

Hannibal's Plan of Campaign

with the flower of the army, was to cross the Pyrenees, march through Gaul, and join hands with the Kelts on the other side of the Alps, who were still fighting against Rome, or were inclined to rebel —a magnificent plan, and carefully prepared, since already an understanding had been arrived at with the Italian Kelts. Its practicability, however, had been over-estimated, owing to the deficient geographical knowledge of the time; Hannibal lost half of his troops on the march. Besides this, it had been prematurely undertaken in so far as Spain had not yet been completely pacified; but, whatever the result, it was a marvellous undertaking. Carthaginian officers who accompanied Hannibal as well as Roman senators who served in the campaign,

Contemporary Chronicles of the Punic War

Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, and others wrote on the subject. Two generations later these materials were worked up in a well-ordered way by the Greek Polybius of Megalopolis, who, during a prolonged stay in Italy, came into close relations with the foremost Roman families, among them the Scipios.

At Rome, after the news of the capture of Saguntum and when negotiations had been broken off, it was resolved to send one consular army on a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships from Sicily to begin an attack on Africa, and to despatch a second to Spain. When this latter landed in the territory of Massilia the news came of Hannibal's march through the country. A cavalry detachment, sent out to reconnoitre, engaged the enemy in a skirmish, without being

able to block the Carthaginian general's passage over the Rhone, or to prevent him from continuing his march to the Alps. The consul P. Cornelius Scipio thereupon determined to send a part of his troops into Northern Spain under the command of his brother, Gnæus, but with the other part to return to his starting-point, Pisæ, and from there to march to Placentia, where, meantime, two prætors were conducting operations against the Kelts.

Hannibal's Elephants Cross the Alps

Five months after his start from Carthago Nova, in the late autumn of the year 218 B.C., Hannibal arrived with 20,000 foot soldiers and 6,000 horse among the Kelts of Upper Italy, after crossing the Alps by a pass which cannot be exactly determined; it is noteworthy that he brought with him elephants, which suffered much on this march. He had to fight innumerable skirmishes with the Keltic mountain tribes; and then, when he had reached the plain, the Ligurian tribe of the Taurini showed themselves so hostile that their capital, the present Turin, had to be stormed.

Other Keltic tribes, however, especially the Insubrians, near the present Milan, showed themselves at once ready to support the Carthaginians against the Romans, with whom they had fought years before; and when Hannibal won considerable successes, first on the Ticinus, the present Ticino, against the consul P. Cornelius Scipio, then to the south of the Po, on the river Trebia, where the defile leads into the country of Placentia, against the troops arrived from Sicily under the other consul, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, a general defection ensued. Even the Ligurians, settled in the south on both sides of the mountains, went over to Hannibal, so that he could take up winter quarters without molestation, and obtain news as to the passes over the Apennines, which were to be crossed at the beginning of the next campaign. Hamilcar's plan of carrying the war into Italy had succeeded, though at a great loss in men and animals.

Rome in a State of Crisis

The Roman plan of campaign had failed in the first year. Both consuls were beaten, and the troops sent to Spain were in a dangerous position, as the Punic cruisers cut off all supplies. The excitement at Rome was intense. The consular elections were impending. There were factions even after the settlement of the struggle with the plebeians, who since then had the nomination of one consul. The people were still influenced by agrarian conditions. In the year 233 B.C. their leader, C. Flaminius, had proposed and carried the distribution of the Gallic territory north of Picenum among Roman citizens. This C. Flaminius, who did not enjoy the confidence of the other party, was chosen consul as representative of the plebeians; his patrician colleague was Cn. Servilius.

The question how the war was to be conducted was hotly debated at Rome. The party of C. Flaminius was for an energetic attack, the rival party for a more cautious policy. The existing Roman constitution involved the election of two commanders, who followed the suggestions of their party. To Cn. Servilius fell the supreme command of the army collected at Ariminum; to C. Flaminius that over the second army, posted at Arretium in Etruria. Each consisted of two legions of five thousand (or, precisely, 5,200) foot-soldiers and three hundred cavalry. In addition came the divisions of the allies, so that the force of Cn. Servilius was raised to forty thousand foot and four thousand horse. and that of C. Flaminius to thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. It was proposed to block the march of the Carthaginians on Rome, should they advance by the Via Flaminia or one of the Ligurian and Etrurian passes. Similar operations had been conducted in the last campaigns against the Kelts, in 225 B.C., when the Kelts invaded Etruria. Besides this, a reserve army of eight thousand men was placed in the Umbrian Alps, near Plestia, under C. Centenius, a man who held no office, to whom the prætor of the city had given the command because he himself did not venture to leave the city. The start of the two consuls took place, at least as far as C. Flaminius was concerned, under unfavourable auspices, a circumstance which the conservative party employed later greatly to their own advantage.

Hannibal Threatening Rome

All was still in confusion when Hannibal advanced to the attack. He did not cross the nearest pass, but marched to the west, where he could avoid the positions of Lucca and Pistoja, and march between them, along the swampy plain of the Arno, to Fæsulæ, a route that no one

had considered possible, so that Flaminius was completely surprised. From Fæsulæ, Hannibal struck southward, hardly giving his followers time to recover from the exhausting march, and laid waste the country right under the eyes of the enemy. Flaminius' staff were, however, opposed to attacking until the junction with Cn. Servilius was accomplished. Hannibal then threw himself between the hostile armies. He did not here attack Flaminius, whose attention was chiefly directed to guarding Clusium, but turned south of Cortona, along the lake of Trasimene, towards Perusia, whence he could reach the Flaminian Way, the other road which led to Rome. Hannibal foresaw that the consul, fearing to risk his popularity by longer delay, would follow him, and laid an ambush for Flaminius near the lake, which is surrounded on the north by a range of hills. The Roman army fell into the trap; on a misty morning, attacked simultaneously in front and in the rear, it was completely broken up; C. Flaminius himself was killed, and the next day the Roman vanguard, which had escaped, was compelled to surrender.

The Great Battle at Lake Trasimene

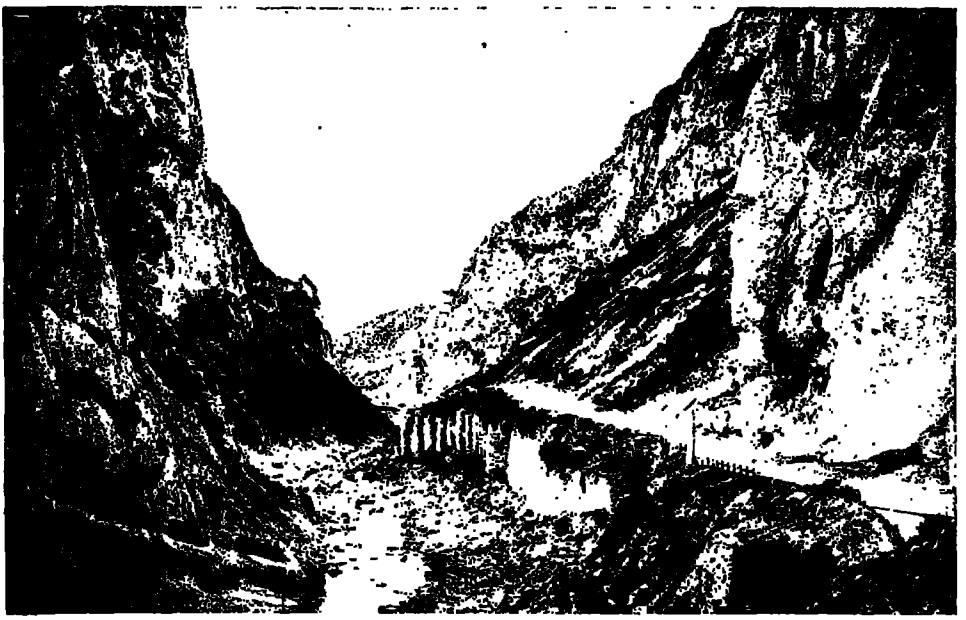
The road by Fulginium was thus open to Hannibal. He sent on his advance guard as far as Spoletium and Narnia, places which were put into a state of siege; the bridges also were broken down. In consequence, Hannibal resolved to try the other road, which the victory at Trasimene had opened. He first broke up the reserve army of the Romans on the height of the Camerinian Alps, near the lake of Plestia. Hannibal then crossed over to Picenum. Servilius, who, on receiving news, had sent out his cavalry from Etruria and followed with the infantry, saw that he had come too late.

Without making an attack, he withdrew to Ariminum and the fortresses near the Po, while Hannibal reached the coast of the Adriatic Sea on the tenth day after the battle at Trasimene, and there obtained rich sources of supplies for his troops. The horses in particular, whose numbers had been much diminished by the exertions of the campaign so far, were the object of Hannibal's greatest attention. He equipped his Libyan infantry with Roman weapons, since these had proved superior in the previous battles. Booty was abundant. Joy reigned at Carthage, and the necessary reinforcements were sent to Spain as well as to Italy. The countries of the east had already fixed their eyes on affairs in Italy, since the whole basin of the Mediterranean must have been

When Joy Reigned at Carthage



PERUGIA'S PEACEFUL LAKE, THE SCENE OF A GREAT BATTLE IN THE PUNIC WAR
Lake Trasimene, now the Lake of Perugia, is celebrated for the great battle fought here between Hannibal and Flaminius, 217 B.C., when the Romans lost between 6,000 and 15,000 lives, and 10,000 men were taken prisoners.



THE FLAMINIAN WAY: PART OF THE ACTUAL ROAD TAKEN BY HANNIBAL

The Via Flaminia, now the Furlo Pass, the direct road to Rome through the Apennines, fell to Hannibal as the result of his victory at Trasimene over C. Flaminius, the builder of this famous way, near which the railway now runs.

concerned in the outcome of a struggle which had assumed such dimensions. At Rome all was confusion when the news of the defeat at Lake Trasimene, and soon after of that at Plestia, arrived. As it was thought that the enemy must immediately advance against the capital, the divisions of seniors, who were not bound to serve in the field, were called out; at the same time, with the omission of the usual formalities, since the one consul was dead and the other absent, Q. Fabius Maximus, the old leader of the conservatives against the agitations of C. Flaminius, was appointed dictator. Sixteen years before he had celebrated a triumph over the Ligurians.

Hannibal's Triumphant Progress

Fabius took over the army of Cn. Servilius, strengthened it by new levies, and followed Hannibal, who, meantime, marched through the country of the Prætutti (from whom the "Abruzzi" derives its name), the Marrucini, and the Frentani, meeting with no resistance; for here, on the east coast, the Romans had no colony south of Hadria, while the federal towns possessed only antiquated fortifications. All that remained loyal to Rome was ravaged by Hannibal. At the same time, he accelerated the process of defection from Rome. The opposition of the individual tribes and towns to Rome revived; all that had been suppressed by the Romans rose once more. In Lower Italy there was the rivalry of the Lucani and Bruttii with the Greek towns; in Apulia, the opposition of Canusium and Arpi; in Campania, the intolerance of the Roman rule; and the same with the Samnites. But the Latin colonies everywhere remained true to Rome, and Hannibal was therefore compelled to take the Adriatic littoral north of Apulia as the base of his operations.

Latin Colonies Remain True to Rome

The policy of Q. Fabius Maximus was to conduct the war cautiously, since, indeed, C. Flaminius, holding the opposite view, had lost his army and his life by his impetuous action. Accordingly, when he reached Apulia from Latium, Fabius marched after the enemy at a safe distance, and avoided every encounter, in the hope of wearying and outmanœuvring the Carthaginian general. But Hannibal comprehended this method of fighting, since he was accustomed to study, not merely the country, but the opposing general. He attacked the allies, who remained loyal to the Romans, before the eyes of the "Delayer," or *Cunctator*. He crossed into the valley of the Volturnus

and ravaged the territory of Beneventum. He advanced into Campania, where he plundered the rich land north of Capua. He then went unhindered past Samnium into the territory of the Frentani, in which he accumulated great stores for the winter, without being attacked by the dictator: so that, finally, Q. Fabius lost his reputation with the army and the popular assembly. The more energetic magister equitum, M. Minucius, was given equal powers with the dictator, an unparalleled step. But when M. Minucius, soon afterwards, through his rashness, came near to being crushed by Hannibal, and Fabius went to his aid, popular feeling changed once more in favour of the dictator. His term of office expired after six months' tenure, when Cn. Servilius, as consul, began to officiate again, together with the colleague chosen in place of C. Flaminius. There were already agitations about the consular elections of the ensuing year.

Rome Prepares for a Final Effort

L. Æmilius Paullus, who had previously held a command in the wars against the Kelts and the Illyrians, was chosen out of the patricians; C. Terentius Varro, who had led the opposition against Q. Fabius Maximus, was the plebeian choice. The senate resolved to raise the consular armies to double their ordinary strength—that is, that each consul should have four legions instead of two under his command. This, with the contingents of allies, would give an army of 80,000 men. Troops were also sent against the Kelts on the Po, who had provisioned the Spanish army. The consuls of the previous year and the more experienced troops were assigned to the army operating against Hannibal in order to resist him more stubbornly. The war was to be decided once for all this year, 216 B.C., by one mighty effort.

Hannibal had encamped during the winter with his army, which amounted to 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse, at Gereonium, in the country of the Frentani. His strength lay in his cavalry, and after that in the troops which he had brought with him from Spain. The Kelts, who had shared the march through the swamps of Etruria, the battle of Trasimene, and the passage over the mountains into Lower Italy, would never have followed another general as they did Hannibal, whose bravery filled them with awe, and whose successes astonished them. He was the soul of an army composed of soldiers of the most distinct nationalities; there were Africans, Iberians, Ligurians, Kelts, men from the Balearic Islands, and emigrants from the Greek towns of Sicily, where one party favoured Carthage, and most of its leaders were, consequently, in exile at Carthage. Hannibal himself, married to a Spanish wife, and possessing the Greek education then prevalent in the basin of the Mediterranean, revered, next to his father Hamilcar, Alexander the Great and Pyrrhus of Epirus, whom he took as models.

Personal Power of Hannibal

Maharbal, his second-in-command, who had done excellent service at Trasimene and at Plestia, stood at his side. After the decisive battle in Etruria, he had followed the surviving Romans and had concluded terms of surrender with them, which were disregarded by Hannibal. The latter ordered the Roman citizens to be thrown into chains, but let the allies go free. He waged war, he said, only with Rome. By this policy he hoped to dissolve the Italian confederacy, to restrict Rome once more to Latium, and to make Campania and Samnium independent. This had been the state of affairs some hundred years before, when the first commercial treaties between Rome and Carthage were effected. Sardinia and Western Sicily were to become once more Carthaginian, and Syracuse was to withdraw from the alliance with Rome. The Carthaginian plan included a general political reaction towards the old state system.

What Carthage Fought for

This was the stake played for when Hannibal, in the year 216 B.C., opened the campaign in Apulia. The Romans had accumulated their supplies in the district of Canusium, near Cannæ, in the well-cultivated country on the river Aufidus, which was protected against an immediate attack of the Carthaginians by the colony of Luceria, and in the south had a stronghold in the colony of Venusia. Hannibal, nevertheless, was successful in taking Cannæ, by which means he came into possession of a strategically important point. This brought on the decisive battle for which both sides wished.

Hannibal, in order to manœuvre his cavalry, required a level country, a battlefield which, therefore, the Romans ought to have avoided. But they were without any unity of leadership, for the two

consuls held the command on alternate days, as prescribed by the Roman constitution. Nor could the two commanders agree, so that the choice of the battlefield was left to the enemy.

Hannibal posted the Iberians and the Africans on the wings, the Kelts in the centre, where he himself was. He knew that the Kelts would stand firm if it was war to the death, and, besides that, they had him with them. The infantry, generally, was to keep the serried columns of the Romans engaged, and the cavalry to operate on the flanks and in the rear of the enemy until an advance should complete their overthrow. This ably planned manœuvre succeeded entirely, and resulted in a defeat such as the Romans never before or since sustained. The "black" day of the Allia, when the Kelts overthrew the Romans, was matched by the "black" day of Cannæ, when Hannibal conquered the two consuls of whom Æmilius Paullus, with many others—including Cn. Servilius—perished. Terentius Varro escaped to Venusia. The Roman army lost seventy thousand men, while the rest were scattered in all directions. Hannibal seemed to have attained the goal of his policy, and his father's plan appeared to be completely realised. Not only Arpi in Apulia, Tarentum and the other Greek towns of Lower Italy—Rhegium excepted—with the majority of the Bruttii, but even Capua, the second town in Italy after Rome, with which it had been for more than one hundred years closely united, went over to the Carthaginians, and Hannibal declared his intention of making Capua the first town of the peninsula. Syracuse also broke the treaty with Rome and joined the Carthaginians. King Philip of Macedonia meditated opening negotiations with Hannibal, since the interests of his kingdom on the Illyrian coast had been harmed by repeated attacks of the Romans. Egypt alone of the eastern powers observed a friendly neutrality towards Rome, since Alexandria disputed with Carthage the position of the first commercial city. Italy, which had suffered immensely during the war, drew its supply of grain from Egypt.

The Romans Lose 70,000 Men

The Roman government called out for service the entire male population capable of bearing arms. Even slaves were brought into the ranks of the legions on the promise that they should be emancipated if they fought well. This shows the favourable position which up to this time the servants enjoyed under the *patres familiarum*. Rome thus placed on a war footing in *one* year twenty-two or twenty-three legions, not full ones, of course, while at the beginning, in 217, only thirteen legions in all were put into the field. In addition, there were troops outside of Italy, in Sardinia, Sicily, and in Spain. There was the necessity of being on the watch against a diversion from Macedonia; and, consequently, a garrison was kept up in Brundisium. Finally, one or two armies were kept in the north to intercept contingents from the Keltic country or reinforcements from Spain. But without reinforcements Hannibal was not in a position to assume the offensive against Rome by himself, while the Romans could send out their forces, under their best commanders, to the critical points; first of all, against Syracuse and Capua, over the defection of which the greatest bitterness prevailed.

The City in Desperate Straits

The siege of the two towns, the scenes of the chief operations of the next years, was difficult, owing to the desperate resistance of the guilty parties. But it was successfully brought to a close, and a terrible retribution was enacted. Syracuse was sacked and then changed into a provincial town in 212 B.C. In Capua, after the execution of all suspected persons, the town territory was proclaimed forfeited to the victor, by which means the most fertile part of Campania became the public domain of the Romans. The town itself was reduced to a village, a sort of appanage of the temple of Diana on Mount Tifata, a famous place of pilgrimage above the town, which was not molested on religious grounds. The territory of the Capuans remained in this position till the time of Julius Cæsar. Hannibal had in vain staked everything to free Capua. Once, in a bold march, of which later writers had many stories to relate, he had advanced right up to the walls of Rome, in order thus to draw off the blockading army. There was great alarm in Rome at his approach, but Hannibal could not seriously attempt an attack on the well-fortified capital, and withdrew.

Hannibal Before the Walls of Rome

The Carthaginians had tried to relieve Syracuse by their fleet. But it was shown that Rome, since the end of the first Punic

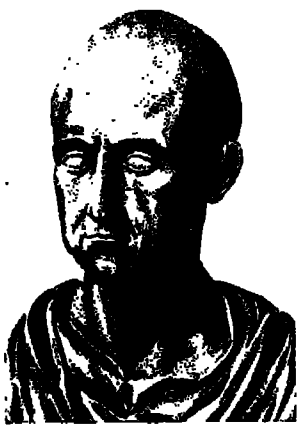
War, had the superiority at sea. In Spanish waters Massilia, her ally, offered the desired support. The Carthaginian fleet proved too weak, and did not risk a battle. Communication with Carthage, which had been open after the battles at Lake Trasimene and at Cannæ, was now cut off. It followed that Hannibal could no longer be informed of important matters, while the Romans, with their privateers, took prisoners, from whom they received timely news of the plans of their great adversary.

The alliance with Philip of Macedon was not effective, because guerrilla warfare in Greece, especially with the Ætolians, demanded the attention of King Philip of Macedonia and his Achæan allies, and then the Romans made a demonstration with a fleet in Greek waters. Hannibal stood on the defensive, without trying to bring matters to a decision. The Romans took Tarentum from him, but lost in the year 208 B.C. both consuls, for whom Hannibal had laid an ambush. He wished, however, to await the reinforcements which his brother, Hasdrubal, was to bring him overland from Spain. Although the Carthaginians had experienced a heavy blow from the young P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the consul,

Rome's Fortunes Brighten

when he took New Carthage by a stratagem and made their allies waver, Hasdrubal succeeded in crossing the Pyrenees and in leading his army through Gaul over the Alps, under decidedly more favourable conditions than his brother had done ten years before—a proof of the important effect which the march of Hannibal had produced even in subsequent years towards opening the lines of communication from the west to the east.

The winter of 208–207 B.C. Hasdrubal spent in Keltic territory, planning in the spring to advance to Umbria by the Flaminian road. This plan was frustrated, because the messengers of Hasdrubal never reached his brother, but were captured. The whole plan was betrayed to the Romans, who could take their counter-measures. One consular army, under M. Livius Salinator, guarded the Flaminian road; the other, under C. Claudius Nero, opposed Hannibal in Lucania. When Claudius learned from the captured despatches the combined movements of the Carthaginian generals he determined on a bold manœuvre, which proves that the Roman commanders had greatly improved in strategy in the war with Hannibal. Nero left part of his troops behind, facing Hannibal, who undertook no serious operations, but awaited news. The Romans had other principles than we moderns for the rapid concentration of an army on one point. The consul hurried on northward with the best troops, while he requisitioned waggons and placed his men in them, in order to unite with M. Livius for the decisive blow against Hasdrubal. They met him south of the River Metaurus, near Sena Gallica. Hasdrubal did not wish to fight alone; but while trying to escape he was defeated and slain. The expedition coming to his aid from North Italy, strengthened by the Kelts, an expedition on which Hannibal rested all his hopes, was frustrated by this battle. Nero hastened back after the battle as quickly as he had come, and in six days he was again with his troops in the south. The head of Hasdrubal was thrown into his brother Hannibal's camp.



SCIPIO AFRICANUS

Took the name of Africanus because it was he who engaged Hannibal on African soil and won the decisive victory over the forces of Carthage.

From that time Hannibal gave up the war as lost, but maintained his position in the country of the Bruttii, although restricted to a constantly diminishing territory. He finally took up his position in the country round Croton, not far from the Lacinian Promontory, where the famous shrine of Juno stood. Here he placed a votive offering with an inscription, in which he stated the number of the troops with

The Tide Turns Against Carthage

which he had come out of Spain into Italy to fight Rome, his hereditary foe. Castra Hannibalis remained in the recollection of later ages as the name of the place. The decisive blow came from the secondary theatres of war. P. Cornelius Scipio had formed alliances in Spain with the Numidian chiefs, among whom there were two rivals—the young Masinissa and Syphax. Mago, the youngest brother of Hannibal, finally evacuated the country of

Gades, in order to cut his way through with the fleet to Hannibal. Thereupon Scipio received at Rome the consulship for 205 B.C. and at the same time the command in Sicily, with permission to transfer the war thence to Africa. In fact, Scipio landed in the year 204 B.C. in Africa, where the allies of the Carthaginians were then troublesome and Numidian dissension was at work. The Carthaginian supremacy began to totter, as formerly in the year 241 B.C. Masinissa succeeded in taking the kingdom of Syphax, and proved himself the most active partisan of the Romans, in consequence of which the Carthaginian troops were everywhere beaten. In these circumstances the Carthaginian government resolved to summon to their aid Hannibal and his army from Italy. It was in the year 202 B.C., sixteen years after Hannibal had first trodden the soil of Italy. He obeyed the summons. As negotiations with Scipio led to no results, arms had to decide. At Naraggara, in the vicinity of Zama—there were two places of this name, which makes the matter difficult to settle—five days march from Carthage, the armies met. The Carthaginians lost the battle, since their opponents were far superior in cavalry, and Scipio had manœuvred skilfully. After the fight Hannibal rode to the coast, 200 miles away. He soon became convinced that further resistance was impossible. Terms of peace were proposed, according to which Carthage gave up all her foreign possessions, not only the islands, but also Spain, and renounced all aspirations for an independent foreign policy. She had to recognise Masinissa as ruler of Numidia, to surrender her fleet, and pay the costs of the war. Carthage was now a petty state, as Rome had been 150 years before, and was restricted to her original territory. The allied towns, Utica, Hadrumetum, Leptis, were put into a position to resist successfully the efforts which Carthage made once more to consolidate her possessions.

Hannibal Recalled to Carthage

Carthage Loses her Proud Place

By the peace of the year 201 B.C. the positions of the powers in the basin of the Mediterranean were finally changed. Carthage, whose influence formerly extended from Phœnicia to the Pillars of Hercules, had been hurled from her proud place;



RUINS OF THE TEMPLES OF PÆSTUM, A ROMAN COLONY IN LUCANIA

One of the colonies which, founded after the years of stress of the Hannibalic wars, established the superiority of the Latin over the Greek population in Italy. The above is taken from the painting by W. Linton in the Tate Gallery.

Italy, until then the plaything of foreign nations, now set about arranging the frontiers on a system much more favourable to herself, especially those of the opposite coasts—Africa, Spain, Illyricum, and Greece. But she had also gained a firm place in the state system of the East. Friendly relations had been established with Egypt at the time hostilities against Macedonia began in the last war; and as Macedonia, in combination with Syria, opposed the annexations which had been claimed or brought about by the Ptolemies in favour of the Alexandrian trade, Syria also was confronted with Rome. Besides Egypt, the smaller states, which were oppressed by the adjoining great powers, such as Pergamus and Rhodes, rested their hopes on Rome. Macedonia was humiliated in the year 197 B.C. by the victory at the "Dogs' Heads" (Cynoscephalæ, near Pharsalus), and the Illyrian coast was permanently occupied. But Greece, the mother of all higher culture in Rome, from an enthusiastic love of Hellenism, was declared to be free.

The Complete Triumph of Rome

Some years after, war followed with Antiochus of Syria, who had interfered with Greek commerce. Hannibal, who had been exiled from Carthage, was with Antiochus, although the proud Seleucid paid little heed to his advice. While Macedonia remained neutral, Pergamus and Rhodes caused the Romans, who had driven Antiochus out of Greece, to cross over to Asia in 190 B.C. The consul L. Cornelius Scipio, brother of Publius, led the army across. Antiochus met with so decisive a defeat at Magnesia on the Sipylus that he was forced to evacuate the territories this side of the Taurus, then an important boundary between states and races. At Ilium, Scipio erected the supposed kinsmen of the Romans. Pergamus and Rhodes had ample territory allotted to them, while the Galatians, who for a century had played a chief part in all Asiatic struggles, were attacked and punished by an expedition into their homes in the year 189 B.C. Hannibal, hunted from one corner to another, died by his own hand at the little town of Libyssa in Bithynia. There a Roman emperor of Punic descent, Septimius Severus, erected a monument to him almost 400 years afterwards. Such was the end of the great antagonist of the Romans. He died in 183 B.C. at the age of sixty-five, at about the same time as P. Cornelius Scipio.

End of the Great Hannibal

The great revolution which the Hannibalic War had begun in Italy was now completed. All the communities which had deserted to Hannibal were punished by the loss of their territory, which was distributed among Roman colonists or allies who had remained loyal. Tarentum, Croton, Thurii, Sipontum, were made colonies, and in this way the superiority of the Latin over the Greek population was established for the future. The same was the case on the Lucanian coast, where Pæstum was founded as a colony. On the gulf, northward, the town Picetia had previously stood; this was reduced to a village, on account of its decided leaning towards the Carthaginians, and the colony of Salernum, the modern Salerno, was planted on its territory. In the district of Naples the colony of Puteoli was founded, which soon attracted a great share of the transmarine commerce.

In a similar way the Romans were active on the northern frontiers. The Kelts and Ligurians had to pay for their conduct in showing themselves conciliatory and helpful to Hannibal. The two colonies of Placentia and Cremona especially were strengthened, the Apennine passes and the valleys leading to them were cleared, and complete cantons were transplanted. The districts which had shown themselves of importance during the Hannibalic War were secured by the planting of colonies. Such were sent to Luna, near the modern Spezia and Carrara, and to Luca in Liguria. In the Keltic country Bononia was then made a colony; soon afterwards followed Mutina and Parma, then Aquileia in the country of the Veneti, and, finally, Eporedia at the foot of the important Alpine pass leading to Transalpine Gaul. The construction of roads went hand in hand with this process, highways being built from Arretium to Bononia and from Ariminum to Placentia.

Roman Power Consolidated

Thus the Roman-Italian power on the Apennine peninsula was once more put on a firm basis. The Po district was already reckoned geographically as belonging to Italy, although strictly, according to political laws, Italy did not extend beyond the Arnus and Ariminum. Like Sicily and Sardinia, Cisalpine Gaul also was a province, but it was administered, not by prætors, but directly by the consuls.



THE DECLINE OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE CORRUPTION OF THE OLIGARCHY

THE senate of Rome, which directed the internal and external policy, still stood at the head of the state. It was the supreme arbiter of the affairs of the Italian confederacy, and, outside Italy, of all powers in the basin of the Mediterranean. It had to be ready to answer all questions which concerned the narrow home territory, as well as to settle the disputes of African or Asiatic potentates. If we add to this the economic conditions, which were given quite a new aspect by the victories of Rome, and now required serious consideration, we can estimate what a burden of business was then weighing on the Roman government.

This government formed a complete oligarchy, since the magistrates were only the executive organs of the senate. The popular assembly submitted usually to the will of the senate, even in the matter of the election of the magistrates. It was exceptional for an opposition to be formed and to have its candidate elected. The representative of the opposition could, as consul, effect very little against the will of the senate, and this was ensured by the circumstances that the other consul necessarily belonged to the opposite party, and that the consent of the two consuls was requisite for every act of government. Besides this, the office lasted only one year, when the senate was again free from any undesirable man. Re-election, according to the more recent laws, was possible only after a considerable interval.

How Rome was Governed

In the senate itself there were rival factions, in which personal rather than real differences mostly turned the scale. Thus M. Porcius Cato, a Tusculan, who had acquired the highest reputation in Rome, opposed all his life the group of the Scipios. These prided themselves on having fought the battles of the republic in Spain, Africa, and Asia. The one brother took the name "Africanus," the other "Asiaticus." In answer to which, Cato, in his History of Ancient Italy, took care to mention, not the names of the great generals, but only that of a famous war elephant, "Syrus."

With reference to foreign policy, the question was long debated whether dependent principalities should be governed by client kings—"friends and allies of the Roman people"—and dependent republics by the party which observed the interests of Rome—when Macedonia rose under King Perseus, it was divided in the year 168 B.C. into four republics—or whether it was better to place them under the direct administration of the Roman state. In the latter case it was usual to nominate a commission of ten senators and to place the country in question under a "prætor," annually appointed. He was not merely a judge, but also a general, and therefore exercised within the province the functions of the old consuls in an undiminished form. This was the administration established by Rome in Sicily, Sardinia, and in Hither and Further Spain: after 146 B.C. in Africa and in Macedonia; after 133 in Asia, as the province was called which was formed out of the confiscated kingdom of Pergamus; and, finally, in Gallia Narbonensis, which was made a province in 121 B.C.

The Colonial System

The internal organisation was always based on the existing state of things, since, on the one hand, the Punic and Hellenistic civilisation was superior to the Roman; and, on the other, the Keltic system was incompatible with it. Consideration had to be paid to the cantonal constitution and clan system of the Kelts. Thus a treaty was concluded with the Hædui in Transalpine Gaul, by which these were styled "brothers and kinsmen" (*fratres et consanguinei*) of the Romans; and, therefore, the identical obligation to blood vengeance and support was formed, which was customary

Roman Respect for National Characteristics

among the allied Keltic tribes. After the Punic wars a class of citizens, which in earlier times had not come into prominence, became of great importance—the "knights," *equites*, so called because the wealthier citizens discharged their military service in the cavalry. They became the real capitalists of the state, since it required larger means to carry on its foreign operations. Thus the first Punic War had been brought to a favourable conclusion entirely through the voluntary contributions of these persons; and the second by the employment of their slaves for military purposes, particularly on the fleet. The owners had stipulated only that they should be indemnified after victory had been gained. In fact, the equestrian order, which was organised about the middle of the second century B.C. as a peculiar class between the senatorial families and the commons, proceeded eagerly to turn political success most fully to their own interests.

The "Knights" of Ancient Rome

According to the views of antiquity, not only the goods and chattels, but also the persons of the conquered, were at the disposal of the conqueror. On this rested the system of slavery, which has impressed a particular stamp on every ancient state, as compared with modern conditions. Whenever a peace was concluded with a conquered opponent it was made always on such conditions that the conqueror enjoyed permanent advantages. If the weaker party, nevertheless, recovered its strength it was threatened to such an extent that its existence was at stake; and if it defended itself then a pretext was provided for putting an end to it.

In this way the Roman state proceeded against Carthage, which, after the loss of her sovereignty, flourished, nevertheless, as a commercial city, in spite of the competition of Alexandria, and much to the chagrin of the Roman merchants. These took advantage of the dread which still possessed men's minds after the Hannibalic wars to accomplish the destruction of Carthage, which was carried out in 146 B.C. after a memorable resistance by the desperate inhabitants. In the same year the disturbances which had broken out in Greece were made an excuse for the destruction of Corinth, which stood as much in the way of the Roman capitalists as Carthage. The place where these towns had stood was cursed, so that a restoration of them might never succeed; and, in fact, such a restoration took place only under the emperors.

Final Destruction of Carthage

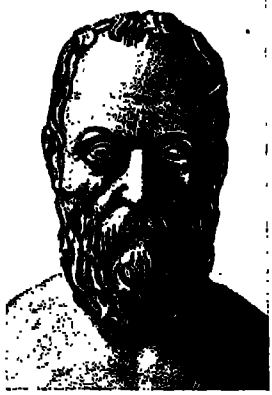
The detailed history of Polybius goes as far as these events, the overthrow of Carthage and Corinth. In the suite of his pupil, Scipio Æmilianus, he was an eye-witness of the destruction of Carthage, and afterwards went to Greece, or, as it was now called, Achaia, in the interests of his countrymen.

The associations of Roman merchants and of the "Italian" merchants, who in foreign countries were closely connected with them, soon extended over the most important places in the dependent countries, over Africa and Numidia, over Greece and the Orient. They formed everywhere a distinct privileged company, whose political and economic power was not only felt abroad, but reacted at home. The republic was repeatedly forced to undertake a campaign because the Roman traders abroad had met with some unpleasant experiences, even though they themselves were in the wrong. If a war proved disastrous, a monetary crisis occurred at Rome, such as Cicero depicts at the time of the Mithradatic War. If, on the other hand, a new province was marked out, the Italian capitalists were there at once, in order to do business. It may be that they advanced money to the conquered at high interest, or that they farmed the whole revenue of the province, since the Roman state, following the model of Carthage and Alexandria, preferred indirect to direct management of taxation.

Wars Made by Traders

The "publicani"—that is, the farmers of the state revenues—were an object, not merely of fear, but also of hatred, to the provincials, as was shown in a sanguinary fashion at every revolt. While the merchant class obtained in this way their part of the spoils of the new world sovereignty, the Roman peasant proprietor, who had taken the most considerable share in the victories of the republic, had obtained as reward absolute exemption from taxes, for now the financial requirements of the state could easily be met by the income which was derived from the public domains and from the taxation of foreign subjects.

A development was now brought about which no one had anticipated. The farmers, instead of being placed out of the reach of peril by the immunity from taxation, were oppressed by evils of another sort. The agricultural interests, which had suffered terribly during the long war with Hannibal, owing to the long terms of military service and the devastation of wide tracts of land, were now injured by the superior competition of the subject countries, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, countries which supplied cheap grain to Italy, and, indeed, had to furnish it as a tax in kind, since in this way full advantage was taken of their submission; and in this connection the trifling cost of freight to the western coast of Italy did not come into the question. It was soon discovered that it barely paid to grow grain—one of the blessings of the empire. The state of affairs was somewhat better in the countries of the allies far from the capital, and especially on the east coast of Italy, in Picenum, and elsewhere.



TERENCE, THE DRAMATIST

A native of Carthage, and originally a slave, his comedies were immensely popular with the Romans.

The country towns of Latium began to lose their populations, while crowds collected in Rome chiefly in order that they might there enjoy as "Roman people," without work, the theatre, which produced the comedies of Plautus (up to 184 B.C.), of Terence (after 166 B.C.), and of other less distinguished but popular authors, as well as the public games, which were always being produced on an increasing scale of magnificence, and to make themselves influential in the public assemblies. Thus the right of the liberty of migration and of voting in the assembly of citizens, which had been granted to the Latins in olden times and under quite other circumstances, was now indeed a valuable privilege.

While the constitution of the popular assemblies was altered by this circumstance, as well as by the fact that the numerous freedmen desired some, even if limited, recognition, the reaction on the character of the army must not be overlooked, since political rights and military service were most closely connected at Rome. The old organisation of the army, ascribed to King Servius Tullius, took as a basis the wealth of the citizens. Since every citizen soldier had to pay for his equipment, the wealthiest were enrolled in the cavalry, while the arming of the infantry was graduated in a descending scale down to the proletarians, who in case of need had to be provided by the state with arms, but usually were not taken into account at all. After the wasting Hannibalic War this system could no longer be observed; on the contrary, the material for the army steadily grew worse as economic conditions failed to improve. This was shown by the wars against Macedonia and in the fighting before Carthage, and Numantia in Spain, where the Roman armies with their train of camp followers, for years achieved no success. The political and social ferment which prevailed in Italy spread far beyond its borders. In Greece, about the middle of the second century B.C., socialistic agitations were rife. In Sicily great masses of slaves, whom the Roman knights employed, after the Carthaginian fashion, to cultivate the soil,



SCENE FROM A COMIC PLAY

A mosaic found at Pompeii representing actors in a comedy. The smaller of the two theatres at Pompeii was devoted entirely to comedy.

broke away and ravaged the whole island for a year. This same economic policy had been already recommended for Italy by radical economists. The speculators who returned from the provinces to Italy with the riches they had won bought up tracts of land and cultivated them by unfree labour, which had become unusually cheap. The Carthaginian literature on the subject of agriculture was translated into Latin. On the other hand, a man of practical and conservative mind, like M. Porcius Cato, defended the traditional Italian method of agriculture.

Agriculture and Money Making

It was recognised with alarm by the best element of the Roman republic that the nation was being ruined by the so-called empire. Men began to speak in Rome of how their ancestors had checked the latifundia system, the excessive accumulation of landed property in the hands of individuals at the cost of the small proprietors. In point of fact, there had been as little lack of legislation on the subject in Rome as in the Greek states. It had been settled in antiquity that no one should be allowed to possess more than five hundred *jugera* of the Roman public land, and at the same time that the buying out of the smaller farmers by speculators should be prohibited.



SALLUST, THE HISTORIAN
His histories were as elegant and refined in style as he was himself depraved and coarse in character.

The reform party at Rome, which proposed to check the ruin of the farmer class, identified itself with these restrictive measures. As no one of the more experienced statesmen at Rome ventured to come forward—since manifold difficulties must have been in the way of such a "reactionary" policy—Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus, two young men who belonged to the senatorial nobility, did so, one after the other. They were both tribunes of the plebs, and were fired by the example of the Greeks. In the previous century an effort had been made once more to bring into prominence the Spartan state on the basis of the "Lycurgan laws"; and after Polybius, the historian of the Punic wars, had become the counsellor of Scipio Æmilianus, Greek tutors were customary in all noble families. The senate was opposed to the discussion of these questions, especially since long-established proprietary rights were at issue. One even of the tribunes of the people, Cn. Octavius, who was a personal friend of Tiberius Gracchus, and enjoyed his respect, spoke against his proposition.

Tiberius Gracchus then allowed himself to be forced into an unconstitutional step. He brought forward in the popular assembly a proposal to depose his colleague, and carried his point. It was decided to elect an agrarian commission, which should regulate the conditions of land tenure. When Tiberius Gracchus, his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, and his younger brother, Gaius, were elected, the *optimates*, as the senatorial class were called, grew irritated, as the whole matter was thus placed in the hands of one family. In order to secure his inviolability, Tiberius Gracchus sought re-election to the tribunate of the people, which was a step contrary to constitutional tradition, and caused a violent demonstration in the senate. It declared its political opponent a national enemy, who was not entitled to a regular trial. This involved a suspension of constitutional rights, against which the consul, Q. Mutius, a skilful lawyer, in vain urged objections. On the day of election a riot ensued; a senator, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, placed himself at the head of the opposite faction, which was armed with clubs; Tiberius Gracchus fled and lost his life. His adherents were prosecuted for high treason, and the execution of the agrarian laws was crippled by the fact that the jurisdiction over the disputed proprietary rights was withdrawn from the commission and given over to the consuls. Nevertheless, the laws of Tiberius Gracchus remained in force and filled all Italy with factions, since the territories of the allies were equally affected. The question was then first mooted whether it would not be advisable to concede the Roman citizenship to the allies, since only in this way could agrarian reform be possible for the whole pensinula.

Foreigners as Roman Citizens

The movement received fresh life when, ten years after Tiberius, his younger brother, Gaius Gracchus, became tribune of the people in 123 B.C. He was more

gifted, but also more impetuous, than his brother, for whose death he had vowed to take vengeance on the aristocracy. During the two years that he was in office he took the initiative in all administrative and constitutional questions, one plan rapidly following another. The machinery of the state was put into motion: G. Gracchus reorganised the system of Italian roads, led colonies to Tarentum and Squillacium in Lower Italy, and originated the custom that the senate should dispose of the consular provinces even before the periodical consular elections. Further, in order to secure support for himself, Gaius carried a measure that the knights should farm the taxes of the newly constituted province of Asia, an arrangement convenient to the state treasury and profitable to the syndicate of capitalists, but disastrous indeed to the subjects who were oppressed and impoverished by the moneyed classes.



STATUE OF A COMIC ACTOR
He is represented in the mask which Roman actors of comedy wore when discharging their parts on the stage.

A more sweeping measure, by which Gracchus sowed discord between the senatorial order and the knights, was that by which the functions of jurymen in matters of administration, which up till then, in accordance with custom, had been exercised by men of senatorial rank, were transferred to the knights, under the pretext that the senatorial jurisdiction over the provincial administration had not proved to be satisfactory, since it was prejudiced by caste considerations. In this way Gaius made the capitalists his political friends.

Gaius Gracchus met his ruin before he was able to carry out the intended reform in the agrarian question. It was difficult for such a statesman to hold his position, since, indeed, the constitution strictly forbade re-election after the expiration of the official year, and because the citizens from outlying districts seldom came more than once in the year to Rome for the purpose of voting. Finally, numerous separate interests conflicted. The Roman citizens and the Italian allies could not be brought into common action. The bestowal of the citizenship on the allies met with little support at Rome, since the dominant people preferred to enjoy their privileges alone; in consequence of this, both classes of the population of Italy now began to scan each other with hostile looks. Even the plan of Gaius to devote to the settlement of indigent Roman citizens not only Italy, but also the adjoining provinces, as Africa and the part of Gaul beyond the Alps, which was occupied to secure the land route into Spain, appeared at the outset so novel that the conservative party had good reason to hope for a change in public feeling.

And this, indeed, resulted while Gaius was detained for two months in the district of Carthage—which had been devastated and laid under a curse—occupied with measurements and other preparations for founding a colony there. In his absence his opponents carried the election of L. Opimius as consul, who immediately opposed Gaius, since he was no longer tribune. As this led to a rising of the Gracchan party, the consul was invested by the senate with extraordinary powers. The adherents of Gracchus were attacked by force of arms and conquered. Gaius



ROMAN ACTORS WITH THEIR THEATRICAL MASKS
From a realistic bas-relief in the Lateran Museum, Rome.

himself ordered his slave to kill him during the rout. In addition, the rising cost the lives of some 3,000 of his partisans. This was in the year 121 B.C.

The agrarian agitation was continued for some years, but the rights of private proprietors, in the form they had now assumed, were not attacked any more.

An Era of Rural Depopulation

The African system of latifundia was preserved only in some districts of Lower Italy. Near Rome, in the direction of Etruria, as well as of Campania, centres of the agricultural population no longer existed. When the Latin feast was celebrated on the Alban Mountain fewer and fewer claims were made at the distribution of the meat-offering. Places like Gabii, Labicum and Bovillæ were almost deserted; Fidenæ was an insignificant village; of Ardea only the name was left; other places had disappeared without a trace, and the farmers had departed.

Only the villas of the Roman nobles in the immediate vicinity of the capital, on the Alban Hills, in the Volscian territory, near Tibur and Tusculum, and on the sea-shore, brought life into the country in the best season of the year. If a politician was for a time out of office he would spend the whole period at Tusculum or Albanum or on the Campanian coast, whither the elder Scipio, Africanus, had withdrawn in dudgeon, and where, later, Lucullus laid out his splendid gardens. Thus, the agricultural aspect of entire districts had completely altered within a few decades. The successors of the farmers from Latium, Southern Etruria, and further afield, composed the proletariat of the capital, and were, according to a law which C. Gracchus had passed, fed with corn at the cost of the state. For the future, senators, knights, and proletarians shared in the profits of empire.



GAIUS MARIUS

Who rose from a peasant to the mastery of Rome in the time of the consular government. He was extremely masterful and tyrannical.

After the downfall of C. Gracchus the centre of gravity again rested with the senate, which had assumed the protection of the conservative interests against the revolutionaries. The Roman annals of this period are equally tinged with conservatism. Not until the ensuing period do the political speeches have a party character. But there was much that was corrupt in the ranks of these "conservatives." This was especially apparent in the sphere of provincial administration and in the disputes which broke out at that time among the successors of King Masinissa of Numidia.

Jugurtha, an illegitimate descendant of Masinissa, who had gained the friendship of the Roman aristocracy in the war before Numantia, expelled and murdered his cousins, the princes Adherbal and Hiempsal, in order to make himself sole ruler. In Rome this conduct had met with lenient criticism, until the tribunes of the people, from party considerations, revealed the systematic bribery to which Jugurtha owed this indulgence. After the most respected heads of the governing party had been compromised in the matter, the scandal became greater by the way in which the punishment which had been resolved upon for Jugurtha was carried out. Jugurtha himself, as soon as he had been admitted to the negotiations, came to Rome. He knew that everything, the city itself in the last extremity, had its price. When, at the urgent pressure of the opposition, active measures were taken against him, he inflicted a defeat on the Roman army. The war continued, greatly influenced by the attitude of parties in the city; we have an excellent account of the course of affairs in the monograph of Sallustius Crispus (Sallust), who wrote as a partisan of Julius Cæsar.

When Every Roman had His Price

In the Roman army a townsman of Arpinum, C. Marius, had distinguished himself as a subordinate officer of the consul Q. Metellus. He had allied himself by marriage with the Julian family, and was now, in 107 B.C., elected consul through the efforts of the popular party. After Marius had conquered Jugurtha, and made him prisoner through the craft of his quæstor Cornelius Sulla, he became the worshipped hero of the opposition, especially when, in attempting to repel a migration of Keltic and Germanic peoples which threatened Gaul and Italy, the aristocratic generals suffered repeated defeats in close succession. Marius, consequently, was again elected consul amid violent excite-



THE UNIQUE CHARACTERISTIC OF ROME'S PUBLIC GAMES

Gladiatorial displays between prisoners of war are peculiarly associated with Rome and, later, the Roman empire as a whole. These sanguinary combats originated after the proletariat made the army their profession, and were designed to accustom the people to bloodshed. Hence "butchered to make a Roman holiday." In later years not only prisoners fought in the arenas but Roman citizens, and even an emperor coveted its sanguinary honours.

ment, and his election was renewed every year until the Teutones had been defeated in Transalpine Gaul, and the Cimbri and their allies in Cisalpine Gaul (102 and 101 B.C.). It is curious to remark that the authorities hold that the Teutones were half Keltic, and that the Cimbri were Germans.

At this period Marius effected the reorganisation of the Roman military system in accordance with the requirements of the existing social conditions. Marius admitted into his army the proletarians, who gladly enlisted in expectation of booty, and at the same time he abolished the existing composition of the legion, which had taken into consideration differences of property. A uniform armament of all legionaries was introduced, every man receiving a javelin (*pilum*) and a sword. Since owners of land had to be dismissed to their fields after every campaign, the tactical training of the troops had been neglected. Now, when the proletarians made the army their profession, as it were, greater stress could be laid on drill and swordsmanship. In order to accustom the people to bloodshed numbers of prisoners of war, who had been trained in fighting, were pitted against each other at the public games, and not only imitated a battle, but fought it out to the death. This is the beginning of the gladiatorial shows, without which men soon could not live at Rome—a barbarous amusement for the degenerate rabble of the sovereign city. The previous military organisation was thus practically, though not legally, abolished. In time of need now, as before, the entire male population of Italy capable of bearing arms, between the ages of seventeen and forty-five years, could be called out. On ordinary occasions enlistment was sufficient, since enough recruits gave in their names.

Origin of Gladiatorial Combats

Extent of the Conscription

But the soldiers were anxious, not only for profitable wars during their period of service, but for a provision for their old age, an allotment of house and land. They wished their victorious commander to gain this point for them from the government. This involved a diminution of the public domain, and, therefore, of the financial resources of the state. They were ready, for their part, to vote for him in the comitia. The soldiers were well aware that not every general possessed the necessary influence; and, therefore, when they enlisted they paid great attention to the person of the commander, a circumstance by which party struggles in Rome from this time assumed a quite different aspect.

After his return from the Cimbrian War C. Marius had been elected consul for the sixth time, thanks to the agitation of his partisans. It was found, however, that he was not as familiar with the struggles of the forum as with those of the battlefield, so that, in virtue of a decree of the senate, which authorised him to take extraordinary measures, he acted most sharply towards his own party friends; and at the end of the year he was quite discredited as a politician. In consequence of this, the senatorial party, now actually in league with the knights, to whom the socialistic views of the leaders of the proletarians were antagonistic, once more came forward. They recognised as their leader L. Cornelius Sulla, the rival of Marius, and his former quæstor in the Numidian War.

Rivalry of Marius and Sulla

When Sulla had become consul for the year 88 B.C. the question arose, what general should conduct the war against King Mithradates of Pontus, who was then stirring up the whole Orient against the Roman rule. The king had been received with acclamations in the province of Asia, and at his orders all the Italians who lived there had been massacred. The settlement of Eastern affairs generally was, therefore, bound up with the command against Mithradates; and thus a prospect of rich gain was held out to the general and his army, quite apart from its significance for the relations of the parties in Rome itself, where the general victorious in a great war now always took the first place in the state. The opponents of the senate wished that Marius might be entrusted with the command, and carried their proposal by a decree of the people. Sulla marched with his troops against Rome, took the town, and had the leaders of the opposition proscribed by the senate. The command in the Mithradatic campaign was thus secured to Sulla, but at the same time a new era of civil war was begun.



Mansell

A ROMAN CITIZEN
Showing the manner of wearing the toga.

The distinction which existed in the Italian-Roman state system had already made itself felt, and now was revived by the conflict of the citizen factions—the distinction between the privileged citizen of the city of Rome and the Italian confederates. The native allies had up till now derived advantage from the increased power of the Apennine peninsula, which had spread over the opposite coasts and gradually over the whole Mediterranean. On the other hand, it pleased the sovereign people of Rome to load the allies as far as possible with the burdens of government, especially with the troublesome duty of garrisoning the provinces. The comitia of the Roman citizens certainly exercised influence on the government in Rome, but not so the allies, who had powers only of local government and had no unity of organisation. This was felt to be unjust. When the Gracchi came forward with plans for reform, they excited the hopes of the allies, a circumstance which did harm to those young champions of the allies against the Roman citizens. After the fall of Tiberius Gracchus the disaffection of the allies became open hostility. At their head stood the colony of Fregellæ on the Liris, which, after the overthrow of Capua, was the first town in those regions, and probably the first in Italy, after Rome. The revolt of Fregellæ was mercilessly suppressed, but the factions in Rome continued; and the opponents of the ruling optimates maintained relations with the discontented allies, which soon spread over the whole of Italy; so that it was said of M. Livius Drusus, the tribune of the people for the year 92 B.C., that he tried to govern Italy through such clientage. The conspirators demanded a part in the Roman

elections, admission to the offices in Rome, in short, the complete rights of the Roman citizenship. M. Livius Drusus moved resolutions to this effect, and the opposite faction got rid of him by assassination.

Then the revolt of the Italians broke out. At the head stood those Sabellian tribes which once had taken only a feeble part in the resistance of the Samnites, and, therefore, were admitted into the Italian confederation on very favourable terms. There were the Marsi, who had kept their territory nearly intact. Their capital, which was also the political centre of the stock, Marruvium, was situated on the Fucine lake. The same was true of the Peligni, whose capital was Corfinium. The tribes of these districts placed themselves at the head of the revolt, so that the war was styled the Marsian War. But Corfinium became the principal place of the confederation of "Italia." In the south the Samnites immediately joined, in the north the district of Picenum. The movement soon extended to the regions lying nearer Rome, to Campania, and Etruria. Rome saw herself attacked on all sides. In the first year many Roman magistrates fell victims to the revolt. If the hostile factions in Rome had not united, at least for the moment, in a common policy, and if, as shortly afterwards, one party had sided with the Italians, Rome might well have fallen. In any case, the seat of government would have been changed even if the constitution remained the same, for the insurgents had formed their senate, their consuls and their prætors entirely on the Roman model, although their coins partly bore Oscan inscriptions. As we have already remarked, some of the popular leaders in Rome had expressly recognised the justice of the demands made by the Italians. The proposal to split up the forces of the rebellion by granting the citizenship to all those who still hesitated to join it, especially in the adjacent countries, was now received with some favour. The Sabellian races were, however, so incensed against Rome that they would hear nothing more of concessions, but set about their avowed purpose of destroying the "lair of the she-wolf." One colony of Rome, Venusia, actually joined the insurgents; others, which lay in the disaffected district or near it, such as Alba, on the Fucine lake, Æsernia, and Venafrum in Samnium, were compelled by force to join the cause.



MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT ROME Mansell

Although the morals of Rome passed through many phases, from austerity to licentiousness, and women were at times notoriously incontinent, from first to last the principle of monogamy was maintained.

"Italia" Against Rome

But, on the whole, Rome gained breathing space by these measures, at any rate on the side of Campania, Etruria, and Umbria. The war was carried into the more distant countries, first into Picenum, where Asculum was a centre of the insurrection. Numerous Roman leaden missiles with inscriptions which refer to this war have been found in the bed of this river. Asculum, after an obstinate resistance, was finally taken by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of the great Pompey, consul in the year 89 B.C. Corfinium, after that, could not longer hold out; and the war was continued chiefly by the Samnites, who selected Æsernia as their centre. In Rome, meantime, the strife between the factions had again

broken out, and now the popular party demanded further concessions for the Italians. It was now a question only of the greater or less restriction on their right of voting, and thus the violence of the insurrection was diverted. The leaders lent the popular party assistance against their opponents, especially as Sulla, after his return from the Mithradatic War, attacked the democratic government. For L. Cornelius Sulla had, meantime, conducted a three years' war against Mithradates of Pontus in Greece and Asia, in the course of which his army was trained and grew attached to his person, so that he was now far superior to the leaders of the rival faction. These were at variance with each other, and possessed, indeed, no leader of universally recognised authority, since Marius had died in his seventh consulship, in 86 B.C., and Cinna, in his fourth consulship, had fallen victim to a mutiny in 84 B.C. When Sulla advanced from Brundisium, he became master, through a second mutiny, of the army sent against him in Campania. The opposition of the confederates, who once more attacked Rome itself, was crushed, and a bloody retribution exacted. Samnium and the Etrurian coast district never recovered from the devastations caused by Sulla's soldiery. Sulla no longer delayed to bestow the citizenship on the Italians.

The Rising Star of Sulla



SULLA, RIVAL OF MARIUS
A victorious general who raised himself to the dictatorship, and after two years of undisputed sway retired to a twilight of debauchery.

In the distribution of the allies among the thirty-five citizen tribes much "electoral geometry" was employed, since the new burgesses were now entitled to take part in the voting at Rome; thus the Marsi and the Peligni were united into one tribe, the Sergian. The place of the customary local authorities was taken by two magistrates, corresponding to the Roman consuls. As the administration of justice rested with them, they were usually styled *duumviri juridicundo*. Thus the Latin-Roman institutions, which up till now had been found only in the colonies, were extended over the whole of Italy, including the Greek towns. Sulla caused himself to be named dictator to reorganise the constitution, and in doing so he went back to the system which had prevailed before the Gracchi. The tribunate of the people was once more to be a convenient tool of the government; the administration of the state was to rest in the hands of the senate, without being influenced or controlled by the knights. In order, once for all, to guard the constitution from attacks, Sulla gravely determined to exterminate the opposition.

He is the originator of the system of proscriptions, the extermination of the best, as this procedure has been called. While Marius and Cinna had proceeded only against the leaders of the optimates, Sulla, quite unexpectedly, had the names of the senators and knights who were to be executed publicly posted up. The list was frequently renewed, until some two thousand senators and knights had forfeited their lives. Their property was confiscated, but freedom was given to their slaves, in order that the system might find supporters in them.

Sulla governed for two years with unlimited powers. He reorganised the provincial administration; in Greece and in Asia, when the question arose as to restrictions to be imposed on the farmers of the taxes, he introduced regulations which were permanent and satisfied the subjects. In fact, for the towns of Asia 84 B.C. was the beginning of a new era, which lasted for more than 500 years. With regard to the magistracy, Sulla established the rule that the consuls and prætors should discharge their office in the capital, and then, as proconsuls and proprætors, govern a province for one year.

Sulla hoped that, through his enactments, the conservative party, whose views satisfied the main body of the nation, had been firmly seated in the saddle; the histories of this period are conservative, though moderate in tone. He himself kept within the limits of his constitution; and, after two years, laid down the dictatorship in 80 B.C., and withdrew to his villa on the Campanian coast. There he wrote his "Memoirs." While the possessors of such power have usually been eager to secure for their sons a dynastic precedence Sulla refrained from any such attempt.

What Sulla Did in Two Years



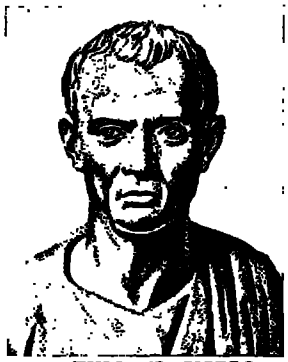
POMPEY THE GREAT & JULIUS CÆSAR

THE RULE OF THE TRIUMVIRATE AND THE FOUNDING OF THE JULIAN DYNASTY

NOTWITHSTANDING all the precautionary measures which Sulla had adopted, political agitation was not ended by him. Numbers of people had joined Sulla for personal reasons who supported the reaction towards a strict oligarchy so long as they themselves were not affected by it. This was the view of many of the most important subordinate officers who had supported Sulla in the Italian War and afterwards during the operations in the provinces. Such were M. Licinius Crassus, who had acquired an immense fortune by lucky speculations at the time of the proscriptions, and Cn. Pompeius Magnus, whose father had belonged to the equestrian party.

Revival of Civil War

Firmer supporters of the oligarchy were Q. Metellus Pius, Q. Lutatius Catulus, and the brothers L. and M. Licinius Lucullus. The life and activity of this period are well depicted in the Lives of Plutarch, who, in the second century A.D., recast the old materials. We gain a further insight into it from the speeches, letters, and numerous writings of M. Tullius Cicero, one of the principal creators of the Latin literature.



M. TULLIUS CICERO
Whose writings illuminate the period following the death of Sulla.

For the moment all were intent on crushing the remnants of the popular party, which showed signs of active life in the year of Sulla's death, 78 B.C., even in Rome itself. In fact, one of the consuls for this year, M. Æmilius Lepidus, publicly advocated the Gracchan policy, together with the restoration of those who had been exiled and whose property was confiscated. A rising ensued, which spread to various parts of Italy, particularly Etruria, until Lepidus was defeated before the gates of the capital in a regular battle by Lutatius Catulus and Pompeius in 77 B.C. The remains of the army of Lepidus, after its commander himself had fallen on the way, fled under M. Perperna to Spain. Here, from the time of Cinna's rule, Q. Sertorius had held the position of governor, since he knew how to win over the natives. Q. Metellus and Cn. Pompeius were now sent against him. They carried on the war for years in an inglorious fashion, and only in 72 B.C., after M. Perperna turned traitor, did Sertorius fall.

Rising of Slaves and Gladiators

In the meantime, L. Licinius Lucullus, consul in the year 74 B.C., had taken command in the war against Mithradates of Pontus, which had broken out again. The optimates, who wished to get the profitable administration of the East into their hands, had struggled for the conduct of the campaign. By special provisions, M. Crassus, as prætor, had to exercise military functions. A general rising of the slaves and gladiators had broken out in Italy, with which the consuls, who had no military experience, were unable to cope, while Crassus successfully repressed it. Pompeius, who had just returned from Spain, annihilated some bands that attempted to cross the Alps.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus, though only thirty years old, had often commanded armies; but he had never held any curule office. He did not, however, wish to hold a position inferior to Crassus, who was now canvassing for the consulship; for, in spite of his wealth, Crassus was not reckoned to possess any peculiar

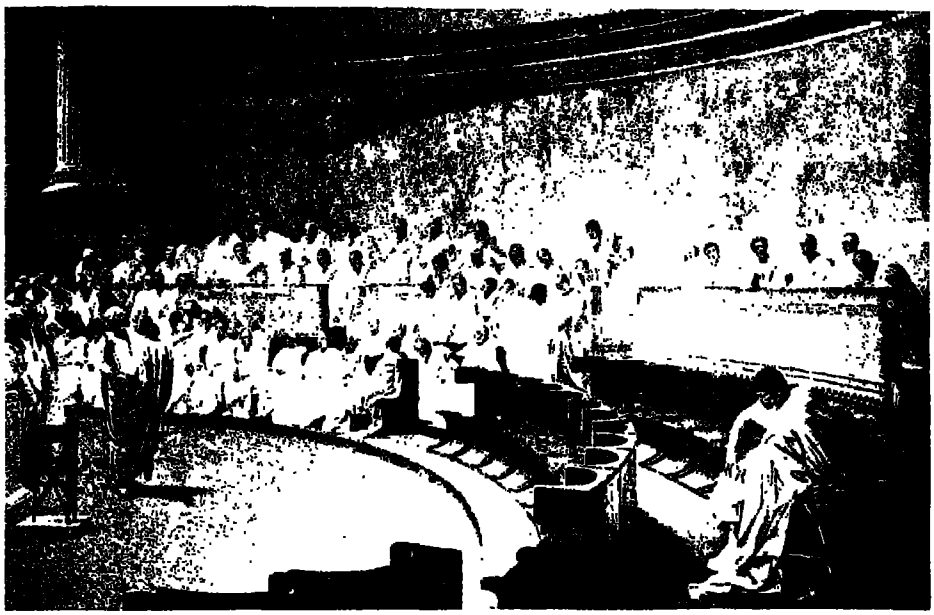
intellectual ability. This led to all kinds of intrigues. C. Julius Cæsar, who was four years younger than Pompey, had already brought himself into notice, and was conspicuous among the young nobility of Rome for the insolent audacity of his conduct and the enormous extent of his debts. As son-in-law of Cinna, he attached himself to the popular party, an act which was not regarded seriously at first in outside circles, although Sulla in his last years is said to have declared that more than one Marius was concealed in the young Cæsar. On account of the dissensions which prevailed among the leaders of the party of Sulla, Cæsar attained to political importance for the first time in the year 71 B.C. Cæsar, who was personally on good terms with Crassus, persuaded him and Pompey that, if they were to combine with him, they would be superior to all rivals. He held out to them the prospect of the votes of the popular party at the consular election if its principal demand, the restoration of the tribunate of the people, were granted. In order to win over the knights also, their former privileges—namely, the participation as jurors in the tribunals—were to be conceded to them. At this time great excitement was caused by a notorious trial, in which the Sicilians impeached their former governor, C. Verres, and M. Tullius Cicero came forward as their advocate: Verres was condemned. Pompey and Crassus, who were influenced by party interests, but not by principles, pledged themselves to the demands of Cæsar in their speeches as candidates, and were then elected consuls for the year 70 B.C. Cæsar had won his first success as a politician; since he broke down the constitution of Sulla in very essential points, and at the same time irremediably compromised two leaders of the opposition.

Pompey gained most by this coalition. On the proposal of the tribune of the people, A. Gabinius, he was placed at the head of the fleet and of an army with extraordinary powers, in order that the outrages of the



CICERO AT HIS COUNTRY VILLA DURING HIS RETIREMENT FROM ROME

Though better remembered for his literary work than for his public life in Rome, Cicero was one of the foremost senators of his time. Lacking somewhat in resolution, but on the whole honest of purpose, his fortunes varied greatly from time to time, and at different periods he withdrew from Rome to the seclusion of his country villa.



CICERO IN THE SENATE ACCUSING CATILINE OF TREASON
One of the most memorable episodes in the consular career of Cicero; but his impeachment failed for lack of evidence. Cicero escaped the dagger of Catiline's assassin, though his later years were passed in dread of assassination, which finally was his fate at the hands of an emissary of Antony. From the painting by Maccari, Rome.

pirates, which had been increasing since the downfall of most of the maritime powers, might be terminated. The Roman state had neglected the fleet after the Punic War. A special decree was passed that the commander-in-chief should himself choose twenty-five inferior commanders, *legati*, from the body of the senators, and that these should be invested with prætorian rank. All places on the coast up to forty miles inland were placed under Pompey's jurisdiction, so that his rivals said with justice that his authority was tantamount to that of a monarch. On the other hand, it was notorious that Sulla had made a blunder when he abolished the central command of the consuls. As there was no fleet to guard the shores of Italy, the communications with the east and the corn-growing countries were more and more endangered, so that there was a threatened failure of the supplies on which the Roman plebs were fed.

Pompey's Popularity in Rome

The proposal of Gabinius was therefore carried, and Pompey executed his commission in the shortest time. He thus became the most popular man in Rome.

Pompey aimed higher. In fact, he was able, through the help of the equestrian party, to contrive that the war against Mithradates and the regulation of affairs in the east should be entrusted to him. This was effected by the "lex Manilia," for which M. Tullius Cicero spoke—a fact of importance, since Cicero was accustomed to state his views plainly. L. Lucullus had been unfortunate in incurring the hostility of the Roman knights, who were concerned in the most scandalous financial transactions in Asia. By a usury edict, according to which only one per cent. per month could be charged as interest, the towns in the provinces had been enabled to pay off in a comparatively short period an enormous contribution imposed on them by Sulla. The knights had lost thereby immense profits, and they now raised a violent agitation against Lucullus. As, under these circumstances, the Sullan constitution, among the supporters of which was L. Lucullus, was overthrown, the effect on the province, and even on the discipline of the army, was such that the proconsul could not make use of the advantages he had won over Mithradates. In 66 B.C., Lucullus received his recall, and with it his administrative measures became inoperative.

The Usury of the Roman Knights

After Pompey had taken over the command and had reorganised the army, he conquered Mithradates, as well as his ally and son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia, who had extended his dominion over Syria. When Pompey then formed an

alliance with the Parthians, a peace was arranged with Tigranes, in which he renounced his conquests. Mithradates was forced to fly to the north of the Black Sea, where he met his death, while the conqueror formed a province out of the countries of Pontus and Bithynia (64 B.C.). Legates of Pompey had already taken possession of Syria, where the rule of the Seleucidæ was ended.

After the withdrawal of Tigranes there was no supreme government until Pompey assumed it at Antioch. He ruled there in the winter of 64–63 B.C., like a "king of kings," set up and deposed princes, and granted privileges to the towns. In the spring of 63 B.C. he proceeded to Damascus, where he settled the dispute between the two Jewish princes, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, in favour of the former. As Aristobulus did not submit, Jerusalem was taken, the temple stormed, and the pretender led away captive. Antipater, the Idumæan, was already prominent as the procurator of Hyrcanus, and from that time succeeded in making himself indispensable to all Roman rulers. The Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, gives us particulars as to the activity of Pompey and his lieutenants. The Roman authority made itself felt as far as the borders of Arabia and Egypt. The former kingdom of the Seleucids was converted into the province of Syria. In the east, on the side of the Parthians, the Euphrates was adopted as a boundary, to which the Roman government subsequently adhered, and crossed it only at a far later period.

All this was the work of Pompey, who, in his administrative arrangements, always took into account existing conditions. In Syria the chronological era of the Seleucids remained in force during the entire length of the Roman rule; and, in fact, has persisted among the Aramaic-speaking Christians up to the present day. The boundaries of the districts were altered only when necessary. Galatia was divided into three principalities. Pontus, although forming with Bithynia one administrative sphere, retained its legislative assembly, if we may give this title to the partly religious, partly political, union of the towns of that province.

We cannot fail to recognise the abilities of Pompey. He delivered his decisions after careful deliberation, and also repressed corruption among his lieutenants. His freedmen had most influence over him, among others the writer Theophanes of Mitylene. Pompey attached considerable value to the fact that his exploits were given publicity, especially his last romantic campaign against Mithradates. The best account of it is preserved for us in the geographical and historical work of the Cappadocian Strabo. Pompey was by no means as great a genius as Julius Cæsar. But when, after long struggles, the principate was accepted as the final form of government, the institutions of Pompey were revived in many respects, and were preferred to those of Cæsar.



POMPEY THE GREAT



LEPIDUS THE TRIUMVIR

Pompey was the dangerous rival of Julius Cæsar, until the latter settled his account at the battle of Pharsalia. Lepidus, a weak, ambitious character, was, for a brief period only, one of the triumvirs.

At Rome the oligarchy still ruled, busied in preparing an inglorious end to the extraordinary power of Pompey. L. Lucullus thought, with the help of his party, to persuade the senate to declare the arrangements of Pompey null and void, just as his own had been annulled.

The other factions of the optimates agreed with Lucullus in this; and they were offended, besides, in many ways by the manner in which Pompey had gained possession of the imperium. Men like the younger M. Porcius Cato, who on principle held to the constitution, and, on account of his honourable character, enjoyed the respect even of his political opponents, were by no means disposed to smooth the way of Pompey to the principate. Least of all could Pompey expect support from Crassus, with whom he had quarrelled during his year of office. Julius Cæsar about this time declared he would rather be first in a village

than second in Rome. He became ædile in 65 B.C.; prætor in 62 B.C., and was entangled in all the political intrigues of the time, chiefly behind the scenes.

While his friend Crassus gave immense sums to enable him to win the favour of the Roman populace by the celebration of magnificent games, Cæsar kept in close touch with the anarchists, in whose ranks bankrupt nobles from both camps were to be found. These cherished the idea of once again bringing in an era of proscriptions by a political revolution. The soul of these attempts was L. Sergius Catiline, a former adherent of Sulla, who had been prætor and then governor in Africa, but had found that his road to the consulate was barred by the present ruling party. In 63 B.C. Catiline was defeated for the consulate by a citizen from one of the municipalities, who had come into prominence at Rome as an advocate, M. Tullius Cicero, whose colleague was the insignificant C. Antonius. After having been an unsuccessful candidate once more at the elections of the year 62 B.C., and crushed by an immense burden of debt, Catiline resolved to reach his goal by violent measures. He collected round his standard at Fæsulæ in Etruria the victims of the Sullan confiscations and the veterans who had settled there. These intrigues were no secret at Rome; on the contrary, so effectively had precautions been taken by the government, with the help of the wealthy classes, that Catiline found himself compelled to leave Rome. His confederates were waiting only for a victory in Etruria, to raise an insurrection in the capital. But their schemes were betrayed to the consul, Cicero, who had followed up the matter most vigorously. He arrested the conspirators, and the course of action that should be taken with them was the subject of an unprecedentedly heated debate in the senate. Notwithstanding the opposition of Cæsar, Cicero and Cato carried the proposal that the arrested should be executed without further proceedings, since there was danger in delay. Catiline and his confederates were declared national enemies, and the levies of the Italian militia were sent against him. Near Pistoria, now Pistoja, the points of departure of two passes over the Apennines to Modena and to Bologna, he was forced to fight a battle against a legate of the consul, C. Antonius, in which he was killed in 62 B.C.

Catiline is a typical figure of the Roman nobility of the day, in



Mansell

JULIUS CÆSAR, THE MAKER OF IMPERIAL ROME
The intellectual keenness of the great Cæsar is well seen in this bust; but the face is without softness or show of kindliness. Ambition was his guiding star, but his abilities in every sphere were exceptional, and on the whole his public conduct puts him among the rare heroes of ancient Rome.



JULIUS CÆSAR, IMPERATOR
From the statue in the National Museum at Naples.

whose career personal feuds, women, debts, and the desire to win promotion at the cost of the state play the greatest part. The description given by Sallust in his "Catilina" is verified and supplemented by Cicero, Suetonius, and other authors. We see also how the elections in Rome became the subject of speculation, in which the market in votes, organised by the election committees (*sodalicia*), played an important part. For the same reasons, the games were now given on a continuously increasing scale.

Corruption of the Elections

The conspiracy of Catiline, who had entertained wide-reaching plans, would have thwarted the schemes of Pompey. For this reason, Crassus, as well as Cæsar, was not unfavourable to the movement in the beginning. Cæsar's attitude was particularly irritating to the capitalist party, who knew his financial difficulties. Nevertheless, he was successful about this time in securing his election as pontifex maximus, although Q. Lutatius Catulus was the rival candidate (63 B.C.), a fact which shows that he ruled the comitia. But it was due entirely to the wealth of Crassus, who became his surety, that his creditors allowed him to go as proprætor to Farther Spain (61 B.C.).

It was generally believed in Rome that Pompey would make the anarchist movement a pretext for keeping the power in his own hands after his return from Asia. But Pompey, who, in a certain sense, clung to the letter of the law, disbanded his legions after landing at Brundisium, in accordance with constitutional precedent. He then proceeded to Rome, in order to secure from the senate the ratification of his acts, as well as the pensioning of his veterans. He found such opposition in the senate, now that his opponents had joined cause, and encountered such a delay in business that his complete fall was imminent. He was rescued from this plight only by the return of Cæsar from Spain in the year 60 B.C., who, in order to further his own plans, which were directed towards obtaining the consulate, once more made common cause with Pompey and Crassus. Cæsar pledged himself to promote, and under all circumstances to carry out, the wishes of Pompey and his party in the event of his becoming consul by their aid. Cæsar, then, was elected consul for the year 59 B.C. He, a member of one of the oldest families, became leader of the popular party and followed in the footsteps of G. Gracchus. His plebeian colleague, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, was a tool of the optimates, but was unscrupulously disregarded by Cæsar. This was the first step towards the establishment of the Julian monarchy, which a hundred years later was actually dated from the first consulship of Cæsar. From that day to his death Cæsar never ceased to be a magistrate of the state, and, accordingly, irresponsible. Men thought of this when the last C. Cæsar (Caligula) was murdered, in the year 41 A.D. After Cæsar's consulship the political literature of the time divides into the Cæsarian, at the head of which Julius Cæsar himself stood, and the anti-Cæsarian, lasting beyond the victory of the dynasty.

Cæsar Joins Pompey

He provisionally shared the government of the state with Crassus and Pompey. The acts of Pompey in the east were ratified by a decree of the people at the proposal of Cæsar, and the veterans of Pompey were rewarded by donations of land. The Campanian public domain, which, since the Hannibalic War, had been farmed out for the benefit of the treasury, was then also set apart to be allotted. Capua revived as a Cæsarian colony. But while Pompey was again confirmed in his supreme authority in the east, Cæsar claimed for himself a western sphere, Gaul; not merely the nearer province, with which the administration of Illyricum was connected, but also that of Transalpine Gaul, which, since the time of the Cimbri and Teutones, was continually menaced by invaders.

Power of the Triumvirate

A rich field for action offered itself here to any man who wished to accept the post—a post, however, which required to be held for some years, and was, therefore, incompatible with the principle of holding office for a single year, which till then was applied to republican magistracies. The powerful triumvirate carried their point. Cæsar became proconsul for five years with the same rights Pompey had enjoyed in his command against the pirates and against Mithradates. He received legates, with proprætorian rank, and four legions, with the right to strengthen them by



THE LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR AND HIS LEGIONS ON THE COAST OF ENGLAND IN THE YEAR 55 B.C.

2667

further levies; and, finally, unlimited authority to act in Gaul.

Cæsar governed in Gaul for ten years, as the Barcidæ had formerly done in Spain, and regulated the movements of the nations, since he forced the Helvetii, who had migrated into Gaul, to return to their country, and then defeated the Suevi, who advanced across the Rhine under Ariovistus. But he settled on the Rhine German tribes, who, in the succeeding campaigns, took the side of the Romans. Even the Kelts were not united. In the same way he made the Helvetii his allies, and won over, among the Belgian tribes, the Remi (near Rheims) and the Lingoni, and obtained a strong base for his operations in Northern Gaul. During the ensuing years he became supreme over the Belgian tribes also. His lieutenant, P. Crassus, son of the rich Crassus, secured the submission, first of the Armorici and then of the Aquitani. In order to crush the last remnants of resistance, and to punish all that gave help to the rebels, he twice crossed the Rhine, and twice invaded Britain. While Pompey employed others to write for him, Cæsar prepared his own account of the Gallic War and had it published in book form, but without revealing his ultimate projects. Finally, after he had crushed a great rising under the Arvernian Vercingetorix in 52 B.C., he reduced all Gaul to one form of government, so that he could at any moment employ the resources of the land and its population against Rome itself. At the same time, the enormous amount of money that became his spoil was employed in extending his sphere of influence. He even came to terms with the client states and the provinces of the east, in order to be master of the situation.

Cæsar in Gaul

Pompey, in the meantime, was in a difficult position at Rome, since he was being attacked on the one side by the optimates, on the other side by the extreme men of the popular party. He could make head only because of the strength the victories of Cæsar lent the triumvirate. The triumvirate was renewed in the year 56 B.C. at a meeting at Luca, which was still in Cæsar's province. While Cæsar obtained an extension of his command for five years, Pompey and Crassus were to hold the consulate for the second time, in 55 B.C., and afterwards the provinces of Spain and Syria respectively. The most important military commands lay, therefore, in the hands of the three. As a matter of fact, Pompey, on the expiration of his year of office, administered Spain through his lieutenants, while he himself remained in Rome, and, together with his wife, Julia, daughter of Cæsar, held court there.

Pompey's Difficulties in Rome

Crassus made use of his provincial command in Syria to enrich himself, as Cæsar had done in Gaul. He attacked the Parthians; but in the sandy district of Northern Mesopotamia the heavy-armed legionaries were no match for the light troops, and especially the cavalry of the Parthians; his guides failed him, provisions gave out, and the Roman army suffered a fearful defeat at Carrhæ in 53 B.C. Crassus himself, who wished to negotiate terms of surrender, was killed and with him his son, P. Crassus. The frontier on the Euphrates was held by the quæstor of Crassus, C. Cassius, but the defeat was not avenged until later.

Only Pompey and Cæsar were now left of the great powers in the state. The former, since the death of Julia, and his marriage with the widow of P. Crassus, a daughter of Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio, the leader of the optimates, had been driven more and more into rivalry with Cæsar. Family alliances proved very important in Rome, especially in the case of men like Pompey. The party of the optimates, in whose eyes the old oligarchic constitution alone was legitimate, wished to effect the withdrawal of both Pompey and Cæsar from their offices. But, since they could not be master of both, they first contemplated the humiliation of Cæsar, who seemed more dangerous to them, since he had already had a hand in the conspiracy of Catiline—a step which clearly amounted to a breach of the constitution—and he had paid no attention to the remonstrance of Bibulus, his colleague in the consulate; nor while he was ruling as supreme lord in Gaul did he cease to keep up communications with parties in Rome, and to take the most disreputable persons into his service, in order not to allow the opposition to the overthrown oligarchy to die out.

Rivalry of Pompey and Cæsar

The powerful position of Pompey was respected by the optimates, to which party he leaned. When fresh difficulties arose as to supplying Italy with grain from abroad, Pompey was entrusted with the



JULIUS CÆSAR'S COMPLETE SUBJECTION OF THE GAULS

During the triumvirate Cæsar was supreme in his great province of Gaul, which he had reduced to one uniform government, with the design of using its strength against Rome itself if the need arose. He achieved this result after crushing a formidable rising under Vercingetorix in 52 B.C. The illustration shows the rebellious Gallic leader before Cæsar.

settlement of the matter. As the rivalry of certain party leaders, such as Clodius and Milo, who had played some part as tribunes of the people, ended in street fighting—indeed, Clodius was, finally, killed by Milo at Bovillæ, in the immediate vicinity of Rome—Pompey was placed at the head of the state as consul "without colleagues" (52 B.C.)—that is, he was exempted from constitutional restraints.

This was the case when a law came into force, according to which an interval of five years was established between the tenure of the consulate and that of a provincial governorship. Pompey retained his Spanish provinces without opposition, and Cæsar brought no objections against it, although he allowed his partisans to declare that the authority of the proconsul of Gaul had the same basis as that of Pompey. In reality, the rupture between them was postponed, since Pompey adhered to the agreement with Cæsar until the expiration of their covenant.

From the year 49 B.C. onward there were no longer any obstacles to prevent the recall of Cæsar from Gaul and the appointment to the governorship of a loyal supporter of the optimates; and Cæsar, out of office, could be tried before a court for the numerous breaches of the constitution which he had committed. Metellus Scipio, M. Bibulus and M. Porcius Cato made preparations for doing so. And at the last moment T. Labienus, who had for years served as lieutenant under Cæsar in Gaul, and had taken a considerable part in his successes, joined this party. The

attempt, however, to break up the army of Cæsar, in the same way as that of Lucullus had been broken up at an earlier period, by political measures, totally miscarried. Cæsar's efforts were inevitably directed towards the single aim of winning a further extension of his term of office. He therefore demanded the consulship for the year 48 B.C., as well as the permission to be a candidate for it in his absence. The consulship would follow directly on the proconsulship, and, therefore, an impeachment for breach of the constitution would be rendered impossible. Besides this, Cæsar hindered the action of his antagonists, since he caused the tribunes of the people, whom he had gained over, to "intercede" for him at the debates in the senate. In January, 49 B.C., however, matters came to a rupture, and Pompey was concerned in bringing it about. Cæsar was ordered to resign his province; L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was appointed to succeed him, and the other provinces were filled with partisans of the optimates. Finally, in order to render ineffective the protest of the tribunes of the people, the emergency decree was published—"Videant consules ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica" ("Let the consuls see to it that the commonwealth suffer no harm"—the formula employed to authorise the consuls to choose a dictator).

If Cæsar proved insubordinate, the same measures could be taken against him as against Catiline. The population of Italy was summoned to take up arms; and a man of consular or prætorian rank was



Braun, Clement

SCENE FROM THE TRIUMPH OF JULIUS CÆSAR

This, the first of Mantegna's nine panels at Hampton Court, shows the beginning of the procession, musicians and soldiers carrying the bust of Roma Victrix, while others follow with banners illustrating the towns conquered by Cæsar.



Braun, Clement

ANOTHER SCENE FROM THE TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR

This second painting by Mantegna shows two giant statues carried on a triumphal car, followed by soldiers and chariots bearing gods and other trophies taken from the vanquished, while at the side is a bust of Cybele surmounted by a laudatory legend to Cæsar. The most noticeable feature of the whole is the huge battering-ram used for reducing citadels.

sent into each district, in order to direct the measures for defence. At the same time the legions stationed in Spain could advance into Gaul. Pompey was nominated commander-in-chief, and thus remained at the head of the state, while he disregarded Cæsar's repeated proposals that the coalition should be observed.

Cæsar, on his side, was determined not to give his opponents time to arm. He stood at the head of the largest body of troops, a force of eleven legions, well seasoned by campaigns, while the remaining armies of the republic were scattered throughout Italy and the provinces. Cæsar had already advanced one legion as far as the south-eastern frontier of Gallia Cisalpina. When the friendly tribunes of the people—among their number, M. Antonius—who could no longer hold their position in Rome, came to him as fugitives, he made this a pretext for crossing the Rubicon, the frontier of his province, with the troops that were then at hand. "The die is cast," he said in great excitement, as an eye-witness tells us. He had no other resource left, since the opposite party acted with such fury.

Cæsar surprised his opponents by the speed with which he pressed on from Ariminum to Picenum and Etruria, where he disarmed the militia who had been called out, or forced them to serve in his army. He then won the central districts of Italy by investing Corfinium, where L. Domitius Ahenobarbus held out, contrary to the orders of Pompey, and

forcing it to surrender. The government in Rome itself was no longer secure. The senate hastily withdrew with Pompey to Brundisium. Cæsar entered the capital without opposition. He made himself master of the treasury and the public stores and of the whole machinery of government, without troubling himself further about the forms of the constitution or the protests of the tribunes of the people. Individual magistrates who had remained behind, such as the prætor L. Roscius, were forced to publish laws—as, for example, one providing for the bestowal of citizenship on the communities of Cisalpine Gaul, to whom it had been obstinately refused by the optimates. Only a few members of the great families joined Cæsar, among them the prætor M. Æmilius Lepidus, son of the consul of the year 78 B.C., who thus laid the foundations of his subsequent importance. Together with him, M. Antonius came into prominence as the most capable subordinate of Cæsar.

Cæsar Triumphant in Rome

Pompey, the commander-in-chief, and the optimates had sailed to Illyricum, in order to effect a counter-revolution—as Sulla had formerly done—in the east, the peculiar sphere of Pompey's supremacy. Great preparations were made under the protection of the legions which had followed him from Italy. The Greeks and the Orientals hurried up with their auxiliaries and rallied round Pompey as round their monarch, while the governors of the provinces were placed under his orders as legates, an arrangement which provoked much jealousy among the senators who had accompanied him. Cæsar had the great advantage of possessing the sole authority in his own camp. The superiority of Cæsar to Pompey, which may be recognised from comparing their features, consisted especially in the rapidity of his decisions and the energy with which he carried them out. He could count on effective support everywhere. In Spain, Pompey, a generation before, had deposed the followers of Q. Sertorius from power and had placed their rivals at the head of affairs; Cæsar declared the acts of Pompey void, and thus could rely on resolute supporters when he hurried from Rome through Gaul into Spain, in order there to disarm the legions of Pompey. This result was attained by skilful strategy at Ilerda in a surprisingly short time. Massilia, which had declared for the government of the optimates, was forced to capitulate after a prolonged siege. A large share of its territory was assigned as a reward to the veterans by Cæsar, who did not wish that Italy, as had happened under Sulla, should now be made to suffer unfairly.

The Quick Decision of Cæsar

Cæsar's moderation was universally praised. His opponents had expected the worst, imagining that he would execute the plans of Catiline, and they were pleasantly undeceived. His immediate object was to acquire control of the countries which furnished Italy with grain—Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa. He was successful in the islands, but in Africa, Cæsar's general, C. Scribonius Curio, met with a reverse, in consequence of the untrustworthiness of his own troops and the superiority of the Numidian cavalry which King Juba led against him. Curio himself was killed. At sea also the opposite party was superior: M. Bibulus, the former colleague of Cæsar, commanded the fleet. Nevertheless, Cæsar, with great audacity, transported a part of his army in November, 49, from Italy to the opposite coast of Illyricum, where he took up a position near Dyrrhachium until M. Antonius crossed over with the rest of the troops. Pompey, who held the chief command against him, was victorious in two engagements with Cæsar. But the latter advanced into Thessaly, and Pompey followed him. A battle was fought at Pharsalia, where Cæsar, on June 6th, 48 B.C., with 22,000 experienced soldiers, defeated an army of double strength. The Pompeians were driven back to Macedonia; and, owing to the energetic pursuit, could find no opportunity to rally. This was really the deciding blow. Those senators who did not actually belong to the extreme party made their peace with Cæsar after Pharsalia.

Decisive Battle of Pharsalia

Pompey, however, did not give up his cause as lost, since the east was still unharmed, for Cæsar's partisans there had kept in the background; but he experienced the fickleness of popular feeling, and resolved to go to Egypt, where the royal family, whose throne had been supported by Roman troops at his instance, were under an obligation to him. The officers and eunuchs who surrounded Ptolemy, a boy of thirteen years, thought it



"BEWARE THE IDES OF MARCH!"

On the eve of his assassination Cæsar's wife had a strange dream about him, and he had other warnings which might have made him "beware the Ides of March," while at his death various phenomena were reported, including the appearance of a comet. From the painting by Sir E. J. Poynter, P.R.A., by permission of the Manchester Art Gallery.

only wise to change sides; and they therefore had Pompey murdered before he had actually landed at Alexandria. Cæsar arrived a few days afterwards, and was presented with the head of his rival, the man who had so long been his political colleague and afterwards his son-in-law. There was, however, a feeling of deep resentment when Cæsar made his entry as a conqueror and undertook to play off the princess Cleopatra against her brother, Ptolemy, and the ministers. Cæsar was placed temporarily in a very dangerous position, from which he was freed only by the arrival of reinforcements from Syria. In this connection Antipater, regent of Judæa, who had just saved Hyrcanus from the attacks of Aristobulus, recently released from imprisonment by Cæsar, received the reward for his services from the new ruler. Cleopatra, who lavished her charms on Cæsar, received the throne of Egypt, which was vacant through the death of her brother.

Cæsar Presented with Pompey's Head

Cæsar went to Asia, where he defeated Pharnaces, a son of the great Mithradates, and reduced to order the affairs of the princes and of the towns. He then returned to Italy, where all sorts of irregularities had been tolerated under the slack administration of M. Antonius. There was also the necessity of annihilating the remnants of the optimates. They had collected a large army in Africa, under Metellus Scipio, the successor to Pompey as imperator, and under King Juba, while in Spain, Cnæus and Sextus Pompeius were in arms against Cæsar's governors, and had won successes. Cæsar, aided by the former follower of Catiline, P. Sittius, coming from Mauretania, defeated his African opponents at the battle of Thapsus in 46 B.C. Metellus Scipio, Cato, and Juba met their death, some by their own hands. Exasperated at the continuance of opposition, Cæsar allowed no pardon to be granted. Sittius received for his reward the territory of Cirta as an independent principality. The war in Spain lasted until 45 B.C., when Cæsar ended it by the battle of Munda, in the province of Bætica. Cæsar's victory here, as everywhere, resulted in a complete revolution, not only in the political status of the republic, but also in its economic conditions. The whole Roman world was in commotion, and no one knew what the end would be.

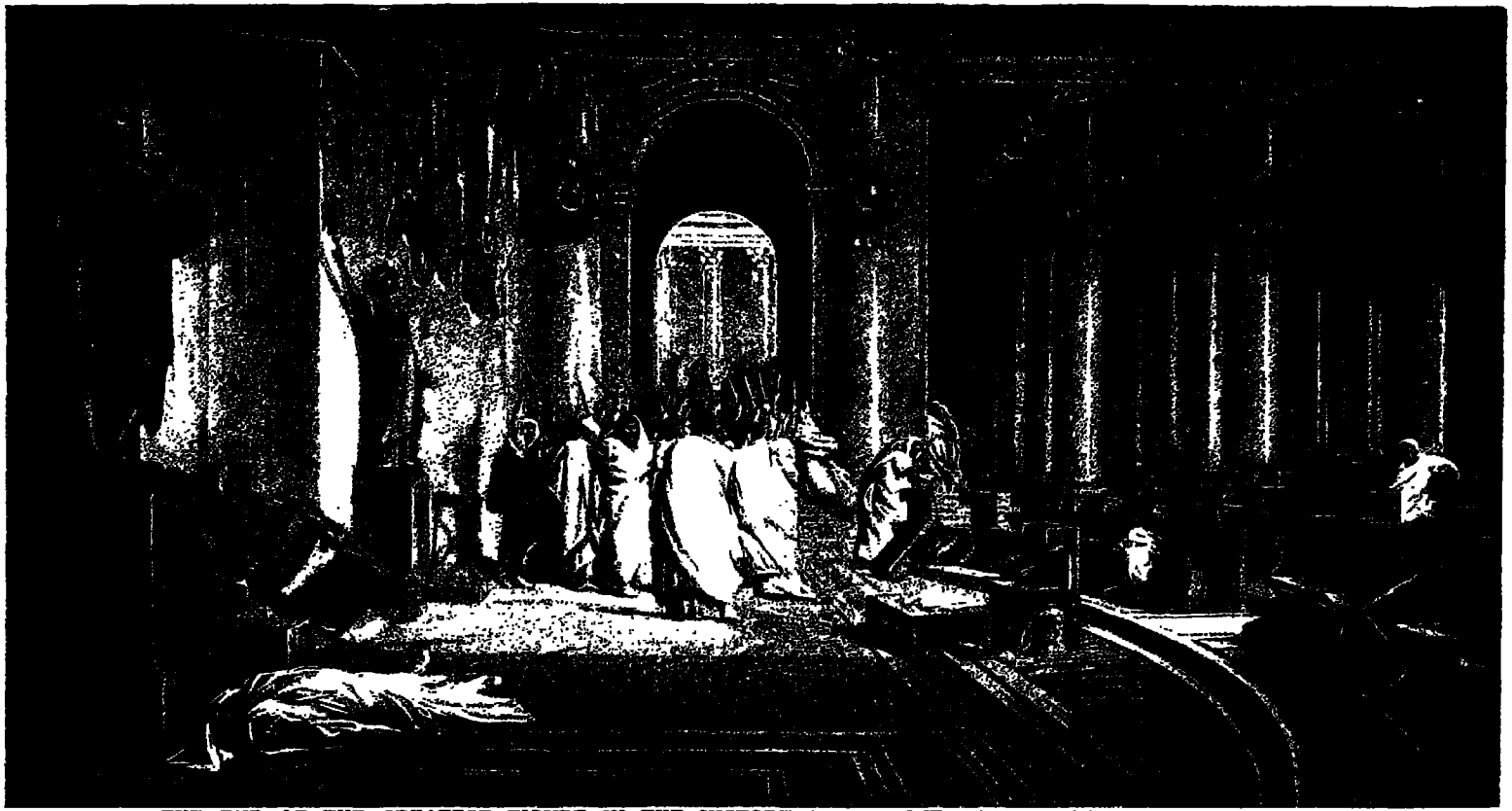
End of the War in Spain

Cæsar had formed certain plans, but he had been swept on by the course of events. He conducted the government as dictator with constitutional powers, as Sulla had, but he never relinquished his office; thus he held in turn the consulship, or, if not that, a proconsulship, by virtue of which he ruled from Rome, as Pompey had done. In short, he always held the highest power constitutionally attainable. He allowed his head to appear on the coins, crowned with laurel, and the inscription ran "Cæsar Imperator." After the victory had been won, the army was reduced to thirty-two legions, of which twenty-six were destined as garrisons for the provinces, and six as an army in the field.

The senate was retained; but while Sulla had restored its broad authority, Cæsar proceeded in an entirely different way, and troubled himself very little about it, especially since he was assured of a majority through his own creatures, and the Sullan opposition did not even appear at the sittings. Cæsar settled as he though fit the most important matters, such as the questions of state finance and the appointment of governors, and paid no regard to the laws which had been enforced under the rule of Pompey. He was at the same time concerned with the reconciliation of parties. He nominated as governors men, not only of his party, but also of the opposition, so far as they had effected a timely reconciliation with him.

Cæsar as Dictator

After the year 45 B.C. the west seemed pacified, but in the east much was still undecided. The defeat of Crassus had not been avenged, the relations of Egypt towards Rome were not defined, and the ruler of Egypt still had control of resources which might once more jeopardise the whole Roman supremacy in the east. Apart from other considerations, the significance of Alexandria as a world emporium was so great as to eclipse Rome in many respects. The constitutional question, too, had to be considered, for in the east men were accustomed to the kingly rule. Nothing had caused such resentment in Egypt against Cæsar as his ordering the fasces and axes to be borne before him as a Roman consul. Roman legions still remained in the country after Cæsar's Alexandrian War. It was said that Cæsar thought of having the kingly title conferred on him for the east, and that he



THE END OF THE GREATEST FIGURE IN THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT ROME: DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR

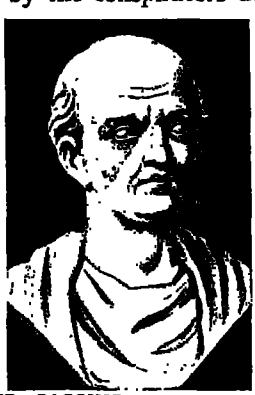
The plot to assassinate Cæsar, on the pretence that his rule had grown tyrannical, involved some of his own friends, chief of whom was Marcus Junius Brutus. Cæsar was set upon by the conspirators in the senate, Casca giving the first blow, and it is said that when the tyrant saw Brutus among his assailants he submitted to his fate, exclaiming, *Tu quoque, Brute!*

From the painting by J. L. Gérome

would live at Alexandria, where Cleopatra had won his heart. These were things which even Cæsar's trusted friends, such as M. Antonius, believed. At the feast of the Lupercalia, in February, 44 B.C., the latter presented Cæsar with a crown; and, though he refused it, many thought that it was a concerted plan.

Against such schemes there rose an opposition among people who had imbibed the republican spirit in the schools—where they learned of Junius Brutus, the legendary liberator of Rome from tyranny—and had generally grown up in the traditions of a free state. This feeling vented itself in public placards, or rather pasquinades. On the statue of the famous Brutus were found the words: "Would thou wert now alive," and on a billet: "Brutus, art thou asleep?" These hints were directed at the prætor of the year, M. Brutus, a man whose family had nothing in common with the liberator except the name, but who was a "philosopher," and was accessible to such counsels. Thus a conspiracy was quietly forming against Cæsar, in which persons took part who stood on a familiar footing with the dictator—such as Decimus Brutus, who had served under Cæsar in Gaul. Others had gone over to Cæsar after Pharsalia, and had since then been in no way superseded in their careers; for instance, C. Cassius, the former quæstor of Crassus in Syria. The whole conspiracy was engineered by optimates, angry because they had lost all their importance under a monarch like Cæsar. It cannot, indeed, be maintained that these liberators benefited their country. Under the circumstances it would have been the best course to have allowed Cæsar to act as he pleased, both at home and in foreign affairs.





BRUTUS AND CASSIUS

M. Junius Brutus, though a friend of Pompey, whom he supported at Pharsalia, was admitted to Cæsar's intimacy. He killed himself after the ineffectual battle at Philippi, at which Cassius had earlier committed suicide in the hour of defeat.

Cæsar was on the point of departing for the east, and had arranged the affairs of government for the immediate future. M. Æmilius Lepidus stood next to him as magister equitum. His colleague in the consulate was M. Antonius—Mark Antony—who was again designated to govern Italy after Cæsar's departure. A sitting of the senate was fixed for March 15th, 44 B.C., in order to settle the final arrangements. The conspirators determined to effect the assassination of Cæsar on that occasion. The roles were assigned, just as the followers of Catiline had once done. D. Brutus was to accompany Cæsar, who, as pontifex maximus, lived in the "Regia," to the capitol. Another was entrusted with the duty of keeping Antony, the consul, at a distance, since they feared his strength. The legitimist republicans shrank from putting him also out of their path, since they wished to strike the "tyrant," but not the consul. Thus the hideous deed was done; Cæsar was stabbed and killed by the conspirators during the session of the senate. The senators, who knew nothing of the plot, rushed away in consternation. Even Antony fled, while the murderers yelled "Freedom!" The corpse of the dictator was carried to his house by slaves.

Immediately confusion set in. The conspirators had intended to declare all Cæsar's acts as ruler void, and to bring things back to the condition in which they had been before the year 59 B.C., the date of Cæsar's first consulship. But the senate did not remain in session after the occurrence; and when, on the next day, the murderers tried to win over the people by speeches, it was seen that only a few approved of the deed.

Several of the conspirators had acquired offices and positions under Cæsar, and had been lately nominated by him to governorships, as D. Brutus, M. Brutus, and C. Cassius. These, therefore, had nothing to win if a new division of offices was desired. The summoning of the senate and of the popular assembly was, as the theorists who were loyal to the constitution discovered, in the discretion of the first magistrate of the republic, M. Antonius, the consul.



ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN

THE TRAGEDY OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA AND DAWN OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE

WHILE the so-called liberators were thus negotiating among themselves, Cæsar's friends had recovered from their first consternation. Calpurnia, Cæsar's widow, had made over the entire property left by the dictator to the consul Antony, who thereupon came to an agreement with M. Æmilius Lepidus. This latter was just on the point of setting out for his province of Gallia Narbonensis; he had troops stationed on the island in the Tiber, but made no further use of them. Antony did not wish to have him at Rome; and promised him, therefore, the place of pontifex maximus, the object of universal ambition, now left vacant by Cæsar's death. Since, for the time being, the results of Cæsar's murder could not be estimated by either side, even the Cæsarians were inclined to adopt a diplomatic attitude. An agreement was entered into with the liberators. Antony appointed a sitting of the senate for March 17th, in which a universal reconciliation and amnesty were announced, and these were afterwards celebrated by banquets, to which the heads of the parties invited each other—the veriest farce. Soon afterwards Antony seized upon the state funeral of Cæsar as an opportunity to incite the people against the murderers. Cæsar had left large legacies to the people, and this fact so heightened the excitement that the houses of the conspirators were threatened with fire, and they themselves were completely overawed. Antony was also supported by the veterans of Cæsar, so that he discontinued his part in the republican movement, and rather thought to tread in the footsteps of Cæsar. In any case, Antony, endowed with physical rather than intellectual gifts, was not clear as to his object. He was vacillating, and wasted time; he indulged in excesses, like Cæsar, but had not his power of restraint; a talented officer, of easy disposition, he was regularly without means when these were most essential.

Farce that Followed Cæsar's Death

Mark Antony Aspires to Cæsar's Power

Julius Cæsar in his will had adopted and appointed as his principal heir his sister's grandson, C. Octavius—afterwards Augustus — called indifferently Octavius and Octavianus, the latter being the correct form, after he had been adopted into the Julian house. Octavius, a youth of not quite nineteen years, was, at the time of Cæsar's murder, at Apollonia in Illyria, where he was pursuing his studies and preparing to join in the campaign against the Parthians. His friend, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, was with him. The startling news came through an express messenger from the mother of Octavius, who, as widow, had married M. Philippus. The question arose now as to what should be done. Agrippa advised him to place himself at the head of the legions, concentrated for the ensuing campaign in Illyricum. But Octavius determined to go at once to Rome and to enter on his inheritance, contrary to the advice of his nearest relatives. We have ample particulars about the matter in the Life of Cæsar Octavianus, which the



THE YOUNG AUGUSTUS

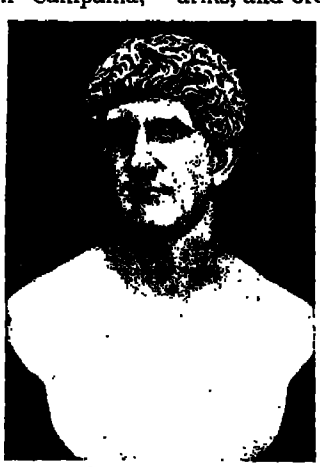
This celebrated sculpture, one of the most beautiful busts in Rome, shows us Octavian as he was about the time of Cæsar's death.

court scholar, Nicolaus of Damascus, wrote. On his arrival at Rome he presented himself before Antony, and declared that he would accept the will and the clause of adoption, and desired the private fortune of the dictator to be handed over to him, in order that he might pay the legacies. Antony was embarrassed, since he had so dealt with Cæsar's estate that after two months very little was left of it; he refused, however, to give any account of it, since, he said, it was owing to him that the entire estate of the testator had not been confiscated, and private money and public money were mixed up together. He showed no small disposition to treat as invalid the adoption, in virtue of which Octavius assumed the name of Cæsar Octavianus. Antony might have been able to put the young man out of his way if his dissolute conduct had not roused enemies against him, even outside the circles which proposed the restoration of the republic. On the other side, the veterans, particularly those settled in Campania, gave their support to the heir of Cæsar, who bore his name. Cæsar Octavianus thus found persons ready to help him who otherwise were hostile to each other; the republicans were convinced that, after the overthrow of Antony, which was their first object, they would be able to put the boy—for he was then little more—aside.



ROMA, THE GODDESS OF ROME

M. Tullius Cicero, the famous writer and orator of the law courts, had, as consul, disagreed with Cæsar on the subject of Catiline's punishment. When Cæsar became consul and proconsul, Cicero had to undergo the penalty of banishment. During Cæsar's supremacy he had kept in the background, but came forward once more as spokesman of the senate to confront Antony, whose stepfather had been among the executed accomplices of Catiline. In his "Philippic" orations he treated Antony himself as a Catilinarian. Hence a savage and bitter enmity arose between them; and, all the more, because Antony, very unlike Cæsar in this respect, could not repel these attacks by the pen. In general, indeed, Antony carefully copied Cæsar, since the latter had disregarded the rule of the senate and governed Rome and Italy by military power, while in Gallia Cisalpina M. Antony planned to do the same, and wished, as proconsul, to go to Gallia Cisalpina, and not to Macedonia, as had been previously determined. He was desirous only of having with him in the new province the several legions that were stationed in Macedonia. The actual governor of Gallia Cisalpina was D. Brutus, who had gone there soon after Cæsar's murder, and did not choose to quit the province, where he found strength in support of the republicans. Antony was resolved to drive him out by force of arms, and ordered the Macedonian troops to Italy. Cicero came forward to oppose this, while Octavian, by means of emissaries, was inducing the soldiers to join his cause in preference, and spent his entire private fortune in largesses. Antony could do little in opposition, as he had no money left, and tried in vain to maintain discipline by severity. Octavian thus placed himself at the head of an army which swore allegiance to him, although he had not at that time been a magistrate of the republic.



MARK ANTONY
Aspired to Cæsar's place after the death of the dictator and leagued with Octavian, but, quarrelling with him, was defeated at Actium, and ended his life.

The senate, at the same time, approved his procedure, in order that they might make him their champion against Antony, and granted the young man a prætorian command with consular rank. In the further course of events, while D. Brutus offered

a successful resistance in Mutina, and Greece and the eastern provinces declared for the republicans, the governors of the western provinces were ordered by the senate to proceed against Antony. Cicero's correspondence and his "Philippic Orations" supply us with details. Thus, amid constant preparations for war, began the year 43 B.C., for which, according to the arrangement of the late dictator, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa filled the consulate. C. Cæsar Octavianus took the field as sole general, in order to fight Antony. There was a sanguinary encounter in the vicinity of Mutina, in which both consuls fell, so that Octavian alone was left; but Antony was defeated, and was outlawed by the senate, while D. Brutus received the chief command. Antony withdrew with the rest of his army to Gallia Narbonensis, where M. Æmilius Lepidus was in command.

The veterans of Cæsar, whose influence decided the attitude of the troops, allowed Lepidus no choice but to extend a friendly welcome to Antony, although Lepidus thus fell under the ban. There were still two governors in the west, on whom the issue depended—Asinius Pollio, who was stationed in Southern Spain, and L. Munatius Plancus, who administered Gaul, which Julius Cæsar had conquered. Both saw themselves clearly forced, by the sentiments of their troops, to declare their adherence to the Cæsarians. This left D. Brutus isolated. His own troops soon went over to Octavian, and Brutus met his death among the Sequani, to whom he had fled.



MARK ANTONY'S ORATION OVER THE BODY OF CÆSAR

Antony, who was one of the triumvirs with Cæsar, had no part in his death, and at first was undecided in his course, but seized the opportunity of Cæsar's funeral to turn the mob of Rome against Brutus and the republican leaders.

In the meantime, M. Brutus and C. Cassius, seeing that they could play no part in Italy, had gone to the east, to buy corn in Crete and the Cyrenaica at the commission of the senate; but, secondarily, inasmuch as the senate was in conflict with Antony, to take possession of the provinces, Macedonia and Syria, which had been assigned to them originally—that is, by the dictator Cæsar. Every

one in these regions, where the influence of Pompey had been predominant once, joined the "liberators," on whom the senate conferred the supreme command (*imperium majus*). P. Dolabella, the colleague of Antony in the consulate, for whom this latter had procured Syria as province, was reduced to such extremities by Cassius that he committed suicide. Cicero displayed a feverish energy at Rome; men thought that they were nearing their goal, and would be able to disregard the young Cæsar. In the Sicilian and Sardinian waters Sextus Pompeius, who had disappeared from view since the day of Munda, came on the scene at the head of a powerful fleet, which was reinforced by fugitive slaves.



SEXTUS POMPEIUS
This son of the great Pompey was defeated and pursued to his death by the triumvirs.

This stress of circumstances produced a coalition between the leaders of the Cæsarian party. Octavian suspended the pursuit of the Antonian forces, and actually allowed a detachment which had been cut off to march away unhindered, while, at the same time, he made overtures to Antony and Lepidus. An advance on Rome soon followed. A deputation from the army demanded the consulate for Octavian, since, through the death of Hirtius and Pansa, both places were vacant. There was no available army at Rome, so that the soldiery met with no opposition. Octavian marched to Rome, in order to press his claim. On August 19th, 43 B.C., he became consul, and with him his cousin Pedius.

Octavian Becomes a Triumvir

Octavian thus attained to a position in which he could treat with Antony and Lepidus on equal terms. In November, 43 B.C., after the death of D. Brutus, the decisive arrangements were completed at Bologna, where the three leaders of the Cæsarian party met. War against the murderers of Cæsar was to be waged.

Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, under the title of *triumviri reipublicæ constituendæ*, that is, men charged with unlimited powers, placed themselves at the head of the state, and apportioned among themselves the most valuable provinces. Narbonensis and Spain fell to Lepidus, the rest of Gaul to Antony; Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia—which had, indeed, first to be conquered—to Octavian. Proscriptions were decreed against the opposite party, in order to raise the necessary funds. The government was divided among the triumvirs. The soldiers were to receive, after the victory, assignments of land in Italy; and in a secret note the eighteen towns were named which were to be sacrificed to this purpose. The Cæsarians prepared to carry out that which Cæsar had avoided. Their programme was completed.

It was soon evident that a true statesman was dealing with affairs in the person of the young Octavian, whose peculiar characteristics were a ripe judgment and a fatalist belief in his own rights. To confirm his claims it was necessary that the murderers of his adopted father should be punished as traitors. This object was especially dear to the soldiers, while Antony, who, at the period of his supremacy, had followed other aims, now joined the cause; Lepidus' claims were considered as justified only by the emergency. The march against Rome was immediately begun, and the most prominent leaders of the senatorial party were proscribed, Cicero among them. Antony was peculiarly bitter against him, and his vote was decisive. Even towards Octavian the great orator had acted more than ambiguously after Mutina; and if the first Cæsar, who had treated him very indulgently, had failed to win him, the triumvirs could not hope to do so.

In other respects, when once the necessity was recognised, the proscription was carried out in a spirit of remarkable callousness, and relations and friends were sacrificed by each of the three. Informers were rewarded, slaves who betrayed their masters were promised freedom, and all evil passions were inflamed, just as had happened forty years before, in the time of Sulla. Cicero was killed by a certain Popillius Læna, whom he had once defended on a serious charge. Many distinguished men were betrayed

A Reign of Terror

by their own wives, but in some cases the proscribed were rescued by the devotion of their slaves. Altogether, 130 senators and more than 2,000 knights fell victims to the proscripton, in addition to a larger number of the populace. Since the proceeds of the proscriptions were insufficient, especially as Antony never knew how to hold on to money, forced loans and taxes were decreed.

On the Eve of Philippi

The war was then begun with a force of more than forty legions. Lepidus was left at home. Octavian was to conduct operations against Sextus Pompeius, with Lower Italy as his base, but discontinued the campaign when the decisive blow against Brutus and Cassius was impending, and joined Antony in Macedonia. The war then took a similar turn to that six years before between Pompey and Cæsar. Brutus and Cassius had completed their preparations in Asia and Syria, and had wrung large sums of money from these rich countries. Egypt had also been forced to contribute. Recruiting was necessary; and, as there was a deficiency of officers, the young Romans who were studying in Athens and elsewhere in the east received important commands, among them Valerius Messalla, who afterwards became one of the most influential senators, Cicero's son and namesake, and others. The poet Horace went through the war as *tribunus militum*. The army took the road from Asia which Xerxes had once followed, crossed the Hellespont, and marched through Thrace to Macedonia, where in the interval Antony had taken up his position. Octavian was with him, being prevented by an indisposition from taking more energetic action.



LUCIUS, ANTONY'S BROTHER
When Octavian declared war against Antony, Lucius Antonius was defeated by Octavian, but his life was spared.

The decisive engagements took place at Philippi in the autumn of 42 B.C. First of all, Cassius was beaten by Antony; but, at the same time, Brutus defeated the army of Octavian, whose camp was actually captured. Cassius, under the mistaken impression that Brutus also had been worsted, killed himself. Twenty days later Brutus, who no longer believed in success, fought a second battle and lost it. He also died by his own hand. Valerius Messalla thereupon surrendered with the remnants of the republican army. All the murderers of Cæsar who could be captured were executed. The other officers received pardon, while the soldiers were drafted into the ranks of the victors. Valerius Messalla describes the occurrences in his "Memoirs." Only the fleet under Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Julius Cæsar's antagonist, escaped, and tried to combine with Sextus Pompeius. Thus the Cæsarians had reached their goal.

Cæsar's Murder Avenged

Two tasks had now to be performed. In the first place, the veterans, who, according to the arrangements of the triumvirs, were entitled to discharge, 170,000 in all, had to be allotted the promised lands in Italy, and, in the second place, the pacification and reorganisation of the east had to be carried out. The first task was a very delicate one, since its accomplishment would once more throw Italy into confusion. The latter was attended with no special difficulty for anyone who already knew the land and the people. Antony, who, as the real victor at Philippi, had the casting vote, chose the latter duty. Lepidus, whose attitude had been passive and equivocal, was almost contemptuously ignored. Had not his relations to Sextus Pompeius shown him in an invidious light he might have been for some time regent in Africa. Octavian was to receive the Spanish provinces; Antony, Narbonensis; while Cisalpine Gaul was joined to Italy.

Antony went to Asia and resided, first at Ephesus, then in Cilicia. Everywhere he set up or deposed client kings, confirmed the existing conditions in some towns, altered those of others, and made arrangements generally, according to his own pleasure. Everyone was eager to do the will of the new lord. He was in especial

need of money, and the Asiatic towns were required now to pay twice as much in contributions as Cassius had taken from them, an exaction from which Antony granted the unlucky province but small remission. The princes willingly sacrificed their wives and daughters if they could gain anything by so doing, and Antony showed himself very willing to receive such gifts. He also summoned the queen of Egypt before his tribunal, to excuse herself for the aid she had given the liberators. Cleopatra, who had received precise information as to the character of the man, appeared before him in Tarsus as Aphrodite, and immediately succeeded in captivating him. She had once followed the old Cæsar to Rome; now, Antony accompanied her to Alexandria. He believed that he was acting like Cæsar; but, whereas the latter had dallied with the fair coquette, he had always carried wide-reaching schemes in his mind. Antony became blind and deaf to what was happening outside, though it was of the greatest importance for him.

Cleopatra Fascinates Antony

The task which the young Cæsar had undertaken was not merely difficult in itself, but there were circumstances connected with it which accentuated the difficulties. All Italy was in a ferment, for the towns sacrificed to the veterans had not committed any offence. The way in which the confiscations were to be carried out was undefined; whether, for instance, the large landowners mainly would have to bear the cost, or whether it would fall also on the middle class and small proprietors, who predominated in Northern Tuscany, the Po districts, Samnium, and the country of the Hirpini. One of the consuls of the year 41 B.C., Lucius Antonius, brother of the triumvir, declared that he disapproved of the whole measure, and adopted a republican policy, since he considered the continuance of the "constituent" power had no justification, now that Cæsar's murderers were punished. He set himself up as the champion of the towns. Sextus Pompeius also entered into alliances with the towns situated in Southern Italy. In other places the veterans had recourse to violence. Virgil, afterwards so famous as a poet, might have lost his life in the vicinity of his native town, Mantua, had not Asinius Pollio, then lieutenant of Antony in those parts, extended his protection to him. The fate of Virgil befell the other poets of the time, with whose lives we are familiar; Horace of Venusia, Propertius of Asisium, and the father of Tibullus, lost the whole or part of their property. We can picture the wail that arose in the districts affected, for we possess an accurate account of these events by one of the parties concerned, Asinius Pollio. The veterans insisted that the promises made to them should be kept. Cæsar admitted the justice of their claims, and was resolved to carry out the soldiers' wishes in the face of all obstacles, since he would otherwise lose his prestige with them.

All Italy in a Ferment

M. Antony concerned himself no more about the matter, the unpopularity of which he preferred that his colleagues should bear. He was at his ease in Egypt. But at Rome, against his will, his interests were represented by Fulvia, his wife, one of the spirited women of that stormy epoch. She loved her husband, who had married her when she was the widow of Clodius. She saw clearly that if Octavian, whose adoption by Julius Cæsar the opposition did not admit, were to carry out unaided his plans for rewarding the veterans, Antony would necessarily lose the esteem of his soldiers. Fulvia wrote to her husband that his presence in Italy was urgently required. Above all, she wished to bring him back to Italy from the arms of Cleopatra.

Antony Prefers Cleopatra to World-power

Thus the whole of the year 41 B.C. was full of ferment. The consul L. Antonius, Fulvia, and her procurator Manius, the veterans, the victims of confiscation, and Cæsar, were acting, now independently, now in concert, now in opposition. At last matters ended in actual war. L. Antonius was surrounded and besieged in Perusia. M. Vispanius Agrippa, who here first showed his strategic ability, was at Cæsar's side. The decision rested with Antony, who did not move from Alexandria for all the messages of Fulvia, and did not send any orders to his lieutenants, so that they looked on irresolutely at the siege. Cæsar thus won the upper hand. Perusia, after a desperate resistance of five months, was forced to capitulate and was cruelly punished; while L. Antonius, out of consideration for his brother, received a safe-conduct; Fulvia escaped to Greece. Many fugitives were received by Sextus Pompeius, who



THE MASTERY OF THE WORLD LOST THROUGH THE FASCINATION OF A WOMAN

Antony fell a victim to the fascination of Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, who had earlier been the mistress of Cæsar. She appeared before him as Venus Aphrodite, and he succumbed forthwith to her charms. Her flight at the battle of Actium was the signal for Antony's defection, and suicide soon ended the life of the once victorious general.

From the painting by Sir Laurence Alma-Tadema, R.A., by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.

was engaged in operations against Italy, unhindered by Lepidus. It happened at this time that the senator Ti. Claudius Nero had to fly from Cæsar in Campania, and with him his wife, Livia, the future Augusta, holding the little Tiberius in her arms—a noteworthy event at a time when all passions were unchained. The Parthians, meanwhile, had made an attack on Syria, and the son of T. Labienus served as their leader.

The Civil War Continued

Antony received the news of it simultaneously with the tidings that Perusia was captured, and that Cæsar was growing hostile to his lieutenants, owing to their ambiguous behaviour. He had the choice of either turning his attention to the Parthians or of going to Italy, in order to arrange matters. He preferred the latter course. He joined Fulvia in Greece, and husband and wife had much to reproach each other with. Soon afterwards Fulvia fell ill and died. Antony then went over to Italy. He had with him Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who came forward with the fleet of the republicans as an independent party leader. He had gone to Antony, who, after the most recent events, did not seem nearly so baneful to the republic as Cæsar. Even Sextus Pompeius seemed disposed to come to terms with Antony, who accepted his proposals when Cæsar, on account of the presence of the outlawed Domitius Ahenobarbus with the fleet of Antony, refused to open his harbours to him.

But as Italy suffered too severely under the blockade, the friends of the two triumvirs bestirred themselves to effect a reconciliation. At the conference which was inaugurated at Brundisium, Asinius Pollio acted as confidential friend of Antony, while Cæsar's was C. Mæcenas. In his suite was Horace, who has described in verse the journey to Brundisium. Cæsar was not strong enough to venture on a rupture with Antony. The latter was called to the east by the Parthian War. There followed, therefore, towards the end of summer, 40 B.C., a reconciliation between the two great men, which was to be cemented by the marriage of Antony with Octavia, half-sister of Cæsar, one of the most esteemed Roman women of the time. There could be no idea of Cleopatra. The queen had been the mistress of the old Cæsar; why should she not be the mistress of Antony?



OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS
When he became a triumvir Octavius took the name of Octavianus Augustus.

For the time being Sextus Pompeius had been excluded from the treaty. But as the supply of provisions for Italy was thus cut off and famine broke out, the relatives of Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirs brought about a new agreement at Misenum, according to which Sextus Pompeius was recognised in his independent command as lord of the sea, especially of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, to which Achaia was to be added. At the same time, in 39 B.C., he became augur and was designated consul. The convention of Misenum was, for the time, most important. Sextus Pompeius called himself from that moment Magnus Pompeius Pius, since he bore the surname of his father as his first name, as the custom was later in the family of the Cæsars, while the name "Pius" marked him as the avenger of his father. From the agreement with Antony, Cæsar had gained the advantage that the Gallic and Spanish provinces were entirely given over to him. Antony was to receive reinforcements from the west in his campaign against the Parthians, and was to be allowed to recruit troops in Italy. The Parthians had in 39 B.C. made fresh attacks on Syria and Hither Asia, and had everywhere placed the party of opposition in power. In Jerusalem, the Hasmonæan, Antigonus, triumphed over his opponent and uncle, Hyrcanus, and his procurator, Herod, son of Antipater. As Antony was not on the spot, his lieutenant, Ventidius Bassus, conducted the campaign, and brought it to a successful termination. A second invasion in the following year was repulsed. Antony was displeased at this, since he wished it to be understood that the campaign against the Parthians, which Cæsar had once planned, was reserved for him. The Parthians retired to their own country after they had lost in battle Pacorus, son of their king, in

Pompeius as "Lord of the Sea"



THE CATAPULT AS A GREAT ENGINE OF WAR IN ANCIENT ROME

The catapult was a formidable engine of attack, and, together with the battering-ram, performed the function discharged by heavy artillery in modern military operations. From the painting by Sir Edward Poynter, P.R.A.

38 B.C.; Labienus also fell. Antony then placed his lieutenant on the retired list. Herod, to whom the triumvirs granted the title of King, seized power at Jerusalem in 37 B.C.

Antony had gone to Athens, where he and his wife, Octavia, established a court. The latter understood how to arrange matters adroitly between her husband and brother. Antony was in such good humour that long afterwards the memory of it was general in Greece. Two daughters, the elder and the younger Antonia, were born of the marriage. The preparations for the Parthian War were, meantime, proceeding. This campaign against the Parthians in 36 B.C. failed, and ended in a calamitous retreat, due partly to the faithlessness of the Armenian allies of Antony and partly to the circumstance that Antony had started too late. The reinforcements which had been promised Antony from the west amounted to very little, since the war against Sextus Pompeius required all available troops. As Antony did not disguise his annoyance at this, the insinuations of the friends of Cleopatra gained the upper hand with him. When he summoned the queen to meet him at Antioch, the power of her charms, by which he was once more entranced, proved stronger than the political reasons which rendered his marriage with Octavia so important. The latter vainly tried to win back her husband. Antony went to Alexandria with Cleopatra, and ruled from there as her husband.

The general course of politics was now diverted into quite different channels. The dictator Cæsar had already considered the point that it was possible in the east, though not at Rome, to wear the title of monarch safe from the attacks of the republicans, and Antony followed his example. The empire round the basin of the Mediterranean, at any rate the eastern half, might thus have had a Hellenistic head, while, in the west, Rome might still maintain the leadership. This plan was once more discussed when,

in the fourth century A.D., the court was removed to the city on the Bosphorus.

Besides the rulers of Rome and Alexandria there still remained Æmilius Lepidus and Sextus Pompeius, of whom the latter, now that the alliance had been dissolved, was again the scourge of Italy. In addition to political refugees, thousands of runaway slaves fled to him, and the economic welfare of Sicily was seriously endangered. It was imperative to end such a state of affairs. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Cæsar's right hand in all military matters, organised the Julian fleet at Misenum, and Antony and Lepidus sent reinforcements.

The Rising Fortunes of Octavian

After great preparations the war was begun seriously with South Italy as a base; Cæsar himself met with a reverse on his first landing in Sicily, and the slaves fought so well that it was not until two years later, in 36 B.C., that the final victory was won in the naval engagements off Mylæ and Naulochus. When Sextus Pompeius fled, his troops surrendered to Lepidus, who had crossed with his legions from Africa. Lepidus wished to keep Sicily for himself, but Cæsar boldly entered the camp of Lepidus and commanded the soldiers to recognise him as their imperator. His schemes succeeded, as the veterans of Lepidus were promised the same rewards as those of Cæsar, while the veterans of Pompey went empty-handed, or were crucified as runaway slaves. Lepidus was declared by Cæsar to have forfeited his sovereignty, on account of his ambiguous conduct; on the other hand, he was given his life and allowed to retain his property and the office of pontifex maximus, but was forced to withdraw to Circeii.

This was a splendid success for Cæsar, since he was now master of the sea and imperator over forty-five legions. Antony, who was incensed at the action of Cæsar, by which the balance of power had been destroyed, received Sextus Pompeius; the latter, however, met his death the following year, 35 B.C., while attempting to raise an insurrection in Asia.

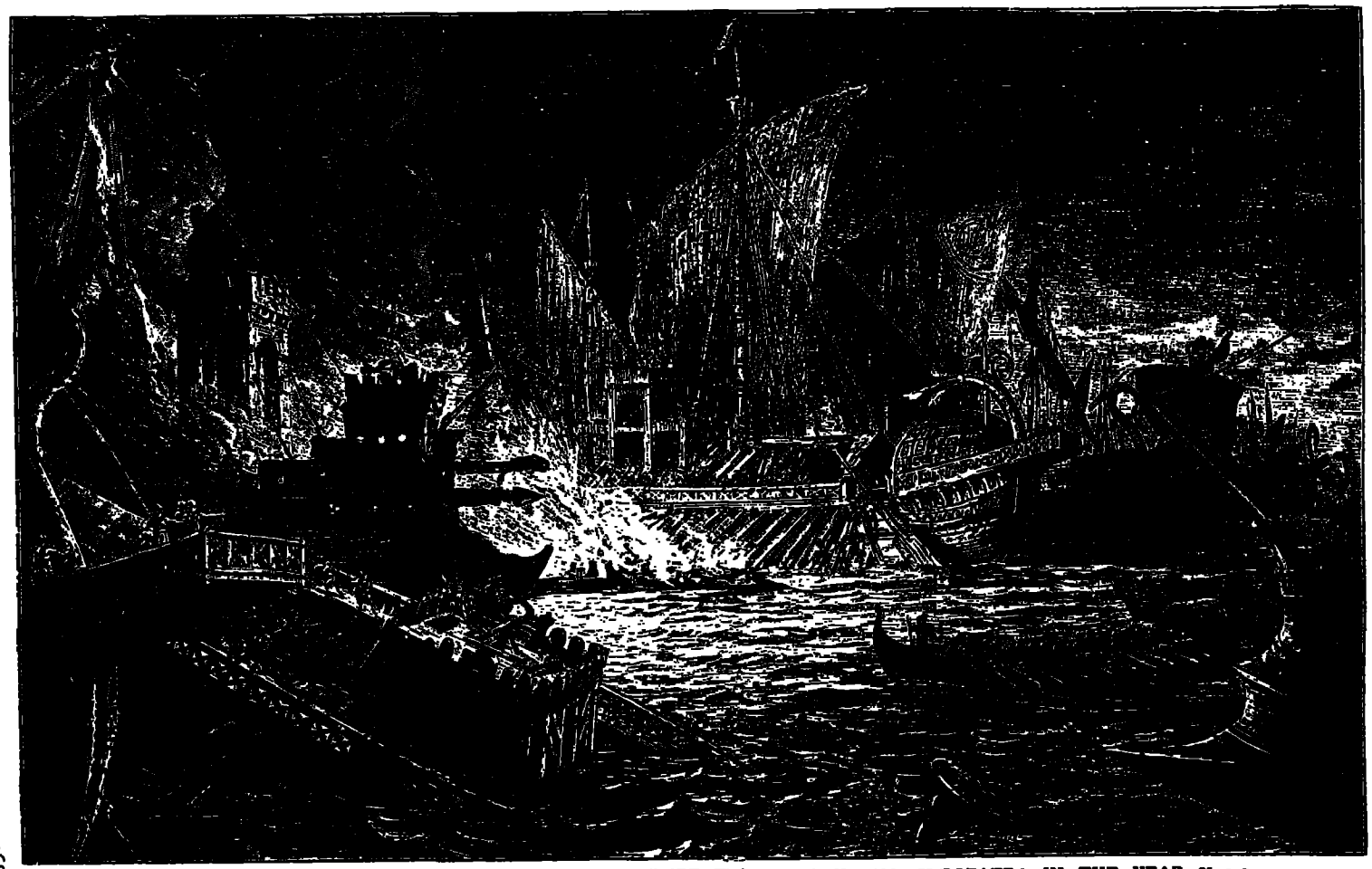
The Coming Struggle for the Dictatorship

Antony was at that time occupied in Armenia, where he avenged on the king the disasters of the Parthian War. Later, in 34 B.C., he brought him a prisoner to Alexandria. He then turned all his attention to the west, where the final struggle for the supremacy could no longer be postponed. While Antony, in the capital of Egypt, was consolidating the countries of Nearer Asia, which had once been owned by the Ptolemies, into a realm for his children by Cleopatra, and was thus planning to base his power on a restoration of the Hellenistic state system, Cæsar, with that keen, political insight peculiar to him, was following other paths, which led him far indeed from those of his adoptive father, but materially contributed to his ultimate success. He effected a total reconciliation with the party which formerly had supported the great Pompey against the divine Cæsar, and showed himself contented with a position such as that which Pompey had assumed in, and by the side of, the senatorial party. The second Cæsar wished to make complete use of his supreme power, not as dictator or king, but as "princeps," as the first citizen, as the foremost member of the senate, in direct opposition to Antony, who was disposed to combine the dictatorship and kingly power.

In order to increase his popularity, Cæsar had done much for Italy and Rome in the few years which preceded the crisis. He conducted a campaign in Dalmatia and Istria, in order to give an advantageous frontier to Upper Italy. At Rome a new water supply was provided—a long-felt want. In general, all steps were taken to ensure that the break did not come until a favourable moment. Mæcenas, who influenced public opinion in Cæsar's favour by his patronage of the poets, and Agrippa, who kept the army and fleet in good order, were continuously working towards this object, while Cæsar held the reins of government firmly in his hands. Men like Asinius Pollio, who did not wish to co-operate, kept quite in the background, since they saw what would be the result of Antony's infatuated love. Only republicans like Domitius Ahenobarbus and inveterate enemies of Cæsar adhered to Antony. These, with the exception of Ahenobarbus, complied with the queen's wishes that she and Antony should not be addressed as "Thou," as the Roman custom was, and took part in the court festivities in Alexandria, at which everything was conducted with Oriental pomp.

Octavianus Prepares his Way to the Throne

Cleopatra brought up her son by the first Cæsar, Ptolemæus Cæsarion, together with her children by Antony, and now played him off against "Gaius Octavius." Octavia, on the other hand, educated



THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM, AT WHICH AUGUSTUS DEFEATED ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA IN THE YEAR 31 B.C.

in Rome not only her own children, but also those of Antony by his first marriage, even after she had obtained a divorce from him.

The year 32 B.C. saw further vicissitudes, since, on the one hand, the adherents of Antony became active, and, on the other, Cæsar took vigorous measures. He appeared, armed, in the senate, and compelled his opponents to fly, and, as at the time of the proscription, showed himself devoid of scruples. He caused the will of Antony, which was deposited with the vestal virgins, to be opened, in order to prove that it contained dispositions in favour of Cleopatra and her children, as well as instructions that he should be buried in Alexandria, a revelation which caused an immense stir in Rome. Numerous pamphlets were circulated, in which the plebeian origin of Cæsar and the Oriental masquerading of Antony were criticised. While the boys in Rome were playing at "war between Cæsar and Antony," the population of Italy and the western provinces took the oath of loyalty to Cæsar as their leader, according to the custom, in case of "tumultus" or war. By far the greater number of senators accompanied Cæsar on his departure for the war, which was officially declared against the queen of Egypt. Antony, who, in the campaigns against the Parthians, had shown himself once more a brave soldier, if not a successful general, thought that the issue should be decided by a land battle, as, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius, the opposite party was superior in ships and in experience of naval warfare. But Cleopatra, who was strongest in her ships, insisted on a sea-fight, although there was a deficiency of sailors, and the soldiers, in accordance with their training, did not willingly go on board. As the Romans about Antony could not prevail against the queen, many deserted the triumvir, among them Domitius Ahenobarbus.

With Cæsar everything went well. Agrippa had shown his worth on land and on sea; and there stood at his side other capable leaders, as Statilius Taurus and Valerius Messalla. Their ships were, indeed, fewer than those of Antony, but they were fully manned; and the legions were not merely on paper. Again Italians and other western nations confronted the east, where recruiting for the legions was difficult, and even the auxiliaries were less efficient soldiers. Antony meditated a landing in Italy, in order to bring the war to an end there, as Sulla had once done. His headquarters were in Patræ, while his army and fleet collected in the Gulf of Ambracia in the autumn of 32 B.C.



ROMAN LICTORS CARRYING FASCES

The lictors were an ancient institution in Rome, dating from the time of the kings. The "fasces" was a bundle of rods of elm or birch, enclosing an axe and bound with a red strap. Great officers of state were always attended by lictors in all public ceremonies.

But in the spring of 31 B.C. Agrippa took the offensive, and was successful in some naval operations, while the land forces faced each other without fighting. On September 2nd a great sea battle was fought off the promontory of Actium. Antony was defeated, as Cleopatra made for the open sea during the fight, and Antony, in his infatuation, hastened after her. A few days after, the land army, left without a leader, surrendered on the same terms as that of Lepidus. The soldiers of Antony, who acknowledged Cæsar as their imperator, were placed by him on an equal footing with his own troops. Traces of the fact that Cæsar's army had been formed out of three others existed for centuries afterwards in the numbers of the Roman legions.

There were, for example, three legions numbered III.; namely, the III. Cyrenaica the III. Gallica, the III. Augusta. The first mentioned might have originated



THE NILE GOD: A COMPANION GROUP TO THE TIBER
The sixteen little figures symbolise the rise of the river in cubits at its highest.

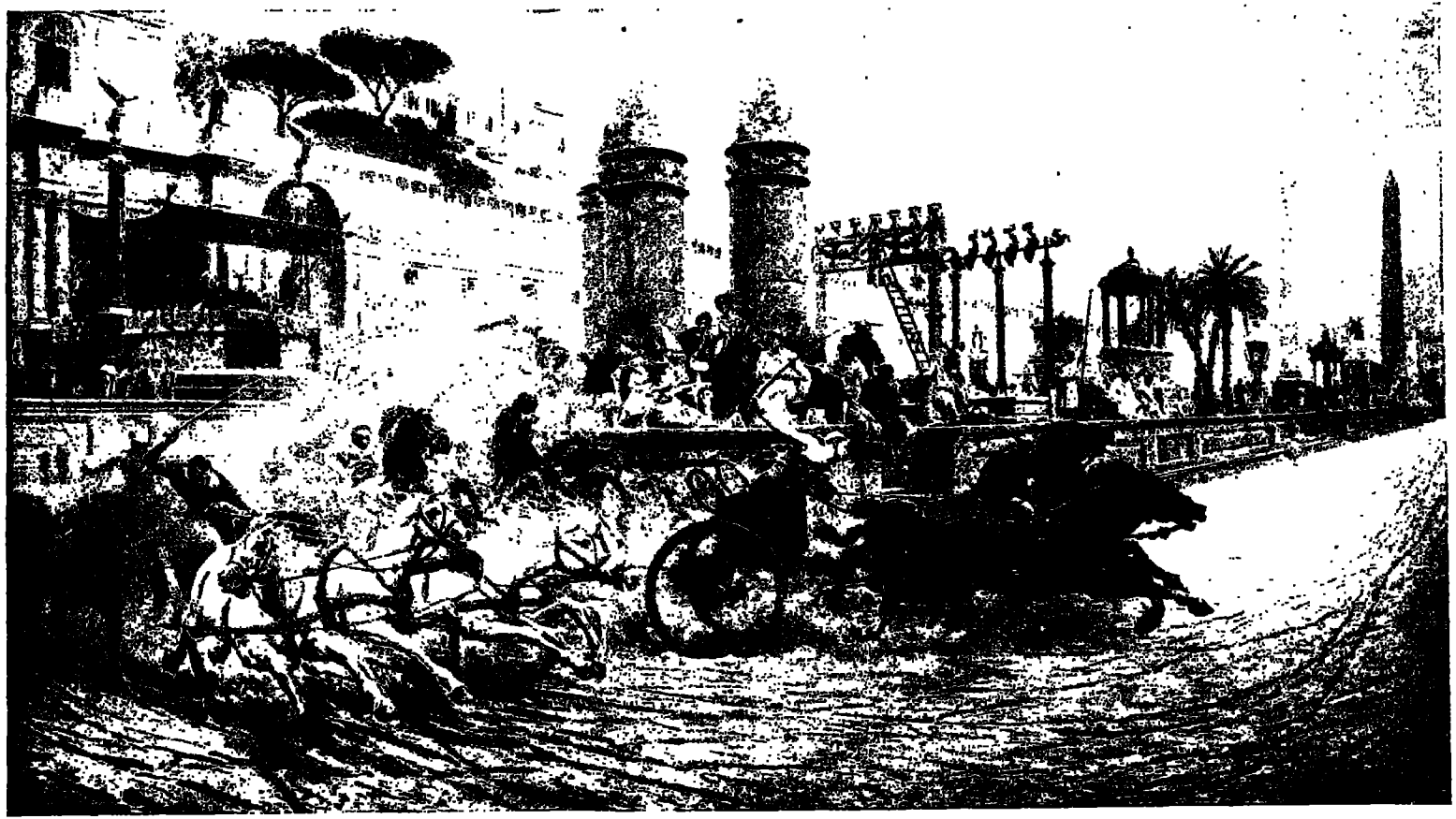
in the army of Lepidus, the second came certainly from that of Antony.

The war was ended in Egypt, whither Antony and Cleopatra had fled. Serious opposition could no longer be offered, since the foreign tributaries and allies, after Actium, all did homage to the victor, who was delayed only by the insubordination of his own soldiers. In the summer of the year 30 B.C. Cæsar advanced from Syria against Egypt, while C. Cornelius Gallus attacked from the side of Cyrene.

Alexandria was captured on August 1st, 30 B.C., after Antony had taken his own life. Cleopatra, detained by negotiations, became a prisoner. She had an interview with Cæsar, but found no mercy; nor did her son, Cæsarion, fare better. All claimants who opposed the dynastic interests of Cæsar were killed, including Antyllus, an elder son of Antony. His other children were spared. Egypt ceased to be the kingdom of the Ptolemies, though the kingly power still continued officially. Cæsar allowed himself to be hailed as "Pharaoh," giving merely another form to the procedure of Antony, and reckoned the years of his reign in Egypt from the death of Cleopatra. He appointed as his representative Cornelius Gallus, a man of equestrian rank, who had acquired a reputation as a poet and a patron of the arts. An insurrection in Upper Egypt was suppressed by him, the Roman dominions were extended to the cataract of Syene, and treaties were concluded with the tribes settled to the south. Cornelius Gallus, a man of somewhat strange fancies, felt himself so completely the successor of the old kings that he was suspected at Rome and recalled. When Cæsar made him feel his displeasure, he committed suicide. The age of pretenders was over, once for all.

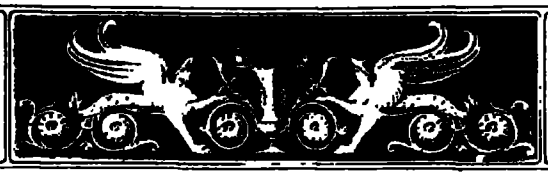


THE TIBER GOD, "TO WHOM THE ROMANS PRAY"
This sculpture, together with that of the Nile, was part of the decoration of the temple of Isis in Rome.



THE SPLENDID SPECTACLE OF A CHARIOT RACE IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS AT ROME

The circus was a favourite amusement of the Romans, and many magnificent buildings were devoted to this purpose, the largest of all being the famous Circus Maximus, erected in the time of the Tarquins. This mighty building is said to have seated 300,000 spectators, and the emperors outvied each other in adding to its beauties. Julius Cæsar introduced naval displays into it by constructing canals that could be flooded in a short time and made the scenes of mimic battles. From the painting by E. Forti.



ROME IN THE AUGUSTAN AGE

HOW AUGUSTUS MOULDED THE EMPIRE AND THE GREAT MEN OF A GLORIOUS ERA

ONLY those who had successfully passed through these crises remained in the foreground, even after Octavian had announced at Rome the restoration of the old constitution. The senate conferred on him, in the year 27 B.C., the additional name of "Augustus," the "Exalted"; and he was in the future officially called "Imperator Cæsar Augustus." With Agrippa, his trusted friend, in victory and power, he shared the consulate in the years 28 and 27 B.C. Both were then between the ages of thirty-five and thirty-six.

Augustus and Agrippa as Consuls

Augustus was fair and blue-eyed, but not otherwise physically striking; Agrippa had an expressive head, which resembles that of Napoleon in his youthful days. He wore, as a naval victor, the naval crown (*corona classica*), while Augustus was awarded the civic crown (*corona civica*) of oak leaves for his humane behaviour after the battle of Actium. Neither of these honours was beyond the reach of any citizen. In their capacity as consuls these "crowned" leaders, who were popularly compared to the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, carried out a satisfactory settlement with the senate, formerly the ruling body.



Mansell

CÆSAR AUGUSTUS
The title of "Augustus," the "Exalted," was conferred on Octavian, the adopted son of Julius Cæsar, by the senate, 27 B.C.

The problem was how to preserve the Roman constitution and at the same time to assure the supremacy of Augustus, to give him such a position as Hiero had held in Syracuse, the Attalidæ in Pergamus, or, earlier still, the Pisistratidæ, or Pericles himself, at Athens. The more conservative the spirit in which they acted, the more lasting would be the new arrangement. This was the belief of Augustus, and he always acted in accordance with it. By the constitution of Augustus one position was still left as a sort of hereditary possession, which the senate had already granted to Pompey the great, but had refused to the first Cæsar. Just as the sons of Pompey and the son of Antony had come forward as successors to their fathers, so the adopted son of the dictator Cæsar thought to keep this position in his family; they called it the "principate," the first place among the families that ruled the republic. With this was to be joined the supreme command over the troops in the countries not yet specified—Syria, the Rhine, North Spain, and, soon after, Illyricum. These provinces, since the "princeps" could not always leave Rome, were governed, as Spain had been under Pompey, by lieutenants (*legati*), who were entrusted with independent power of action, but were always related to the ruling family.

Asserting the Hereditary Principle

Generally speaking, the fiction was officially kept up that Augustus, after five or ten years, when everything was reduced to order, would willingly resign this accumulation of governorships. In Rome and Italy the consulate did not carry with it absolute predominance, for the office had to be shared with a colleague. Augustus, therefore, after being re-elected to the consulate up to 23 B.C., had the "tribunician power" conferred on him, once for all, by virtue of which he could exercise supervision over all ordinary magistrates; while, by historical tradition, the championship of the plebs—

that is, of the people against the nobility—was inseparably connected with it, a point which seemed of importance as evidence of the formal restoration to the old constitution. While the years were still dated, as before, after the two consuls, the number of the year of Augustus's tribunate was also recorded. When the former triumvir, Lepidus, died, in 12 B.C., Augustus assumed the chief pontificate.. He was then already a member of the chief priestly colleges, a condition contrary to the customs of republican times, when, at the most, two priestly offices might be held together. In every respect the "princeps" held an extraordinary position. The senate continued to act together with him, being formally in possession of the powers which Sulla had conferred on it, with the exception that more scope was given here to the initiative of the "princeps." If he did not wish to come forward with a motion, this was done for him by senators who belonged to the circle of his friends.

Augustus Grasps Every Means of Power

An opposition made itself felt only on unimportant questions. The noblest families, such as those of Æmilius Lepidus, Domitius Ahenobarbus, Fabius Maximus, Antony, and Claudius, were connected by ties of relationship with the ruling house. Asinius Pollio lived, after the battle of Actium, in complete retirement; but his son, Asinius Gallus, became consul in early life, later proconsul, and married a daughter of Agrippa. L. Munatius Plancus, always a trimmer, played the part of a loyalist, and it was at his initiative that the senate conferred on Octavian the title of Augustus. Valerius Messalla, descended from a republican family, closely attached himself to Augustus, though not without clinging to constitutional forms with excessive punctiliousness.

Another man, who, during the civil wars, had stood on the side of the republicans, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, was induced by Augustus to accept the consulate for the year 23 B.C., in order thus to show his acceptance of the new state of things. The son of M. Tullius Cicero became consul at the time of the battle of Actium, in order to wreak vengeance on Antony for his father and his uncle. On his motion the name of Antony was erased from the consular lists. This Cicero, though personally unimportant, afterwards went to Asia as proconsul. The civil wars had swept away all men of independent views. When the consul for the year 23 B.C., M. Terentius Varro Murena, attempted to form a conspiracy, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed.

Cicero's Son as Consul

Public opinion was in favour of the "principate," and of the primacy of the Julian house in particular. This was important, in view of the fact that most writers at the time of the first Cæsar had upheld the republic; not merely Cicero, Brutus, and Labienus, but also the poet Catulus and the historian Cornelius Nepos, who were both natives of Cisalpine Gaul. The historian Livy of Patavium grew up a "Pompeian" in feeling; the poet Virgil of Mantua appears first as a client of Asinius Pollio, and Horace the Apulian had fought for "freedom" at Philippi. But soon after Actium, when Livy began to cast the old annals into an appropriate form, he was already one of the circle of Augustus, who took a personal interest in his productions. Virgil and Horace were intimately acquainted with the trusted friend of Augustus, Mæcenas of Arretium. Greek literary men also began to make Rome the centre of their labours. Strabo of Amasea in Cappadocia, as historian and geographer, followed in the footsteps of Polybius and Posidonius, who, according to the most approved models of the period of the Diadochi, had combined the history of the Roman West and the Greek East into a universal history; so also did Diodorus, who came to Rome from Sicily.

Greek Scholars in Rome

Others, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, treated the earlier history of Rome after the example of the Roman antiquaries, whose most learned representative, M. Terentius Varro of Reate in the Sabine country, lived during the principate of Augustus, The rhetorician Nicolaus of Damascus, who was engaged for some years in teaching the children of Antony at the house of Octavia, wrote a comprehensive history of the world, in addition to an account of the youth of Augustus. The poet Crinagoras of Mitylene, whom his native town sent repeatedly as envoy to Rome, dedicated some of his best poems to Octavia and her relatives. King Juba of Mauretania belonged to this circle. He was a son of that Juba, king of Numidia, who had fought with the optimates against



THE SPLENDID STATUE OF CÆSAR AUGUSTUS IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

Cæsar, and had been educated at Rome. He married there the daughter of Cleopatra and Antony, who also was called Cleopatra, and afterwards proudly named her son "Ptolemæus," as if he were heir of the Ptolemies. Juba wrote in Greek on Roman antiquities and African geography—a memorable literary phenomenon of a time when Rome became the capital of the Hellenic-Roman sphere of civilisation, and to a certain extent had maintained her position as such in the struggle against Antony and Cleopatra. The princes of other client kings were, like Juba, sent to Rome to be educated, and there they entered into personal relations with the house of Augustus, as in the case of the sons and grandsons of the Jewish king, Herod, of whom we learn many interesting particulars in the "Antiquities of the Jews" of Flavius Josephus. The children of the Parthian kings also came, and so did Thracian princes and even the sons

of German chiefs, who went to Rome as hostages, and were, indeed, lost to their own people, since they grew effeminate amid the delights of the capital.

Forty Years at the Helm of State

Augustus stood for more than forty years, after the establishment of his principate, at the head of the state, supported at first by Agrippa, who became his son-in-law in 21 B.C., and afterwards by his stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, and for a time by his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, the sons of Agrippa and Julia. The supreme command of the army, the administration of the frontier provinces, the foreign policy, were all united in the hands of the ruling house, while the senate had under its supervision only the affairs of Italy and the pacified provinces, among which Asia and Africa took the first rank. The same dualism was apparent in the financial question. The rule was soon established that the coinage of gold and silver was the concern of the "princeps," whose likeness the coins bore, while the senate struck the copper pieces through separate masters of the mint.



TWO GREAT POETS OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE
In the poetical works of Horace—on the left—and Virgil—on the right—the triumphs of an emperor who was himself a poet and patron of letters are immortalised.

The largest item in the state budget was the outlay for the army. Augustus, after he had disbanded the enormous masses of troops which were kept up during the period of the triumvirate, had organised a standing army, in order, once for all, to ensure the protection of the frontiers of the empire.

The organisation of Marius was, on the whole, retained, Cæsar's alterations were modified, and, out of consideration for the finances, even the field army was done away with, a change which later proved disastrous. Not merely the pay of the troops actually serving, but the rather high pensions of the retired soldiers, had to be met; for this purpose a 5 per cent. inheritance tax was imposed even in Italy. The princeps, as commander-in-chief, was entitled to a staff, which drew high pay. Two naval stations, Misenum on the Campanian coast and Ravenna on the Adriatic, were established, to guard the sea.

Great sums were expended on the capital, in feeding it, in keeping the Tiber embankments and the sewers in good order, and especially in producing the public games. The "Roman people" were anxious to retain the advantages of their lordly position, and demanded "bread and games." Of the provinces under Augustus, Egypt yielded the most in taxes.

Asia was, it is true, a senatorial province, but in the way of indirect duties soon paid a considerable revenue into the coffers of the princeps. Gaul and Spain, which at first cost more than they brought in, became, in the course of the peaceful times that followed, countries of great financial importance. Africa and Narbonensis were closely identified with Italy, and shared its prosperity. Carthage, which Cæsar had restored, became again the capital of the far-reaching sphere of Punic-Roman civilisation. In Spain, Augustus and Agrippa completed the conquest of the Cantabrian and Asturian highlands, though a considerable force was required for a long time afterwards to hold the country. Three provinces were created, of which the most southern, the country of the Bætis, was under senatorial rule, while the other two, Lusitania and the so-called "hither" province, were subject to the princeps. Corduba, Emerita, and Tarraco were the capitals. Emerita was a new colony, which Agrippa had settled with his pensioned soldiers.

In the north of the country Cæsar Augusta, now Saragossa, so called in honour of the princeps, has preserved the recollection of Augustus up to the present day. In Gaul, which was conquered by the first Cæsar, or rather in the "three Gauls"—that is, the districts of Celtica, Belgica, and Aquitania, which were always distinct from the old province (Narbonensis), as being departments with a military government—the newly founded Lugdunum became the religious and economic centre of the Roman rule. Belgica was afterwards combined with the German departments for administrative purposes. Aquitania

Settling New Provinces

also tried to keep its separate institutions. The "concilium" of the three Gauls, which met yearly at the confluence of the Arar (Saône) and the Rhodanus (Rhone), in order to sacrifice to "God the emperor and Rome the goddess," was an important institution; Lugdunum became the capital of one of the great territorial divisions of the empire, just as Carthage was of Africa. In both places was stationed a cohort, resembling the police soldiery of the city of Rome, which was at the disposal of the administrative authorities. We find no less than eight out of the twenty-five legions, which the army numbered in the last years of Augustus, stationed on the Rhine, where they could be employed equally against the Kelts and the Germans. The interests of the districts occupied by these troops became all the more identified with the Roman interests, in that the tribes of Belgica and the neighbouring Germans eagerly took service among the auxiliaries of the legions. This branch of the service was well paid, and the national characteristics of the tribes were preserved under native leaders, in so far as they themselves did not covet Roman titles and rewards. The second large army, four legions, was in Syria, facing the Parthians, who soon, however, adopted diplomatic methods, as they were weakened by internal dissensions; the standards which had been captured by the Parthians from Crassus at Carrhæ were thus regained. Augustus, in 20 B.C., declared he was content with this arrangement, since he preferred the west to the east, and devoted his energies more willingly to places where Latin civilisation might thrive. In Egypt the military system was left on the footing on which it was placed during the time of the last Ptolemies. The numerous Galati were united with the Greek elements into army corps, which were counted as "legions" of the imperial army.

Augustus Supreme in Egypt

Their commanding officers were nominees of the princeps; and, therefore, never senators, but usually men of the rank of Roman knights. In Africa alone the proconsul commanded one or, if necessary, two legions, which had to guard the frontier against the unruly tribes of the desert. In Illyricum the forces were originally under a senatorial governor, until Augustus submitted his p'an for the regulation of the frontiers, and entrusted its execution to his colleague, Agrippa, and, after his death, to his stepson, Tiberius Claudius Nero. Tiberius was then, in 12 B.C., merely "legatus" of Augustus, and from that time the command in Illyricum also was "imperial." The aim of the government was directed, first and foremost, towards obtaining firm and, as far as possible, natural frontiers for the empire.

Securing the Frontiers of the Empire

In the east the Euphrates, and in the west the Danube and the Elbe, form this frontier. While the line of the Euphrates was easily secured by strong fortresses, difficulties were met with on the Danube and in Germany. The Alpine districts, except Noricum, with which, since the time of the Cimbri, peaceful communications had been opened, had to be taken by force of arms.



MÆCENAS, THE FRIEND OF AUGUSTUS

This great man was the intimate friend of Augustus, and ruled Rome in the emperor's absence. Even after his retirement he continued to enjoy the imperial favour.

The hardy tribes in the heart of Illyricum showed similar hostility. Here, too, the Roman system would have taken firm root, through the services which the natives rendered as auxiliaries, had not the legionary been accompanied by Roman taxgatherers and Roman lawyers, who were compared by the Illyrians to wolves. The same was the case in Germany, which Drusus, the second stepson of Augustus, had traversed victoriously as far as the Elbe, by land, from Mogontiacum (now Mainz) and from Castra Vetera, and by water as far as the mouth of the Elbe, where the Romans prided themselves on capturing the original home of the Cimbri—splendid feats of arms, which extended the geographical knowledge of the time as much as the earlier campaigns of Pompey and of Julius Cæsar.

After the premature death of Drusus, in 9 B.C., Tiberius continued the policy of his brother. The German tribes were content to serve under the Roman standards. Arminius, a young prince of the Cherusci, became a Roman knight, and personally commanded the contingent of his tribesmen, while his brother, who was surnamed Flavus, became a Roman even

in sentiments. The lawyers, here as elsewhere, ruined what the soldiers had won.

In the year 9 A.D., owing to the failure of the incompetent governor, P. Quinctilius Varus, to preserve order, an insurrection broke out, at the head of which Arminius placed himself. In the Teutoberg forest the unfavourable nature of the soil, rendered treacherous by heavy rains, the desertion of the German officers, and the blunders of the general, brought annihilation on three Roman legions. The position of the Saltus Teutoburgensis cannot now be exactly determined; but, as numerous gold coins of the times of Augustus have been found at Barenau, to the east of Bramsche, many are inclined to locate the battlefield at that place. Quinctilius Varus killed himself, while many of the prisoners were massacred by the insurgents or sacrificed to the gods; only the cavalry escaped. The numbers of the legions, seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen, disappeared for ever out of the imperial army; their memory was "accursed," to adopt the ordinary expression.

Three Lost Legions

As a consequence of the defeat of Quinctilius Varus, Augustus withdrew the frontier from the Elbe to the Rhine, and the latter river was not again crossed until the emperors of the Flavian house did so to effect a permanent occupation of the country. Until then the district on the right bank of the Rhine was, if not free, at any rate neutral, a region where the Romans went to forage or to hunt. In times of peace the Roman officers certainly led their men across in large bands to catch the wild geese, of which the feathers were highly valued in Italy. Germans also came over the frontier to trade, and exchanged natural products for implements and ornaments of Roman manufacture. The Hermunduri, who settled north of the Danube, were allowed, by special permission, to come to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), the market town of the Rhætian province, while elsewhere commercial transactions had to be conducted on the frontier under the supervision of subordinate officers.

Trading with the Germans

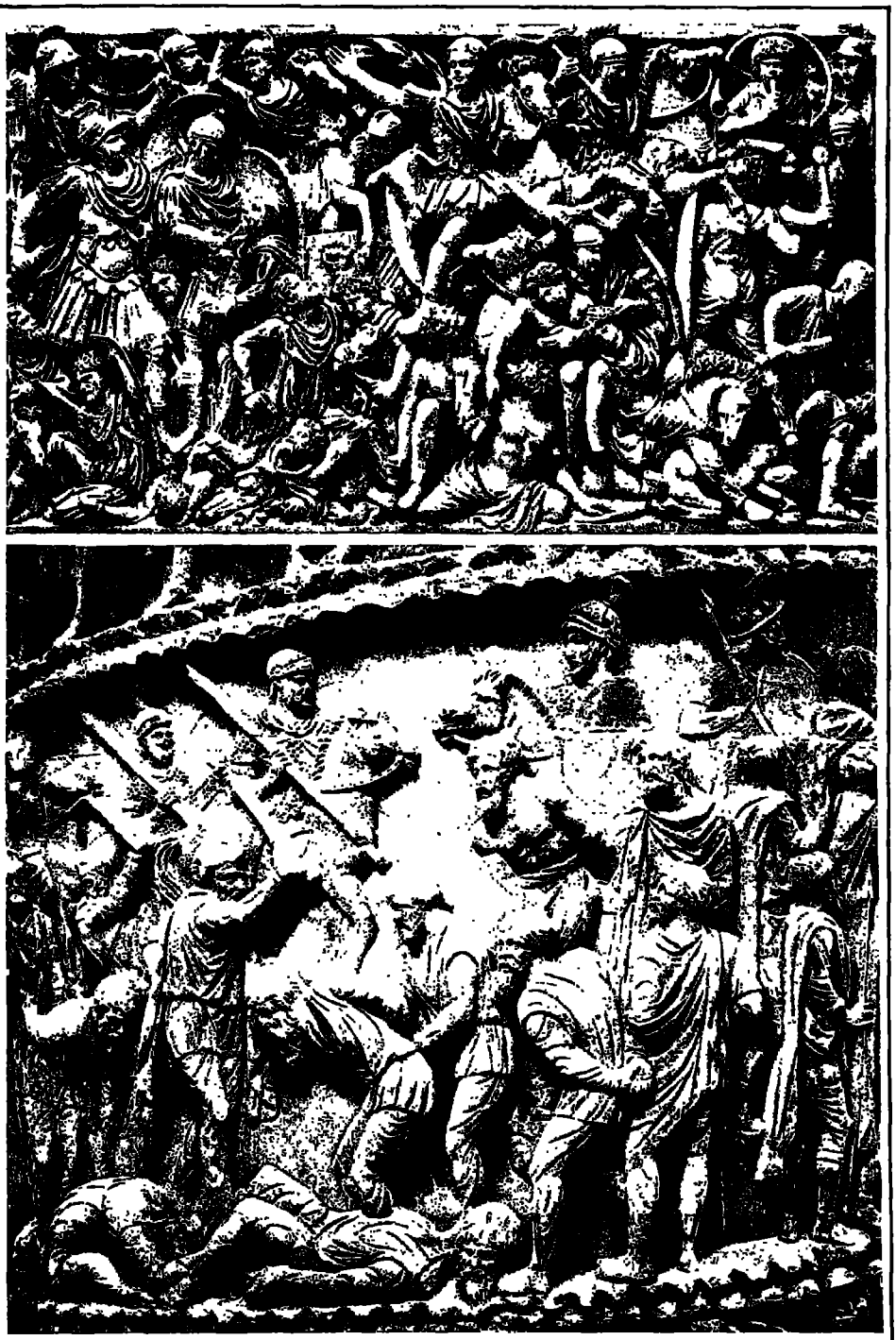
Carnuntum, situated on the Danube, near the middle of its course (below Vienna), was considered an important emporium for the trade between Illyricum and the Baltic countries. Amber, which was then highly valued, was brought to Rome by this route. The main Roman army was, at the time of Augustus, concentrated in Southern Styria, while the Hungarian districts on the Danube were not included within the Roman line of defence until the time of Trajan. Singidunum, near Belgrade, and Viminacium (Kostolatz in Servia) were the strongholds on the Danube, and kept in check the countries lying to the north and south.

The province of Dalmatia, to which Herzegovina and Bosnia belonged, was occupied for decades by two legions as garrisons, since a great insurrection, lasting four years, from 5 to 9 A.D., had shown that the peoples of that part were by no means subdued. In order to settle matters there, Central Germany had to be relinquished, for its occupation would have required an enormous expenditure in money and men, an expenditure which Augustus, at the end of his life, could no longer make up his mind to incur. It was enough if, by the suppression of the insurrection of Pannonians and Dalmatians, the eastern frontier of Upper Italy was rendered as secure as the north had become earlier through the Rhætian War. As a result, the Po district attained to a hitherto unknown prosperity. The great monuments commemorative of victory, the "Tropæum Alpium," on the summit of the Maritime Alps, and in Ticinum (now Pavia), testified to the gratitude of this country, and spread the fame of the sovereign and his family.

Prosperous People Bless Augustus

In other respects, too, Italy was benefited by the government of Augustus. The country towns recovered from the terrors of the civil wars and the proscriptions. Augustus did everything to heal the wounds which he himself had inflicted, especially at the time when he had been forced to recompense the veterans after the battle of Philippi.

Perusia received its entire territory back again, and remained a municipium, entitled, according to custom, to vote in the sacred Etruscan League. Roads like the Via Flaminia were put into better order, an improvement very welcome to the towns situated on it, such as Fanum and Ariminum. The management of the Italian roads, which could not be entirely entrusted to the separate municipia, on account of their keen rivalry, was provided



WARS OF THE ROMANS WITH THE GERMAN TRIBES

In the time of Augustus a third of the whole army of the empire was stationed along the Rhine for service against the Germans and Kelts. Nevertheless, the greatest disaster of his reign was the total defeat of Varus by the tribes of the Teutoberg forest in 9 A.D. The bas-relief at the top depicts a battle with the barbarians. Below is a relief from the Antonine Column, showing the execution of German nobles captured in battle.

for by the appointment of a central commission, composed of distinguished senators, which sat at Rome. In other respects, indeed, the separate municipia, while enjoying the advantages, were also liable to the burdens, of autonomy. They were small states within the state; annually they changed their two magistrates, who stood at the head of the government, after the manner of the consuls in ancient Rome, and with a few subordinates conducted the administration under the authority of the municipal council. The financial question caused little difficulty in the municipia, so long as persons who had amassed wealth in the imperial service thought it an honour to fill the offices in their native town, and to make contributions out of their own purses. Thus, the material advantages of the imperial system were felt even by the smallest communities of the Apennine peninsula.

States Within States

The new monarchy introduced many improvements in the administration of the capital. A prefecture of police was established for Rome, modelled after that of Alexandria, a change which would never have commended itself to republicans. The prefect had a few cohorts of military police under him; the supervision of the numerous slaves, as well as their protection from the caprice of their masters, was assigned to the new magistrate, whose sphere of duty steadily increased as time went on. Architectural regulations were introduced, according to which a new quarter sprang up on the Campus Martius, to which the trade of the capital was attracted more and more from the old districts. The Forum of the republican time and the new forums, as well as the Capitol, served chiefly for the transaction of legal business and for public purposes, while the Palatine was adopted by Augustus for his residence.

Cities were built after the model of the capital even in those provinces where the Italian municipal system had not yet obtained a footing; colonnades, long lines of tombs, the forum, the theatre, the amphitheatre, arose. The republican city had been exclusive; imperial Rome became the subject of assiduous imitation.

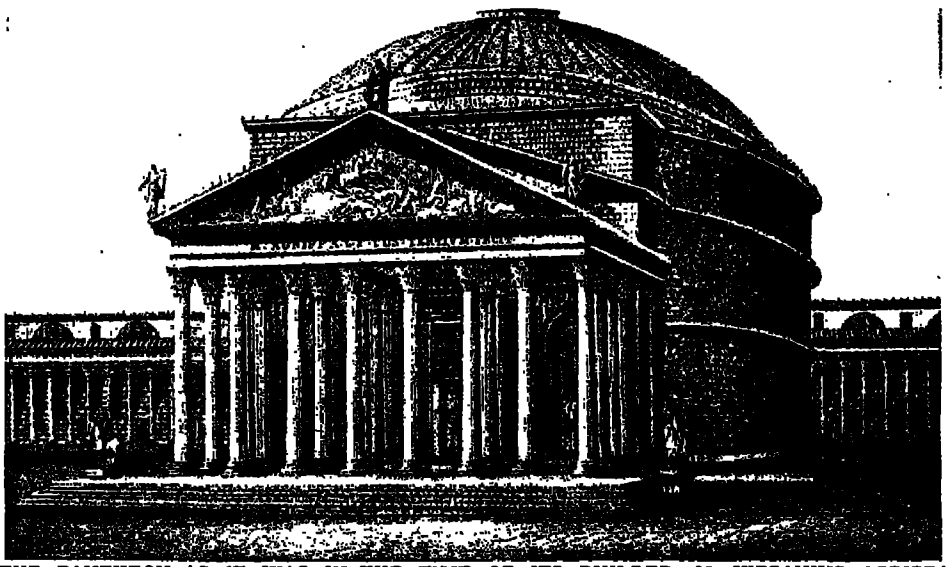
A similar reproduction of Alexandrian institutions was found in the fire brigade at Rome, organised on a military system; this had previously been composed of the slaves in the town, or else the duty had been left to private enterprise. A special prefect was now appointed for this purpose, as well as to supervise the provisioning of the capital, which was dependent entirely on the regular importation of grain from Egypt and Africa, since the vicinity of Rome had become the mere "garden of the empire." The villa quarter of the imperial capital extended on the north as far as the Lake of Sabate (now Lago di Bracciano), on the south to the Gulf of Naples, on the east into the country of the ancient Sabines, Æqui and Volsci. The conquered world had to supply all that was required, a state of things at once as ideal and as unnatural as Paradise, since the greatness of Italy had been built up by the free farmer, who now survived only in remoter districts.



M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA
May be called the "right-hand man" of Augustus, who owed much to the intelligence and executive ability of Agrippa.

The period of the Æquian and Volscian wars was even then ancient history. However, men did not experience the grief of the Gracchi at this state of things, but were contented with matters as they stood, enjoyed the era of peace, and praised Augustus as the author. Above all, joy was felt at the immunity from the oppressive burden of military service, since Italy south of the Po was not ordinarily a recruiting ground; and ancient Latium, Etruria, and Umbria furnished soldiers chiefly for the prætorian cohorts—that is, for home service. The cheap slave markets had ended with the close of the incessant wars. A stratum of half-free, or entirely free, workmen and husbandmen was now formed, which produced in the sequel a more peaceful development in the economic life of Italy. There was, besides, a natural improvement in many respects. The value of land in Italy increased

Augustan Age at its Best

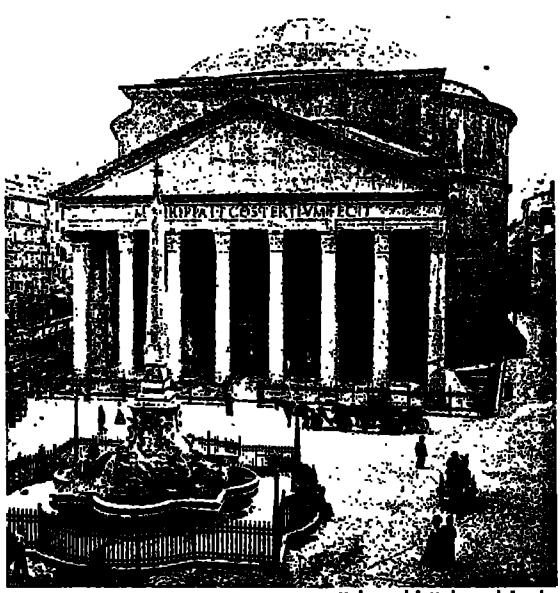


THE PANTHEON AS IT WAS IN THE TIME OF ITS BUILDER, M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA
This is the only building of ancient Rome that, after two thousand years, is used for the purpose it was designed to fulfil, as it has been made the burial place of the reigning house of Italy. It also contains the tomb of Raphael.

notably, trade and commerce prospered, public morals and order, which had greatly deteriorated during the civil wars, were ameliorated. Increased respect was officially paid to the cult of the gods; and in the year 17 B.C. the great feast of atonement, the Secular Festival, was celebrated with unprecedented splendour; in commemoration of this event the poet Horace, by order of Augustus, wrote the noble dedicatory hymn, the "Carmen Sæculare." Of the old fraternities, the origin of which went back to the time of King Romulus, that of the Husbandmen was revived by Augustus with great magnificence. The princeps, together with the foremost members of the senate, joined it, while the remaining places were filled up by election.

Under such circumstances, and for the reason, too, that the stability of the system of government was involved in them, the personal and family relations of the "First Citizen" became increasingly important.

In the good old republican times the individual had kept much in the background, even if the senatorial families kept alive the memory of great ancestors in their splendid halls by pictures and busts with appropriate inscriptions. Thus we hear, for instance, of the Fabii, who distinguished themselves in the war against Veii and later in the Samnite wars. Even the Fabius "Cunctator," who had avoided all battle with Hannibal, was honoured, because his conduct appeared justified by the subsequent disaster at Cannæ. Then the Scipios came into prominence, and influenced, in their way, the outcome of the Second and Third Punic Wars. There followed the Gracchi, Marius, Sulla and his contemporaries, Pompey the Great, and



Underwood & Underwood, London

THE PANTHEON OF AGRIPPA AS IT IS TO-DAY

Julius Cæsar, the predecessors and models of Cæsar Augustus.

The old commemorative inscriptions of the family halls were no longer sufficient to mark the rôle of the individual who now stood at the head of the commonwealth, and towered predominant in all circumstances. The whole course of history was intimately connected with the individuality of those men, who were conscious of their own greatness. Sulla left "Memoirs"; Cæsar published his "Civil War" after his "Gallic War," and ordered his other campaigns to be described by men who had served in them. His adopted son followed his example,

M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the victor over Sextus Pompeius and Antony, stood in very intimate relations with the sovereign. Sprung from an unimportant family, a contemporary and friend of the young Augustus, he had stood by him through the vicissitudes of fortune at Perusia against S. Pompeius and on to Actium. Later he was actively employed on the Rhine frontier, where he founded the city of the Ubii, which became a "colony" under his granddaughter, Agrippina. It is the modern Cologne. Subsequently we find Agrippa with Augustus in Spain, which he reorganised after the subjugation of the mountain tribes. In order to



ALL THAT REMAINS TO-DAY OF THE GLORIOUS PALACES OF THE CÆSARS

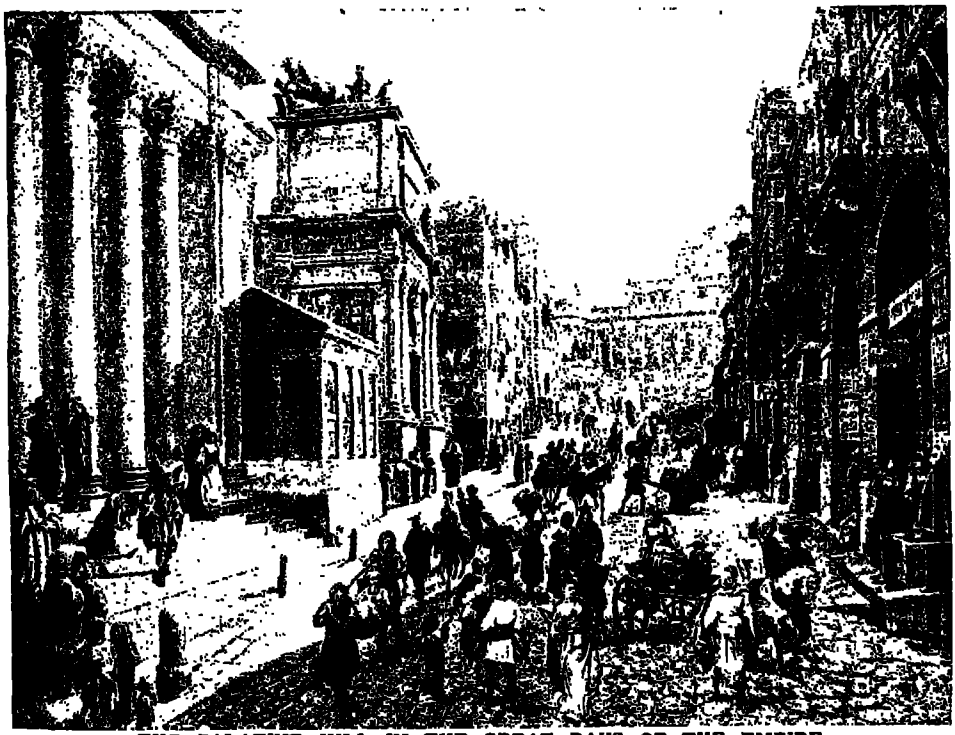
The great mass of ruins gives a profound impression of the vastness of the palaces which the Cæsars reared on this eminence, but the destruction has been so complete that no more than a ground plan remains.

and published in the year 36 B.C., after the successes against Sextus Pompeius, a survey of his previous operations; at his death he left an account of the acts of his reign, which has come down in an inscription, the famous "Monumentum Ancyranum," which was engraved on the walls in the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Ancyra in Galatia.

Asinius Pollio wrote the history of his time, uninfluenced by the biassed account of Augustus, who had the tact to allow the former comrades-in-arms of his adoptive father to do as they pleased, as when Valerius Messalla, in his description of the decisive battle of Philippi, praised Marcus Brutus as his imperator.

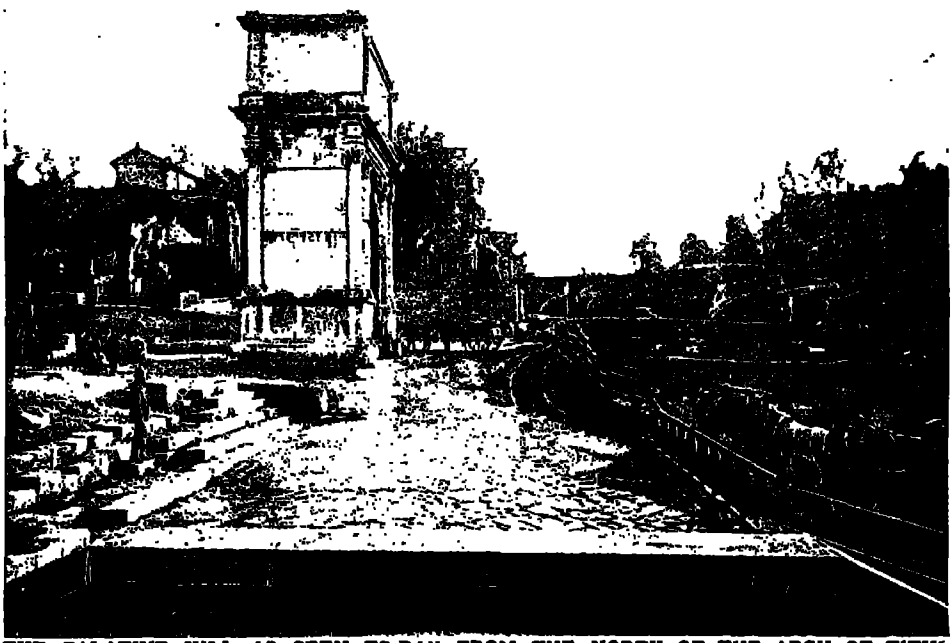
make the resources of Spain, Gaul, and Germany available for the needs of the empire, he completed a census of those countries. He also devoted his energies to the administration of the city of Rome.

In the year 33 B.C., after having served as consul, he took over the ædileship, in order to establish a system for the supply of drinking-water to Rome. It is not the least of Agrippa's services that Rome up to the present day is one of the capitals of Europe possessing an excellent water supply. One of his buildings, the Pantheon, still bears his name on the front. He was an energetic and, above all, a practical man. At a time when all the world, up to the very highest circles,



THE PALATINE HILL IN THE GREAT DAYS OF THE EMPIRE

This reconstruction, made by the archæologist Gatteschi, for M. Boyer D'Agen's work on the Forum, shows how the road to the Palatine Hill looked in the great days of the Empire. In the foreground is part of the Sacred Way, as the Arch of Titus on the left stood across that road, which then turned to the right and entered the Forum at the right bottom corner of the picture. On the immediate left is the portico of the great Temple of Venus and Rome; in the distance a glimpse of the palaces of the Cæsars.



THE PALATINE HILL AS SEEN TO-DAY FROM THE NORTH OF THE ARCH OF TITUS

All the splendid buildings have vanished; nothing but the Arch of Titus remains erect. A portion of the paving of the Sacred Way has here been preserved, however, and may be seen plainly in the foreground of this photograph.

dabbled in poetry, Agrippa kept from the temptation. On the other hand, his geographical and statistical labours formed a foundation for the knowledge of the following centuries. Agrippa was considered an upstart by the old nobility. Augustus, however, recognised how greatly indebted he was to his friend. The position of C. Mæcenas was different. He was the intimate personal friend of Augustus, and was sent by him on important diplomatic missions, as at the time when, after the fall of Perusia and the disarmament of L. Antonius, a conflict with the triumvir Antony seemed imminent—a conflict which would have come all too soon for Cæsar. Mæcenas then negotiated the marriage of M. Antony with Octavia. When, later, the rupture was brought on, C. Mæcenas remained in Rome as representative of Cæsar, and held the reins of power in the capital. He relentlessly crushed the attempt at a rising made by the son of Lepidus, the deposed triumvir. After the triumph of Augustus, Mæcenas withdrew from public affairs and, without aiming at political distinction, lived as a Roman knight, though, as a scion of Etruscan Lucumones, he looked down on the Roman nobility. He devoted himself to the fine arts and the pleasures of life, and was lauded by the poets as their patron, while he was constantly consulted by Augustus on all private matters. His wife, Terentia, ruled him, while Augustus played the part of the friend of the family.

The Friends and Colleagues of Augustus

Among the members of the family, Octavia, the eldest sister, or half-sister of Augustus, took the first place. She had supported her brother's policy at a critical moment, when, just become a widow, she gave her hand to Antony, and by this means kept him, for several years to come, loyal to the triumvirate. When Antony preferred Cleopatra to her she returned to Rome, where she won universal sympathy by her dignified conduct. She also made an impression on the literary men of the time, for she showed no small appreciation of their works.

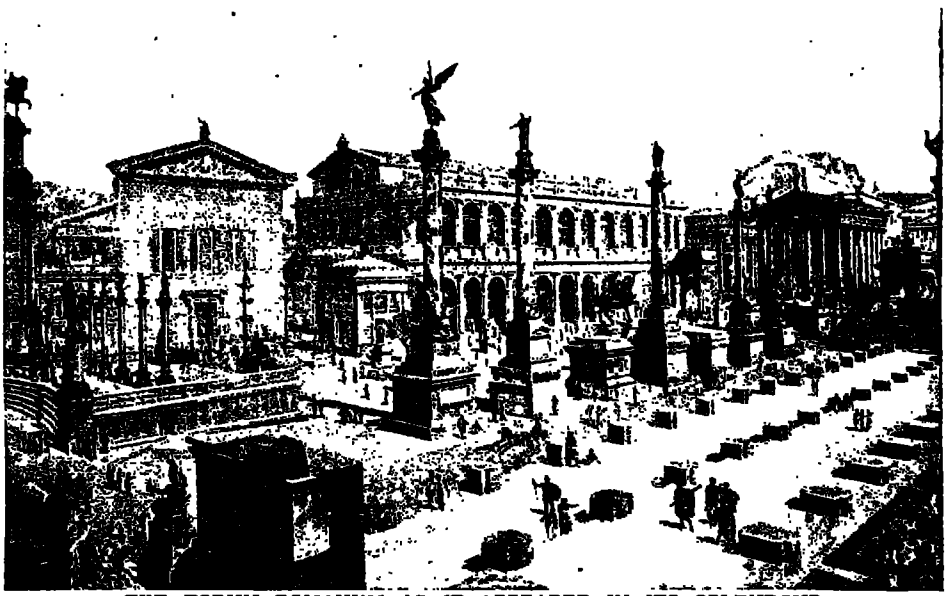
Matrimonial Affairs of the Emperor

Next to Octavia stand Livia, the third wife, and Julia, the daughter of Augustus by his second marriage with Scribonia. Augustus had twice married from political motives; first, Clodia, a daughter of Fu'via by Clodius, the opponent of Cicero, and, therefore a stepdaughter of Antony. This marriage, which was arranged at the time of the first triumvirate, and had never been consummated, was ended when Fulvia rose against Cæsar, in the year 41 B.C.

When, soon afterwards, Sextus Pompeius attained to great importance, and was especially courted by the Antonians, Cæsar made approaches to the family of the senator Scribonius Libo, from which Sextus Pompeius had taken his wife, and married Scribonia. Julia was born of this marriage. Scribonia was afterwards divorced, for Livia, wife of the prætorian Ti. Claudius Nero, had so captivated the triumvir Cæsar that he compelled her husband to divorce her in order that he might marry her. Her sons, Tiberius and Drusus, remained at first under the control of Claudius; and only on his death, which followed soon after, did Cæsar receive them into his house. His union with Livia was childless. Under these circumstances Julia, the only legitimate child of the prince, attained to great prominence, for Augustus intended to confer the principate on the husband of his daughter. He had actually selected the son of Octavia by her first marriage, M. Claudius Marcellus, as his heir, just as he himself, a great-nephew of Cæsar, had become Cæsar's heir. Five years after the battle of Actium, in 25 B.C., the marriage of Julia, aged fourteen, and Marcellus, a youth of eighteen, took place. Marcellus was pointed out to the senate as the future sovereign, and was paid appropriate honours.

Augustus' Schemes of Succession

This purely personal policy of Augustus was now challenged by the man who had played the most important part next to him, M. Vispanius Agrippa. He was admittedly a thorough-going partisan of the monarchical order of things, and recognised in Augustus the right man for the place; but such a combination of state and personal interests was foreign to his taste. The saying was heard at Rome, "Marcellus may be the favourite grandson of Augustus, but Agrippa will not let him have the power." The latter withdrew from all political life and went into voluntary exile in Lesbos. The rupture between the two chiefs was thus made plain to the world. Fate then interposed, for Marcellus, barely three years afterwards, at the end



THE FORUM ROMANUM AS IT APPEARED IN ITS SPLENDOUR

In this reconstruction by the archæologist Gatteschi, for the work of M. Boyer d'Agen on the Forum, we see it at the time when the immense Basilica Julia, or Palace of Justice, was razed to the ground, the bases of the columns prominent in the right foreground. On the left, marked by its five small columns with figures, is the Rostra, a part of the Arch of Septimius Severus showing behind, and beyond is the Curia, or meeting-place of the senate. To its right is the great Basilica Æmilia, and beyond that on the right the Temple of Faustina. In the centre are the five "honorary columns," and at their base the Sacred Way.

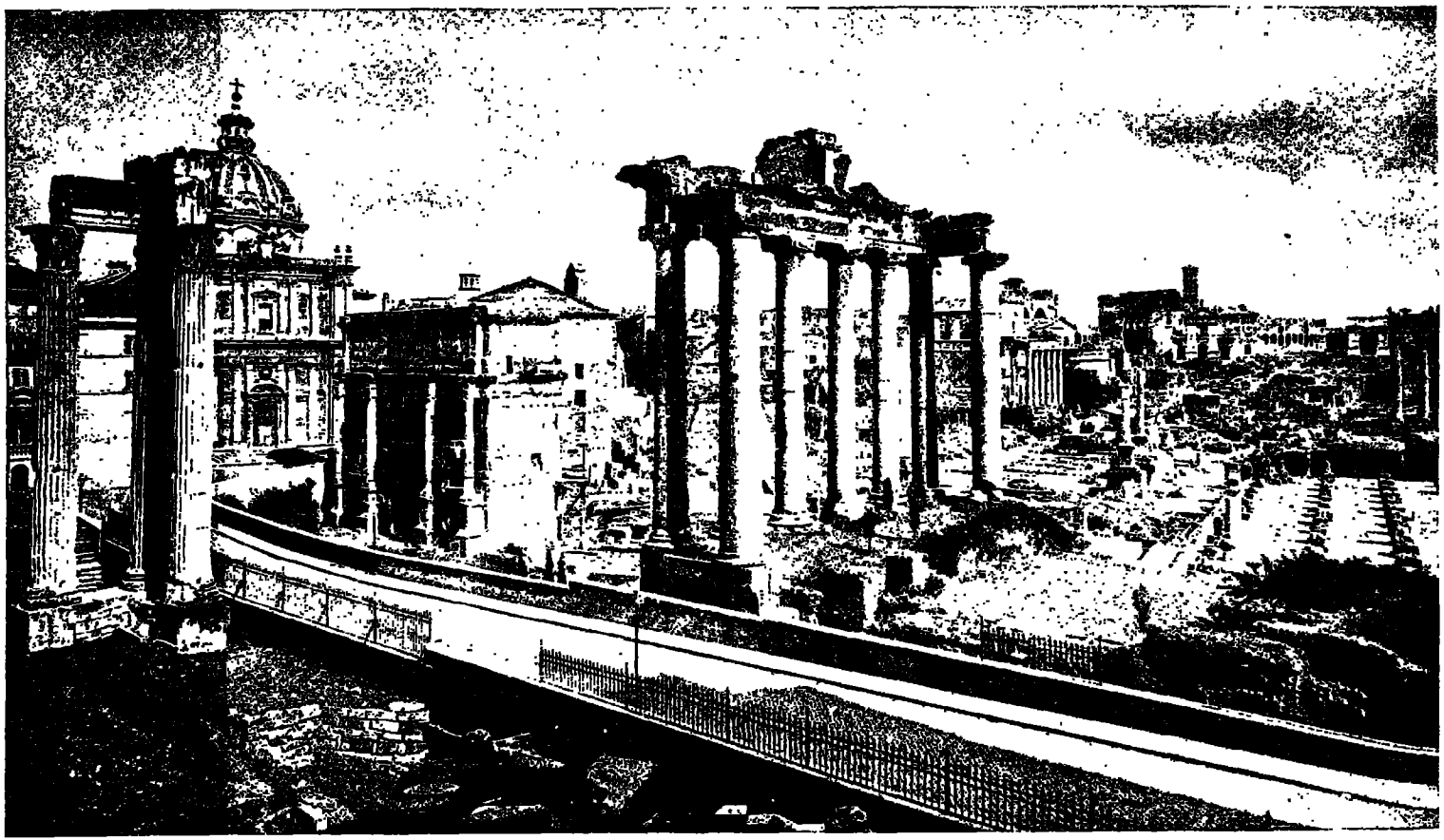


THE FORUM ROMANUM IN ITS PRESENT STATE OF UTTER RUIN

Here is the state of ruin to which this splendid place has been reduced. The bases of the honorary columns by the Sacred Way may be noted, in the foreground the remnants of the later Basilica Julia, on the right, part of the Temple of Faustina, and on the left the bare façade of the Curia, with the Arch of Severus to its left. The prominent column in the centre, known as the "Phocas Column," from the inscription, which states that a statue of King Phocas was erected upon it in 608 A.D., dates probably from the fourth century of our era, and was thus about 300 years later than the other columns, shown in the reconstruction. In Byron's time its base was still buried and its identity unknown; hence his line, "Thou nameless column with the buried base."



THE FORUM, LOOKING TOWARDS THE CAPITOL; TEMPLE OF FAUSTINA ON THE MIDDLE RIGHT AND ARCH OF SEVERUS IN THE DISTANCE



2705 THE FORUM, FROM THE CAPITOLINE HILL; TEMPLE OF SATURN IN CENTRE, AND THE COLISEUM AND ARCH OF TITUS IN DISTANCE

of 23 B.C., was carried off by an illness, to the intense grief of Octavia and Augustus.

The question of the succession was once more open. Mæcenas now intervened in the matter. He pointed out to Augustus that he had placed Agrippa in such a position that nothing remained except to have him put to death or to accept him as a son-in-law. Augustus choose the latter alternative; and in 21 B.C., two years after the death of Marcellus, Agrippa, having divorced his own wife, married Julia. It was a marriage which, like many of that time, was completely dictated by policy; father-in-law and son-in-law were of the same age, just as Pompey had been actually older than his father-in-law, Cæsar.





TWO NOTORIOUS WOMEN OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE

Julia—on the left—the only child of Augustus, married finally to Tiberius, who put her to death for her licentiousness. On the right, Livia, second wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius.

The marriage did not, on the whole, turn out badly. Two sons, the issue of it, Gaius and Lucius, were adopted by Augustus, and destined to be the future rulers of the empire. Agrippa displayed unwearying activity in the establishment of the royal house, especially in the eastern half of the empire, and Julia followed her husband there. In Lesbos, where she resided for some time, she was extolled as a new Aphrodite. Everything seemed propitious.

This state of affairs lasted nine years, certainly the most prosperous period of Augustus's reign. But in the year 12 B.C., Agrippa, while preparing for a campaign in Pannonia, was taken ill, and soon afterwards died. By this event the existing family arrangements were thrown into confusion. Augustus, never of a strong constitution, grew so feeble, that all expected his speedy death. If he died, it was doubtful if the principate could be gained for the young children of Julia by Agrippa. In any case, they needed a trustworthy guardian until they should grow up. Besides this, Julia, who was but twenty-eight years old, could not be left without a husband: Augustus knew his daughter. It seemed best, under these circumstances, to marry Julia to Tiberius, the elder stepson of Augustus, who had already given proofs of his abilities.

Tiberius was, it is true, happily married to Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa by his first marriage, while there was no trace in him of any affection for Julia. But Augustus was not the man to be deterred by such considerations. He carried out his family scheme in a despotic manner, and the marriage of Julia with Tiberius was concluded.



THE HOPE OF AUGUSTUS

When Cæsar Augustus married his fourteen-year-old daughter Julia to the young Marcellus, the latter was designated heir to the throne, but died two years later.

The marriage proved a complete failure. Husband and wife soon grew to hate each other. Julia was full of vivacity, and she was interested in poetry; Ovid, the amatory poet, belonged to her circle. She was a true princess in her licentiousness. It was said she had been unfaithful to Agrippa in his later years. Julia was no suitable wife for the cold and stern Tiberius. The couple separated without being divorced, for official decorum would not allow of this. From a political point of view the position intended for Tiberius did not appeal to him: he was to keep

the throne warm for Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, but to retire when they came to mature years. When Augustus ordered Gaius, a boy of fifteen, to be designated consul by the senate, and prepared the same honour for Lucius, Tiberius acted like Agrippa in similar case; in 6 B.C. he retired from all public affairs, and went as a private citizen to Rhodes, as if into exile. The work of empire naturally suffered from this; an invasion of Armenia had to be postponed because Augustus had no trustworthy officer at his disposal, and he complained, justly, that he was left in the lurch. It was only several years later that Gaius Cæsar could be sent to Armenia with a proper suite; but at the siege of Artagira he received a wound, from which he never recovered. In the year 4 A.D., Gaius, who was just twenty-four, died; his brother, Lucius, had died two years before at Massilia on a journey to Spain.

Tiberius Leaves Augustus in the Lurch

No course now remained for Augustus but to nominate as his successor Tiberius, who had in the interval returned to Rome. The man of forty-six was adopted into the family of the Julii, "for political reasons," as Augustus said, who was certainly not actuated by love. At the same time, on June 27th, 4 A.D., the powers of imperator and tribune were conferred on Tiberius, as they had been on Augustus himself. In this way the principle of a hereditary principate was broken and yet adapted to the peculiar arrangements of Roman family life. For ten years Tiberius stood loyally by the side of Augustus, and displayed great energy wherever it was necessary, in Illyricum or on the Rhine.

This was the period when Tiberius won respect and popularity, especially in military circles. He suppressed the rising in Pannonia more by skilful administrative measures than by force of arms, a considerable achievement. Augustus, nevertheless, jealously held the reins of government in his own hands up to the very end. The form which Augustus gave to the Roman empire remained in force for 300 years, although it was based on a compromise between oligarchy and monarchy, and thus contained a contradiction within itself. Practical politics do not always agree with theories, and depend rather upon the individual. A man like the first Cæsar would have given another direction to the state after the senate had been completely subordinated to him. Augustus, when in opposition to Antony, had united in himself the old offices, which, even after his triumph, kept their importance. Augustus is characterised by the dynastic trait of his policy, as shown by the way in which he made himself the successor of the dictator even in his political position, and staked everything for the interests of his family. He recoiled before Agrippa, but not before Tiberius, and maintained his own authority even against these great men. At a time when his own grandsons stood by his side he courted popularity with both the senate and the people.

The Aged Emperor Clings to Power

In his private life Augustus found no happiness. After her separation from Tiberius, Julia had continued her gay life in her own circle, despite all the warnings of her father. Finally, the love precepts of Ovid became facts, for regular orgies were the order of the day. The most prominent among Julia's lovers was Julius Antonius, the younger son of the triumvir by Fulvia, who had been educated by Octavia, and held the first rank by the side of Livia's sons. He was married to Marcella, daughter of Octavia and the divorced wife of Agrippa, gained the consulate in 10 B.C., and then became proconsul in Asia. In short, his intrigue with Julia had a political colouring, as though the principate could be transferred from the Julian to the Antonian house, even against the will of Augustus. When the matter could no longer be hushed up, Julius Antonius was executed for high treason, and Julia herself banished by Augustus in 2 B.C. Nine years later Ovid went as exile to dismal Tomi, chiefly on account of Julia's daughter and namesake.

Notorious Daughter of Augustus

Octavia and Mæcenas, who had formerly been his agents in such delicate matters, were now dead; and Livia saw with satisfaction the downfall of Julia and her children, since the road to the throne was now opened to her own son, Tiberius. As she outlived her rivals, she assumed in the later years of Augustus a position of importance in politics. She was with her husband when he was taken ill at Nola on a journey into Campania. Messengers were immediately sent off to Tiberius, who had started on a mission to Illyricum. Tiberius was on the spot when Augustus died, on August 19th, 14 A.D.



TIBERIUS IN HIS LATER YEARS AT ONE OF HIS PALACES ON THE ISLAND OF CAPRI

The last ten or eleven years of the life of Tiberius were passed away from Rome on the lovely and solitary island of Capri, in the bay of Naples. There he built many palaces, and abandoned himself to a life of luxury and licentiousness unparalleled even in the history of Roman morals. Of all his palaces only a few stones now remain.



ROME UNDER TIBERIUS CÆSAR

LAST OF THE FOUNDERS OF EMPIRE

AN AGE OF UNPARALLELED PROSPERITY

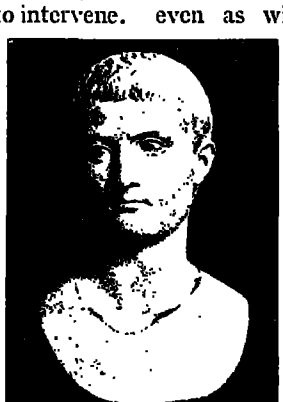
TIBERIUS was "imperator." The military officials of the capital, especially the commandant of the guard, as well as that of the fire brigade, were thus under his orders. According to precedent, the consuls, the military officers, the senators, the soldiers, and the people, swore allegiance to the new lord. In the same way the corresponding orders were issued to the provinces. At Rome itself a meeting of the senate was called, by virtue of the "tribunician power" of Tiberius, at which a vexatious incident occurred. Tiberius, always somewhat awkward as a speaker, did not at once find the right word to explain that he took over the place of his adoptive father, and he acted as if he expected the orders of the senate; when some orators prepared to take this seriously, for in this body the independent feelings of their fathers, as of an Asinius Pollio, had been inherited by the sons, the supporters of the dynasty had to intervene.

The Spirit of Freedom Not Dead

There was, indeed, a party already working for the succession to the throne. There was living at the time a posthumous son of M. Agrippa and Julia, Agrippa Postumus, whom Augustus, after the scandals connected with his daughter, had been unable to favour above Tiberius, but who was regarded by the opposition as a rightful claimant. He was executed in his place of exile without the orders of Tiberius. Julia was put to death in her prison at Rhegium, but we have no particulars of the occurrence.

Tiberius entered on the sovereignty at the age of fifty-six, beyond the prime of life, but having displayed fine abilities for many years in the foremost positions, a Claudius, who had come into the house of the Cæsars by adoption. He was now officially styled Tiberius Cæsar, or, in brief, "Cæsar"; or, as the title was as well known as the name, simply "Tiberius," just as modern monarchs usually call themselves merely by their Christian names. Tiberius did not belie his Claudian descent; the arrogance which was innate in that family was not brought forward against him by his enemies alone Augustus had fixed still more exactly the order of succession in his house. The younger son of Livia, Drusus, the conqueror of the Germans, had always been his favourite, so that town gossip gave out that he was his son; for Drusus was born after Livia had come into the house of the triumvir Octavianus. The noble youth, when grown up, received the hand of the second Antonia, daughter of Octavia by the triumvir Antony, a splendid woman, who, even as widow, enjoyed the complete esteem of the family, and was on especially good terms with Tiberius all his life.

Favourite of Augustus



TIBERIUS IN HIS YOUTH
Adopted by Augustus as his successor, Tiberius had an honourable and great career before he came to the throne, but his conduct as emperor was tyrannical in the extreme.

Drusus had died, a young man, in 9 B.C., from the effects of a fall from his horse, and left two sons behind him, of whom the elder, inheriting the cognomen won by his father's victories, called himself Germanicus, while the younger, Claudius, was considered feeble of intellect, and was the butt of the family. Tiberius, at the command of Augustus, was compelled to adopt Germanicus, now aged twenty, although he had, by his marriage with Vipsania, a son, named Drusus, who was only a little younger, but now was obliged to yield precedence to his cousin, or rather

his adopted brother. Germanicus, who had shown himself a brilliant officer at the time of the revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia, was married by Augustus to his granddaughter, Agrippina. Numerous children were born of this marriage, to the joy of the old emperor, who thus saw his descendants multiplying and the succession secured to them after the death of Tiberius. Germanicus, at the moment when Augustus died, was in command of the eight legions stationed on the Rhine frontier, the strongest corps of the imperial army. He ordered the troops to swear allegiance at once to the new ruler, for the will of Augustus was as sacred to Germanicus as to Tiberius.

It happened then that the legionaries wished to seize the opportunity of a change in the person of the sovereign, to improve their own condition. The armies of Illyria and the Rhine mutinied simultaneously. The soldiers complained of their long period of service, which spread over twenty years; of the hard work in the improvement of the provinces which was exacted from them in times of peace; of the brutal corporal punishments which were continually inflicted on them by the subordinate officers; of the constant drilling and training in heavy marching order. When a man was lucky enough to have ended his twenty years' term, and became entitled to the reward of his services, he was often kept in suspense for years, from financial reasons, or he was given house and land in a mountainous or even swampy district, which he had first to make habitable. The Prætorian guards, on the other hand, had only sixteen years of service, could share in the pleasures of life in the capital and the provincial towns of Italy, and received higher pay. The whole movement assumed a dangerous aspect, since the legions on the Rhine were inclined to proclaim Germanicus as imperator. But he took energetic steps to prevent this. When Agrippina with her children was sent away from the camp, the soldiers' mood was changed. In Illyricum, where Tiberius had sent his son, Drusus, an eclipse of the moon produced a favourable turn of affairs. The demands of the soldiers were, indeed, momentarily conceded, but the ringleaders were seized, and discipline was restored.

This was the first time that the principate measured its strength in this way with its tool, the imperial army. The government afterwards gradually withdrew the concessions which had been made, since the finances of the empire did not permit a reduction in the length of service or an increase of pay; and, according to the view of the most experienced officers, of whom Tiberius himself was one, discipline could not be maintained without corporal punishment, drills, and the labour of constructing camps and cultivating the fields. Germanicus thought that the soldiers should be restored to their proper mood by a new and inspiring campaign; and, therefore, without any previous inquiries at Rome, he led his troops on his own responsibility over the Rhine. In fact, he repeated these expeditions in the following years, wishing once more to follow the victorious steps of his father, Drusus, and to avenge the defeat of Quinctilius Varus. He reached the Weser and the Elbe, sent his ships into the North Sea, fought with Arminius, and actually invaded the Teutoberg forest. The remains of the fallen Romans were recovered, but such dangers were run and such heavy losses incurred that Tiberius resolved to place restrictions on the adventurous spirit of the heir to the crown. Germanicus was recalled on the most honourable terms, and



Mansell

TIBERIUS CÆSAR
He was fifty-six years of age when he succeeded to the purple on the death of Augustus.



TIBERIUS AND HIS WIFE AGRIPPINA, WHOM HE DIVORCED TO MARRY JULIA
From a fine painting by Rubens, in which the likenesses are carefully studied from existing portraits.

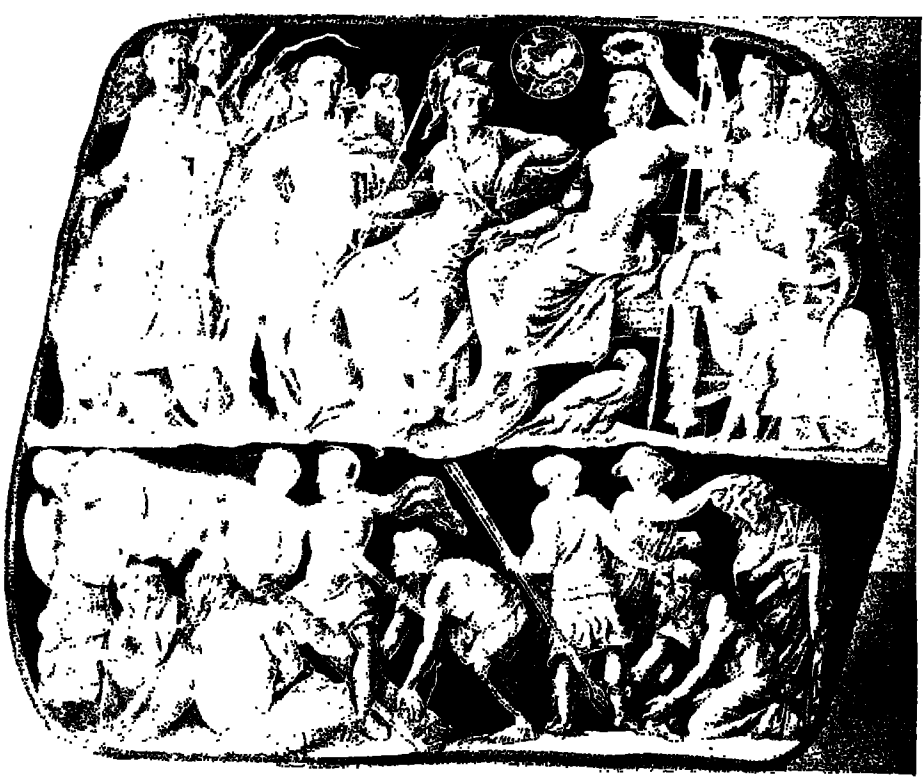
granted a magnificent triumph at Rome. The consulate, " for the second time," was bestowed on him, an office which Tiberius assumed at the same time with him in 18 A.D. But the chief command in Gaul and Germany was abolished; and, while the inner provinces were placed under civil governors, the Rhine legions were divided into two corps—one for Upper Germany, with headquarters at Mogontiacum, the other for Lower Germany, with headquarters at Castra Vetera.

Germanicus was given a command in the east, where some affairs had to be arranged which might well have been entrusted to the provincial governors. Germanicus saw the commission in this light, and combined with the journey a pleasure trip, in order to visit the scene of the battle of Actium, the monuments of Athens, and, lastly, the pyramids of Egypt. In Syria the imperial governor, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, refused to obey the prince. Piso was the son of the consul of the same name of the year 23 B.C. He had himself been consul in 7 B.C. with Tiberius, and was married to Plancina, a daughter or granddaughter of L. Munatius Plancus. There were at first angry scenes; and finally the officers on both sides confronted each other with drawn swords. When Germanicus, who, by virtue of his proconsular authority, had suspended Piso, suddenly was taken ill he believed that he had been poisoned. He died, and bequeathed this suspicion to his widow, Agrippina, who, in her bereavement, accused the emperor himself of having had a hand in the matter. Tiberius left the investigation to the senate. The charge of poisoning was not found to be proved, but Piso was condemned for disobedience. He committed suicide. The whole affair compromised the government, which, in any case, had played an ambiguous part. There was

talk of secret instructions which Piso, an old friend of Tiberius, had received, and perhaps had exceeded, according to the letter; at any rate, the emperor's intention had been to give the haughty prince a rebuff. Piso's wife, Plancina, implored Livia to save him; and the hostility between Livia and Julia and her descendants was known. But the opposition party was not less busied in procuring proofs, so that Piso was left to his fate. All this caused great excitement at the time, for Germanicus had been very popular (19 A.D.).

Drusus, own son of the emperor, was now designated successor to the throne; but the most important part at court was played by Sejanus, a Roman knight of Volsinii, whom Tiberius had placed at the head of the guard. This guard consisted of nine cohorts, which Augustus had distributed in Italy; Sejanus concentrated them in Rome. Their fortified camp, which was constructed in front of the Viminal gate, became thenceforward the citadel of the capital. The administration of the imperial provinces was in good hands, since Tiberius kept round him the efficient members of the nobility, and appointed as governors men who had been put to the test. It was seen that the best rulers were not men born in the purple, but those who, in an inferior position, had long studied the methods of governing.

The provincials were thankful that the peaceful rule of Augustus had been continued by the new monarch. He was praised for punctiliously observing the constitution of the empire. Each province, and occasionally an individual tribe, had a charter or enjoyed certain privileges. Thus in the three Gauls at first sixty and later sixty-four states were self-governing, and they alone had a share in the "concilium" of Lugdunum. The others were apportioned to the privileged states—that is, were governed by them. In Egypt and Judæa itself the Jews possessed peculiar rights, by which they were protected in the observance of their religion, and were excused from military service in consideration of paying certain taxes. Regard had also to be paid to Egyptian superstition, since the killing of a sacred



THE TRIUMPH OF TIBERIUS, FROM THE BEAUTIFUL VIENNA CAMEO

cal would have deeply insulted the native population. Tiberius had strict order maintained in all such matters. In consequence of this, trade and commerce attained to an unprecedented prosperity, and the finances of the empire showed a surplus which was unparalleled even under Augustus. In the event of unforeseen calamities — for example, when an earthquake destroyed a dozen towns in the province of Asia — the emperor was not niggardly but spent his money at the right time. Only in his later years was the complaint heard that economy had degenerated into avarice and the useless hoarding of treasure.



DRUSUS THE ELDER AND GERMANICUS

Brother to Tiberius, Nero Claudius Drusus was a victorious general against the German tribes, and died from a fall off his horse, in the year 9 B.C. His son Germanicus was a trusted and able general under Tiberius, who adopted him; but his successes engendered the imperial jealousy, and at his death, by poison, suspicion rested on Tiberius.

Strabo and Philo, contemporary writers, give us full details of provincial affairs under Tiberius. The attitude of the provinces towards the emperors was very loyal, since the improved administration was greatly appreciated. The foreign policy of Tiberius was pacific. The conquered positions on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates were occupied without any attempt, after the recall of Germanicus from Germany, to extend the frontiers. In Africa a rising of the border tribes had to be quelled. Any other events that occurred were limited to Rome and Italy. At first only narrow circles were interested in them; but, finally, the general policy of the empire was sympathetically affected.

The relations of the members of the ruling house were far from satisfactory. Drusus, the heir to the throne, could not tolerate Sejanus, the commander of the Prætorian guard; in fact, he went to the extent of striking him, an insult the prefect never forgave. The latter was firm in the confidence of the emperor, who made it a principle never to abandon capable officials. Sejanus, evil by nature, was initiated into the family affairs of the dynasty, since he seduced Livilla, the wife of Drusus, and induced her to poison her husband, whose death, in 23 A.D., caused no surprise, for the life of the prince was calculated to undermine his health.

A Court Scandal of Old Rome

The sons of Germanicus and Agrippina were now presented to the senate as next in the succession. Tiberius, for his part, successfully carried out the Augustan policy, but without the formalities to which Augustus, from certain considerations, had adhered. These concerned, for example, the acceptance of the provinces for a limited period, and not for life. Augustus had had his full powers renewed every five or ten years, though they could not have been refused. Tiberius accepted the principate absolutely without any restriction of time, while he reserved to himself in general terms the right of retiring at some future time. Augustus had continued the existence of the comitia, although for the last century they had no significance as a popular assembly; and the candidates designated for the offices by the government—that is, by the senate and the princeps—were chosen by the comitia. Tiberius, however, abolished the comitia as superfluous, and had the usual officials, whose competence was continually decreasing owing to the progressive development of the principate, nominated in the senate, on which he, as a member, could bring influence to bear.

Vigorous Reforms of Tiberius

Notwithstanding the fact that the imperial system, as originated by Augustus and perfected by Tiberius, had sprung from existing conditions, and was completely justified by them, an opposition appeared. The restoration of the comitia formed one of the objects which they put before the people. In this way the republican propaganda and the dynastic opposition, for which Agrippina and her sons had worked, were revived. Tiberius remained firm, and did not fail

to issue warnings, since the passionate Agrippina regarded him as the murderer of her husband, and acted as if her life were in danger; but she would not be warned. Besides Agrippina and the circle devoted to her, the aged Livia, whom Augustus had adopted in his will, played her part. She had a special following among the older senators, who formed a separate party. Then came Livilla, who wished to marry Sejanus; although the emperor did not allow that, the intimacy continued. Sejanus, in the name of the emperor, directly opposed the party of Agrippina, who planned a rising in the provinces, but could not prevail against the powerful prefect.

Tiberius was so weary of these intrigues that he resolved to avoid them. His house was desolate. Since his divorce from Vipsania he had become so soured that he had given himself up to excesses in Rhodes, and in his old age h could not abandon them. The gossips of the capital told hideous stories about him. The appearance of the old Tiberius was anything but beautiful. The once majestic form was bent, while his face was disfigured by an eruption; in consequence of this, the custom of kissing, which formerly played a great part in Roman etiquette, was discontinued at court. There was also the annoying state of his family relations; the three widows especially were antagonistic to each other, even though Livia insisted strictly on decorum. In the year 26 A.D. Tiberius went to Campania, never again to return to Rome. Instead of that, he went to the island of Capri in the Gulf of Naples, which Augustus had acquired. Here he established his royal residence, where he could avoid all intercourse that was unpleasant to him. The numerous deputations which usually came to the royal abode were, as a rule, not admitted, since Tiberius thought that if he received one party, he could not refuse the other. He contented himself with the society of a few friends of senatorial or knightly rank, and he welcomed learned men.



SOLDIERS OF THE FAMOUS PRÆTORIAN GUARD

This remarkable body of Roman soldiers was raised to a unique position by Augustus, who made it his personal bodyguard, and its commander became the most courted man after the emperor. In time the Prætorian guard acquired such power that several of its chiefs were able to place themselves on the throne. The above group is from a bas-relief in the Louvre.

In his suite there was an astrologer, for Tiberius, who otherwise was not of a religious nature, attached importance to divination. The prefect of the guard, who represented the emperor in Rome, came to and fro on business, while a company of the guard was

stationed on Capri, and acted as couriers.

In 29 A.D., Livia, the mother of the emperor, died at the age of eighty-six. The destruction of the family of Germanicus, which had long been premeditated, was no longer postponed. Agrippina, as well as her two elder sons, Nero and Drusus, was arrested on a charge of treason and conspiracy; Nero was executed, Agrippina banished, Drusus imprisoned. This was the work of Sejanus, who aspired to the first place in the state.



Mansell

A NOBLE WOMAN IN AN AGE OF LICENSE Antonia, wife of Drusus the elder, and mother of Germanicus, Claudius, and Livia. As Drusus was killed at thirty, Antonia was early a widow, but refused to marry again, and devoted herself to the education of her children. Her daughter Livia was one of the worst women of her time.

Tiberius was now more than seventy years old. The question was arising, who should rule when he died? There were Drusus and his brother Gaius, the sons of Germanicus and Agrippina; and there was the young Tiberius, Livilla's son and the reputed grandson of the emperor himself. If the party of Agrippina came into power, Sejanus was lost. He, therefore, wished to secure himself against all emergencies. Sejanus did not underrate the strength of the opposition, which lay in the popular programme it possessed. He was ready to lend himself to this programme in order to reach his goal. The prolonged absence of Tiberius, and the reports which reached Rome of his life on Capri, made the undertaking appear promising. The guard was devoted to its prefect; he had a following in the senate; the most important governors and some client princes were on his side; he had been for years the "vice-emperor." Tiberius trusted him as much as ever. In fact, in the year 31 A.D., Sejanus, as a signal mark of imperial favour, had been made regular consul with Tiberius. If he acquired also the tribunician power, he would be *ipso facto* successor to the throne. Tiberius and the surviving members of the dynasty could then be put on one side without difficulty. Only at the last moment did Tiberius receive a warning. It came from his sister-in-law, Antonia, who sent a trusty messenger to Capri with the disclosure. Tiberius now recognised the danger in which he was. He took his countermeasures with great circumspection. There was no time to be lost, and recourse could not be had to open action. Preparations were made to enable him to take ship and escape to the legions on the Rhine if the worst happened. In Rome the services of Nævius Macro were employed, who took into his confidence Graccinus Laco, commander of the fire brigade, since no trust could be reposed in the guard. At the same time a missive of the emperor was despatched to the senate; and, as some urgency was attached to it, Sejanus believed it announced the conferment on him of the tribunician power. The letter was read in the senate by the presiding consul. After many circumlocutions it contained at the end the command to arrest Sejanus and to condemn him.

Vice-emperor Who Aspired to the Purple

Tiberius Gives Sejanus Short Shrift

Macro, meanwhile, had gone to the camp of the prætorians, in order to declare to them the will of the emperor and to assume the command. Laco surrounded the council-room of the senate with the men of the fire brigade, and the order was also given to release, in case of necessity, Drusus, who was prisoner in the Palatium, to act against Sejanus. But the surprise was so complete that resistance was utterly paralysed. Sejanus was executed the very same day. The soldiers of the guard showed some resentment at the fact that more confidence had been placed in the firemen than in them. The disturbances produced by the fall of Sejanus and the arrest of his partisans lasted several days. Tiberius remained master of the

situation, but the treachery of Sejanus made the deepest impression on him. He had thought that he could rely on Sejanus, since the latter had saved his life before his retirement to Capri. Sejanus had been promoted to the highest dignities. The most noble houses of Rome had formed family alliances with him, and he himself belonged, as it were, to the imperial house, since the daughter of Livilla had been betrothed to him. Yet he had not been able to wait until the aged Tiberius should close his weary eyes. In addition, the trial of the relations and partisans of Sejanus had revealed most exasperating facts, among others how the death of Drusus, his intended successor, had been brought about, and many other black crimes. It is scarcely surprising that after the shock the mind of the old Tiberius was in all probability unhinged.

The Aged Tyrant Master of the Day

Trials and the executions went on for two years, until, in the year 33, the emperor gave orders that an end should be made; he wished for the future to hear no more of the matter. Tiberius still held the reins firmly; but his life became more and more lonely. The two elder sons of Germanicus were dead. Gaius, the youngest, who was brought to Capri, did not inspire Tiberius with much confidence; not until two years after the fall of Sejanus did Tiberius nominate Gaius to be quæstor. The affections of the emperor were fixed rather on Tiberius Gemellus, his own grandson; but, after the relations of Livilla with Sejanus had become known, little certainty could be attached to his parentage. The emperor, therefore, let things have their own way, since he named in his will the two princes as heirs to equal shares of his private estate, without solving the problem of the future principate.



TIBERIUS IN LATER LIFE
Handsome in youth and manhood, the drunkenness and debauchery of his old age made him an ugly object.

Nævius Sertorius Macro, with whose wife Gaius carried on an intrigue, held the office of prefect of the guard, in which he replaced Sejanus, a post that turned the scale in every event. As companion to the prince there lived at Rome Julius Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, son of the Aristobulus who had been executed in the year 7 B.C. Those times weighed heavily on the upper circles at Rome. Insults to the emperor had been prosecuted before this as a violation of the sacred tribunician power. Literature, and especially history, was subjected to censorship on this ground. Nothing could be written against the government. The historian Cremutius Cordus, whose views were republican, was condemned. In consequence of this Velleius Paterculus of Capua, who in his youth had served as an officer under Tiberius in Germany and Dalmatia, published a Roman history full of cringing flattery of the Cæsars generally, of Tiberius and the then all-powerful Sejanus in particular. Another work, a collection of biographies from Roman history, by Valerius Maximus, which appeared after the fall of Sejanus, ends with imprecations on the memory of Sejanus as one who deserved to be punished even in the lower world. Thus they wrote, because thus only were they allowed to think and write.

Works of Servile Historians

Tiberius had become gradually very feeble, but held himself upright, and would not hear of a physician. He was indignant when he read in the protocols of the senate, which were laid before him, that the conclusiveness of his evidence in some trial had been disputed; as a matter of fact, after his death the oath was not taken to his "acta." Tiberius crossed over from Capri to the mainland of Campania, wishing to reduce the senate to its former obedience. A fainting fit seized him at Misenum, in the former villa of Lucullus, which now belonged to the emperor. Thus died, on March 16th, 37 A.D., Tiberius, after Pompey, Cæsar, and Augustus, the fourth founder of the Roman imperial power, nowhere beloved, hated in some circles, but certainly a memorable character.

The empire and the principate survived the succeeding reigns of evil only because both had been securely founded by these great men.



THE DEGRADATION OF THE PURPLE

AN ERA OF ORGIE AND BLOODSHED UNDER A SUCCESSION OF EVIL EMPERORS

GAIUS was brought by Macro to Rome, where he was greeted with acclamations as son of Germanicus, and his right to the principate was recognised by the senate. Gaius then adopted Tiberius Gemellus, and thus placed him under his paternal authority. Then the old demand for the restoration of the comitia was granted, various limitations on the senate were put aside, even literature was declared free from its fetters, and, generally, there was a return from the system of Tiberius to that of Augustus. The new ruler had a favourable reception from the army, since the younger officers ventured to hope that now more rapid promotion would become possible, Tiberius, from economical motives, having kept the old commanders in the service. Even the members of the family of the young princeps are said to have shared the common joy. Gaius's uncle, Claudius, who had been hitherto much ignored, became consul; his grandmother, Antonia, was proclaimed "Augusta," and his sisters were granted imperial privileges; the bones of his mother, Agrippina, and of his brothers, who had been executed, were recovered and solemnly buried. But Gaius soon proved not a mere incapable, but a homicidal madman. The decisive turn for the worse came after a severe illness, which attacked him in the eighth month of his reign. The emperor did not fail to notice that many persons had set their hopes on the succession of Tiberius Gemellus, and that the latter stood in the way of his own glory. Ti. Gemellus received the command to kill himself. No man might venture to lay hands on him, since a Julius was, by his descent, inviolable. When Macro attempted to urge Gaius, who had been his creature, to serious action, he was deprived of his post of prefect of the guard, and sent as viceroy to Egypt—a pretext to remove him far from Rome. Later he was put to death. Macro's wife, who once had been the favourite of Gaius, shared his fate. When the father-in-law of Gaius, the venerable senator, M. Junius Silanus, remonstrated with him, he was despatched to the other world, to join his daughter, as Gaius said with a jeer.



GAIUS, OR CALIGULA
It is thought that Tiberius chose the debauched Gaius to succeed him so that his own excesses might be forgotten in the new horrors.

And so things went on. All the tried statesmen of Tiberius were soon recalled from their posts as governors, so that the new system made itself felt in the provinces also, and turned out by no means to their advantage. We learn particulars about this from the writings of the Alexandrian Jew, Philo; he was one of the embassy which was sent to implore the protection of the emperor against the attacks of the mob of Alexandria. The less the new monarch accomplished the more exalted did he feel himself above all mortals. He extolled his glorious descent from Augustus and from Antony, while he was less delighted with his descent from Agrippa. He regarded himself as the fixed star round which the client kings should move like planets. They, therefore, received from him various marks of his favour. Herod Agrippa was provided with a principality in Judæa. Ptolemæus, king of Mauretania, was granted the extraordinary privilege of issuing gold coins of his own. The princes of Thrace, Armenia, and Commagene, also experienced his kindness.

Soon afterwards military affairs were thrown into confusion by Gaius. In order to win laurels as a general, Gaius

marched to Gaul and the Rhine, where the Chatti were unquiet. After he had obtained a specious victory he proceeded to the north coast of Gaul, in order to invade Britain. The expedition resulted in nothing, and the emperor ordered the troops to collect shells on the beach as a tribute of the sea. He quarrelled decisively with the commanding officers, and made many enemies in the lower ranks by his numerous dismissals. Besides this, there was a deficiency of money, since Gaius had squandered in an incredibly short time the hoard gathered by Tiberius; which was the more needed, because loans from the temple treasuries were difficult to negotiate. It was, of course, an easy task to enrich many people, but now the deficit had to be made good by taxes and extortions, confiscations and executions.



CALIGULA, THE LAST OF THE JULII
The Julian family, which gave many notable men to Rome, ended miserably in this demented youth.

Those who were in the intimate circle of the emperor's friends were already aware that the state of his mind was not normal, and that in the interests of the empire and the imperial house he must be deposed. The husband of Drusil'a, a sister of Gaius, M. Æmilius Lepidus, and Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus, the governor of Upper Germany, took the matter in hand, but were betrayed, and, in 39 A.D., paid for the attempt with their lives. Since, however, Gaius treated even the officers of the guard churlishly, some of them, including the old tribune, Cassius Chærea, formed, together with the consular L. Annius Vinicianus and others, a conspiracy, to which the chief personages of the palace offered no opposition. On the occasion of a state performance in the theatre, on January 24th, 41 A.D., Gaius was struck down behind the scenes by Cassius Chærea, who was on duty. His wife, Cæsonia, and her child were also killed.

Gaius had not been unpopular with the lower strata of the inhabitants of the capital, who used to call him by the pet-name Caligula—that is, Little Boots—which had been once given him by the soldiers on the Rhine. He had, unlike his predecessor, scattered money among the crowd, given games, and shown his appreciation of every kind of sport, for he felt himself at home in the stables of the circus riders. He had deteriorated through excesses. The race of the Julii, to whom Rome owed so many great men, ended with this boy. His German body-guard remained loyal to him even after his death, since they made an attack on the assembled people and killed or wounded several senators present.

What was to be done? For the first time no provision had been made for the succession of the principate. Since the fall of Macro the power of the prefect of the guard had been weakened by a division of his functions, and the dynasty had been deprived of all manly scions by Tiberius and Gaius. No one took serious account of Claudius. He had never been given office under Tiberius; Gaius had, it is true, frequently conferred the consulate on him, but no importance attached to that post. Vinicianus and Cassius Chærea thought of a restoration of the rule of the senate, since the "principate" was only an extraordinary authority, according to the constitution. On the other hand, some senators hoped that they themselves would be able to step into the first place, though others, such as the future emperor, Galba, at once disowned any such suggestion.

A session was called, to which the senators hastened from their country seats. Here the consuls pronounced the usual phrases, as in old times, while the police, who were under the orders of a prefect of senatorial rank, placed themselves at their disposal. "Freedom" was proclaimed. But among the soldiers of the guard other considerations prevailed; if there

were no princeps, there would be no guard. Some of them had dragged out Claudius from behind a curtain in the palace, and brought him, frightened to death, into the camp of the prætorians. Here the adherents of the dynasty were assembled, among them the Jewish king, Agrippa, who had played some part under Gaius.

He now acted as mediator, inspiring Claudius with courage, confirming the good resolutions of the prætorians, and negotiating with the senators: Flavius Josephus has incorporated his recollections of Agrippa into the nineteenth book of his "Antiquities of the Jews," while Tacitus' description of these events has been lost. The result of the discussions was that Claudius was proclaimed imperator by the soldiers, and that the majority of the senate did homage to him. As soon as this was settled, Cassius Chærea was arrested and executed. An agitation in favour of the rule of the senate, which was attempted by Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia, a friend of Vinicianus, soon failed, owing to the opposition of the legions. The army was everywhere loyal to the principate, so ingrained had monarchy already become in men's minds. The institution could live even apart from the personality of the ruler.



CLAUDIUS, THE UNWILLING CÆSAR
Tool of stronger men, he was forced on to the throne by the army, anxious to maintain the monarchy.

Claudius, the son of the elder Drusus, was born at Lugdunum in 10 B.C., while his father was governor of Gaul and was therefore now in his fifty-first year. Weak-minded in youth, he had grown up among servants, and had been carefully kept out of public sight in order not to compromise the dynasty. He had later become a diligent student, and acquired much learning, of which, indeed, he made a display at inopportune moments. His long speeches in the senate, which frequently began with a survey of the period of the kings, were dreaded and ridiculed. As an authority on Etruscan history and antiquities he reformed the guild of the Haruspices. He had in other respects the best intentions; he openly blamed his uncle, Tiberius, for his persistent absence from the capital, reproved Gaius for his mad acts, was a diligent attendant at the law courts, and respected the senate.

The real power lay with the freedmen of the palace. The most conspicuous for their ability were Callistus, who had kept the machinery of government working, so far as it had worked, even under Gaius; Pallas who directed the finance department; and Narcissus, who decided the foreign and home policy at the most critical moments. Under this reign many beneficial changes were introduced. In order to simplify the problem of feeding the city, a new harbour, the Portus Claudius, was constructed at the mouth of the Tiber, and the system of waterworks was enlarged by the Claudian aqueduct, which ran from the upper Anio. Its arches are still a feature of the Roman campagna. The district round the Fucine lake was drained by means of a tunnel driven through the mountain, which led off the superfluous water into the Liris. When, in 1874, the water of this lake was completely drawn off by its owner, Prince Torlonia, the work of the Claudian era could be seen. As Gaius, by his march to the sea-coast, had pledged the Roman government to action, steps were taken to occupy Britain, although this necessarily involved great expenditure and a permanent increase of the army.

Narcissus carried out the expedition. When it succeeded, Claudius went to Britain, in order to join in the campaign and to be personally saluted as imperator. He named his son Britannicus in commemoration of his journey. He celebrated a stupendous triumph without according any distinctions to the commanding generals, one of whom was

the later emperor, Vespasian, who had seized the island of Vectis (that is, the Isle of Wight) and subdued two tribes. In the army there had been many improvements. The districts from which recruits could be obtained for the legions were enlarged by the bestowal of the Latin or Roman franchise on the Alpine countries. In Lower Germany, where Domitius Corbulo then commanded, a successful expedition was made against the Chauci on the North Sea, in which the elder Pliny, the well-known writer, took part as a staff officer.

The government did not, however, allow the general to give play to his schemes of conquest, but ordered him to maintain securely the Rhine frontier and to go no further. The emperor, on behalf of Gaul, which he esteemed as his native land, proposed in the senate the admission of its Roman burgesses to the magistracies in the capital. This was conceded to members of the Hæduan tribe, which had long been friendly. The kingdom of Mauretania, where disturbances had broken out after the execution of Ptolemæus, was incorporated and placed under Roman administration, as Egypt had been after the death of Cleopatra.

If, however, the reign of Claudius brought with it much that deserves to be honourably recorded, since some officials of the palace showed political ability and continued the traditions of the ruling house, the personal incompetence of the monarch was very clearly apparent. Claudius, from consciousness of his own defects, was so nervous that it was easy to entice him to sign the death warrant of a senator or a knight; and, naturally, this disposition was greatly abused. Then there were his family affairs. Claudius was married several times: when he came to the throne his wife was Messalina, who came of a distinguished family, and bore him Britannicus and Octavia, but afterwards, as empress, took to ways which aroused horror even in that immoral society. She was grossly sensual; it was dangerous for men to refuse her advances. She caused her husband to command the dancer Mnester not to show himself insubordinate towards the empress: though Claudius did not, indeed, know what the real issue was. Finally, she had a love affair with a distinguished youth, C. Silius, to whom she was formally married. Silius wished, indeed, to pose as a claimant to the throne, for, from other reasons, no one would have wished to take Messalina as wife.



THE NOTORIOUS MESSALINA
In the horrid records of Roman vice and crime this evil woman stands supreme. She became empress with the elevation of her husband, Claudius, and turned his palace into a place of debauch. At last she had to kill herself.

There was a diversity of opinions among the freedmen of the palace as to the course of action. Men were so used to things at this court that even so monstrous a scandal as this might have been ignored. But Narcissus was in favour of warning and saving Claudius. This was done. Narcissus had the command over the guard in Ostia, where the emperor then was, transferred to him, and led the amazed Claudius to Rome, straight into the camp of the prætorians. These received him with acclamations, and the cause was won. C. Silius was killed and Messalina arrested. Were she allowed to see Claudius, no one was sure that she would not make her peace with him and annihilate her enemies. Only through cunning did Narcissus succeed in extracting the death warrant from Claudius. Messalina was forced to commit suicide in the gardens of Sallustius (on the modern Monte Pincio), in 48 A.D. Narcissus was supported by a party in the senate, at whose proposal the insignia of a quæstor were conferred on him. This aroused the jealousy of the other freedmen, which was apparent when several candidates

for empress were proposed to Claudius, who wished to marry again. Why not? Of the rivals, Agrippina, who was supported by Pallas, was finally chosen; she was a niece of Claudius, being a daughter of Germanicus by the first Agrippina, and had been married to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, to whom she had borne a son. She was licentious, as most of the great ladies of the time were, but was still more ambitious. She wished to be empress. After her marriage to Claudius, she had the title of "Augusta" immediately bestowed on her, an honour to which Messalina had never aspired. Narcissus was put into the background, and in his place Pallas, who maintained scandalous relations with Agrippina, was brought forward.



DOMITIUS CORBULO
An able Roman governor, whose powers roused Nero's jealousy and led that monster to order his death.

The nomination of Sex. Afranius Burrus, an experienced officer and administrator, to the prefecture of the guard, effected by Agrippina, was an important measure. At the same time, the philosopher L. Annæus Seneca, who had been banished at the instigation of Messalina, was chosen tutor of the young Ahenobarbus, for whom Agrippina wished to procure the throne in place of Britannicus. He was, in fact, adopted by Claudius and betrothed to his daughter, Octavia. Narcissus vainly opposed her schemes, and advocated the cause of Britannicus. Claudius wavered, but his fears were always allayed by Agrippina. Claudius died suddenly while Narcissus was in Campania taking the waters for his gout, and it was publicly whispered that his death was caused by poisoned mushrooms. Burrus presented the son of Agrippina, called, after his adoption, Nero, to the prætorians as the heir to the crown; and these, accustomed to obey their commander, saluted him. Britannicus, had he been brought before them, would have equally pleased them. But Britannicus, deprived of his trusted friends, did not venture to leave the house after his father's death. Narcissus was away, and Burrus had completely identified himself with Agrippina, while Seneca supported her in the senate. It did not cause much excitement that the stupid Claudius, as Seneca described him in a biting satire, the Apocolocyntosis—that is, "Gourdification," instead of "Deification"—was dead. The proposal was made in the senate, for the sake of appearances, that he should be worshipped as a god, an honour previously only conferred on Julius Cæsar and Augustus. It was unanimously adopted, and no greater loyalty could be evinced.



THE MOTHER OF NERO
Successor to Messalina as wife of Claudius, and a good second to her in vice, Agrippina was suspected of the emperor's death to clear the way for her son Nero.

Nero, a boy of seventeen, now ruled in place of the aged emperor, who had been the tool of so many different powers. Men asked who would lead the new emperor. For this period we have, besides the account of Tacitus, the works of the contemporary Flavius Josephus, who was presented at court in the year 63. He gives us important information in his autobiography as well as in his "Antiquities of the Jews." Court scandals alone interested, as might be expected, the circles in the capital, which had become so accustomed to them; and only in the provinces did accounts of real events trickle through. Government by freedmen had caused, under Claudius, disgust in senatorial ranks and in the army, which had once saluted Narcissus with the shout, "Io Saturnalia," a distinct allusion to his position as freedman. A government, of which Burrus and Seneca were the representatives, seemed, in comparison, an improvement. At the same time, it is true, the mother of the emperor tried to assert herself as co-regent, although she had not shown political abilities. The young Nero was equally incapable, and preferred to follow his ignoble impulses. He was in love with a freedwoman of the palace, Acte—so deeply in love that he wished to marry her against the protests of his mother. The ministers made use

of this dispute to undermine the influence of Agrippina. When she threatened him with Britannicus, Nero gave the latter a poisoned cup of wine at a court dinner in 55 A.D. Such occurrences did not even excite especial interest. There was far greater fear of future complications than there was horror felt at a murder in the imperial house. The government, under Burrus and Seneca, pursued its regular course, so that the later emperor, Trajan, used to declare that the empire had never been better governed than in the first five years of Nero. Burrus proved a success at the head of the army and of foreign affairs. A revolt which broke out in Britain was quelled by the governor, Suetonius Paulinus, while in the east Domitius Corbulo conducted skilful operations against the Parthians. In the senate, Seneca was spokesman in the name of the government, and Nero had to read speeches composed by Seneca. It was much remarked that Nero was the first imperator who did not show himself a capable speaker, so that in this respect he was inferior to Gaius. On the other hand, Nero dabbled in all arts which had nothing to do with his position. He drove, sang, composed, carved. Sometimes he roamed the streets at night in disguise, and indulged in escapades which occasionally ended in his being cudgelled. Such freaks were harmless so long as the young man did not interfere with the real conduct of affairs. For the moment it seemed a point gained that the ambitious Augusta was removed, together with her favourite, Pallas.

Happy Years of Nero's Early Reign



SENECA, THE PHILOSOPHER
Who had a large share in the government during the minority of Nero, but eventually lost favour, and had to destroy himself at Nero's command.

The hostility between mother and son was increased when the latter was drawn into an intrigue with an empty-headed woman, Poppæa Sabina, wife of Nero's friend, Salvius Otho. Poppæa, who came of a noble stock, wished to become empress. Agrippina, however, declared that Nero had received the throne by the hand of Octavia, which, indeed, was the general view. Nero's hate was vented on his mother, whom he accused of plotting against his life. He availed himself of her absence in Misenum, on the Campanian coast, to make an attempt to kill her by a preconcerted shipwreck. When this plot failed, Nero had Agrippina murdered, in March, 59 A.D., by the sailors whom the admiral of the fleet placed at his disposal. The ministers subsequently approved of the deed, and the senate congratulated the emperor on his escape. Nero had hardly expected this, and for the moment had feared popular feeling. He got his divorce from Octavia, on the ground of her barrenness; but his marriage with the new "Augusta," Poppæa Sabina, did not take place until 62. As people made remarks about this, Octavia, an innocent victim of all these complications, was exiled and killed.

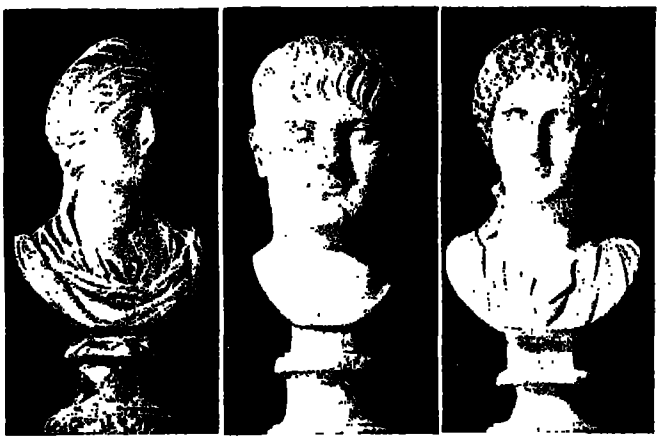
In this same year, 62, a complete change in the governmental system was inaugurated, for Burrus was dead, and the position of Seneca was weakened. Ofonius Tigellinus, the new prefect of the guard, shared and acquiesced in all the iniquitous actions of Nero. At this date the personal rule of Nero begins.

In the year 64, Rome suffered from a great fire, which raged six days, and destroyed many quarters of the town. Nero took energetic measures for the rebuilding of the destroyed parts. He ordered broad and perfectly straight streets to be constructed, while he built on the Palatine "the golden house," with such extensive grounds that the Romans jestingly said he would include everything in them as far as Veii, if not Veii itself. Town gossip even accused Nero of having intentionally set the city on fire, partly to gain a vivid conception of the burning of Troy, partly in order to carry out his plans for building. When this talk came to the emperor's ears he thought it best to charge the Christians of Rome with incendiarism. Many of them were, consequently, put to a cruel death.

Nero Wreaks Vengeance on the Christians

The Christians were held to be a Jewish sect, and the Jews a worthless race, which might well be sacrificed to higher considerations. This had been the view of Tiberius, who otherwise protected the Jews in the provinces, as in Alexandria, where Jewish disturbances broke out, first

under Gaius, and lasted for a long time. Judæa itself was in a ferment. The people were expecting a Messiah, who should free them from the foreign yoke. There was also the opposition of the official priests and teachers to the popular preachers. As one of such, Christ had been given up to be crucified by the native and the Roman authorities. But the movement still continued: a former adherent of the orthodox Jewish doctrine adopted Christianity, Saul of Tarsus, who possessed the Roman citizenship, and, for this reason, styled himself Paul. He spread the new teaching in Syria, Nearer Asia, Macedonia, Greece, wherever there were large Jewish communities, and, besides that, among the non-Jews, until he was arrested as an enemy of the public peace, and, on appealing to the emperor, was brought to Rome. In prison there, he continued his activity; and in this manner the new religious movement was transplanted to the capital of the empire at an early period.



A TRAGIC TRIO IN ROME'S HISTORY

On the left is Nero's wife, Poppæa Sabina, on the right his mother, himself in the middle. In this contemporary portrait the vicious character of the man is seen, but the features of the women do not betray their baseness. Nero had both murdered.

Nero, unrestrained by anyone, lived according to his inclinations and lusts. As he considered himself a gifted poet and singer, he let himself be heard, first in private circles and then in public. He founded the Neronic games, after the Greek model, which were to be dedicated to the arts of the Muses, while up till then gladiatorial combats and wild-beast fights on a large scale had chiefly interested the population of the city of Rome. The emperor compelled his suite to attend, and employed the troops of the guard as a *claque*. In 66 and 67, Nero undertook a journey to Greece with a large following, in order to give a performance at the national games. When the Greeks loudly applauded, the emperor issued an edict, by which they were for the future granted freedom and immunity from taxation; the Roman governor, who had till then resided at Corinth, was withdrawn. The edict was composed by Nero himself in a high-flown strain, and was proclaimed throughout Greece.



THE MONSTER NERO

The gross sensuality of the man is illustrated in this bust, the face showing signs of irresponsibility and madness.

Things had thus gone as far as under Gaius. There was an emperor who plumed himself greatly on his high and divine origin, but who entrusted the conduct of business to his servants, while he himself toured as an artist. That could not go on for ever. Nero wasted enormous sums. When the coffers were empty, the trials for lése-majesté began to assume larger proportions, especially as there was no lack of informers. As this did not produce enough, Nero took measures to debase the currency, an act which caused discontent in the army and among the state officials. The general ill-will led to a conspiracy at Rome in the year 65, in which distinguished officers and senators were involved, including Seneca and the poet Lucan. The consular C. Calpurnius Piso stood at the head of it. When the conspiracy was discovered owing to the rashness of its members, the emperor seized the opportunity to rid himself of his former tutor and of two rival poets

at the same time. Thrasea Pætus, the leader of the rival school of Stoicism, was also executed. Nero insisted on the fact that, as Poppæa Sabina had borne him no heir, he alone was left of the whole dynasty, and that, therefore, nothing could happen to him. Domitius Corbulo, who, as governor of Syria, had brought the prolonged negotiations with the Parthian empire to a successful conclusion, was suspected by Nero, and had to commit suicide at his orders. Vespasian, who attended the artistic performances of the emperor, received the chief command against the Jews, who had revolted in the year 66, and had driven the Syrian army out of the field.



THE EMPEROR GALBA
As a private citizen and later as a general he showed many virtues, but as emperor he disappointed every reasonable hope and was assassinated in his 73rd year.

In March of the year 68 a rebellion broke out in Gaul, at the head of which stood the governor of Lugdunum, C. Julius Vindex, a man who belonged to the provincial nobility, and now roused his countrymen to arms. His proclamation promised not only the liberation of Gaul from the Roman rule, but, still more, the liberation of Rome from the tyrant. The insurrection in Gaul caused Nero, who, in the course of the year 67, had returned to Rome, as if in triumph, little concern at first, since the Roman rule in those parts depended on the legions along the Rhine; and these, on account of their opposition to the Gauls, were loyal to the emperor.

The commander of the Upper German army, Virginius Rufus, who belonged to an undistinguished family of Upper Italy, led his troops into the disaffected district. While he was beginning negotiations with Vindex, the legions and auxiliary troops came into conflict with the Gallic militia; and, as was to be expected, the latter was defeated. Vindex fell by his own hand, while Nero rejoiced at the thought of coming confiscations. But the state of affairs had altered. Sulpicius Galba, the governor of Hither Spain, had, like Virginius Rufus, treated with Vindex; that is, these officers had proceeded to check the rising less energetically than Nero had expected. He immediately sent orders to the administrative officials in Spain that the governor should be superseded. Galba, in concert with his officers, declared against Nero and for the "senate and people of Rome," leaving it uncertain whether the principate as such would be maintained, and who was to hold it. The decision was entrusted to the senate as the representative authority. Virginius Rufus adopted this standpoint, although his soldiers offered him the imperium. Galba was of famous lineage, an advantage which, at the beginning of the revolution, was still considered. The Prætorian guards at Rome had already become wavering: they no longer placed any sentries in the palace, and their commander, Tigellinus, allowed Nero to fall. Nero, seeing himself completely deserted, fled to the farm of one of his freedmen, which lay outside Rome, by the fourth milestone, between the Via Salaria and the road to Nomentum. The senate at once outlawed him. When the officers came to find him, he ordered his freedman, Epaphroditus, to kill him. He was thirty-one when he died, on June 9th, 68 A.D. Acte buried him in the tomb of the Domitii, to which family Nero had belonged before adoption. With him died the last descendant of the Julian, Claudian, and Domitian houses. It is noteworthy that legends sprang up about the name of Nero to the effect that he was not dead, but would reappear. Years afterwards garlands were still placed on his tomb, an eloquent proof that rulers of his stamp are always popular in certain circles so long as their misdeeds affect only the upper ten thousand. Just as after the murder of Gaius, the



THREE MONTHS CÆSAR
Of princely descent, Otho was ambitious but weak. He secured the death of Galba, but destroyed himself three months afterwards.

republic momentarily ruled at Rome. The senate had deposed the incapable princeps; the consuls issued commissions, and sent despatches, under their seal, into the provinces by the official post. The governors declared that they stood at the orders of the senate, and changed their titles; in the same way the commander of the legion in Africa, who, since the reign of Gaius, acted, together with the proconsul, as legatus of the emperor, now styled himself legatus of the Roman people.



THE IMPERIAL GLUTTON
An intimate of all the debaucheries of his time, infamous for gluttony and every vice, Vitellius reigned—one continuous orgie—for a year.

But the reasons which had led to the restoration of the principate after the death of Gaius still prevailed. The army required an imperator, and a revival of the disunited republican times would have struck a deadly blow at the interests of the empire. The guards, under the influence of one of their prefects, Numidius Sabinus, who wished to keep his position for the future, proclaimed as imperator Servius Sulpicius Galba, the most distinguished in lineage of those who had opposed Nero.

When this was done, there was nothing left for the senate but to approve it. The recognition of the new ruler by the provinces followed. Under such conditions Galba, at whose side his freedman, Icelus, and the commander of the legion, T. Vinius, were conspicuous, started for Rome. In Gaul he commended and rewarded the adherents of Vindex, at which the German legions chafed. As he approached Rome the marines, whom Nero had collected into a legion in order to resist his enemies, met him, and demanded that their organisation should be recognised, since the legionaries were in every respect better situated than the marines. Galba refused to hear them; and when they became more urgent, he decimated them. In Rome itself discontent was aroused because Galba treated leniently persons who, like Tigellinus, had deeply compromised themselves under Nero, while, on the other hand, he insisted that actors and such people, on whom Nero had lavished great sums, should pay these back, an impossibility for most of them. Icelus and T. Vinius governed as favourites, since Galba, who was seventy-two years old, lacked the requisite energy. He belonged to the class of rich but complacent senators whom Nero had sent by preference into the most important provinces, since he had nothing to fear from them.



VESPASIAN, THE GOOD EMPEROR
He rose from obscurity by integrity and generalship, being declared emperor by the army. His reign of ten years repaired the ravages of his predecessors.

Besides the above-mentioned favourites, Salvius Otho played a part. Nero had sent him as governor to Lusitania, because he wished to have Otho's wife, Poppæa Sabina, for himself. Otho had joined Galba, and with him gone to Rome, as he hoped to be adopted by the childless old man and to be nominated his successor. With this object he turned to good account his old connections in Rome, including those with the guards, to whom he was known from the time when Nero had been his friend.

The classes which had profited by Nero's administrations were for Otho, but Galba was not. He decided in favour of L. Calpurnius Piso Licinianus, a very distinguished and thoughtful youth, who was proclaimed his successor at the beginning of 69. But the legions in Germany had already refused allegiance, and on New Year's Day had proclaimed the governor of the lower province, A. Vitellius, as emperor.

Otho, smarting at being passed over, stirred up the prætorians, who murdered Galba and Piso on January 15th. Otho was then proclaimed emperor, and recognised as such by the senate. The whole Roman world was in an uproar.

The legions in Germany prepared to march on Rome. Otho, in defence, summoned the Illyrian troops to guard Upper Italy. Troops which Nero had set into movement were drawn into the contest by one or the other party just as they stood. In the east the campaign against the Jews,

whose capital, Jerusalem, Vespasian was besieging with divisions of the Syrian, Egyptian, and Danubian army, was suspended till the struggle in Italy was determined. Vespasian had sent his son Titus to do homage to Galba. Under the present circumstances the only course was to wait and see whether Otho or Vitellius would prove superior. In the early spring the German troops began their advance under the command of two "legati," Cæcina Allienus and Fabius Valens, of whom the one took the route through the country of the Helvetii and over the Great St. Bernard, while the other marched through Gaul, in order to press into Italy over the western passes. Vitellius followed them after he had organised his court at Lugdunum. He himself was a man of straw. The affair was arranged by the generals who were opposed to Galba, as a friend of Vindex, and, still more, by the soldiers who had conquered Vindex and did not wish to see his adherents rewarded.

A Man of Straw as Emperor

The Illyrian legions were for Otho, since they were rivals of the German troops. But in Italy no one would hear of the "German emperor," the new Germanicus, as he called himself. The choice of an imperator was, people said, the business of the court and the senate at Rome. Not merely a constitutional form, but the supremacy of Italy over the provinces was at stake. When Vitellius and his generals advanced, the population was incensed because they wore trousers, like the barbarians. This costume had been adopted by the Romans in Germany on account of the more inclement climate; in Italy they still wore the toga, while the soldiers had their legs bare. The extensive literature recording the "Year of the Three (or the Four) Emperors" is epitomised in the biographies of Galba and Otho by Plutarch of Chæronea, who was then about twenty years old, and later made the acquaintance of the highest circles in Rome. Tacitus follows the same sources in his Histories. Where these Histories break off, the "Lives of the Emperors," by Suetonius, becomes more and more valuable.

Four Emperors in One Year

The first stand was made on the line of the River Po, which now became once more strategically important. The system of roads branched in such a way that the union of the two divisions of Vitellius's army was bound to take place in the district of Ticinum, for the routes from Germany and Gaul met there. Cremona also and Placentia received, in these circumstances, renewed importance, since from this point the fords of the Po were commanded. Above all, the road leading from the east, by Mantua, through Bedriacum, to Cremona was of importance, since the junction of the guards of Otho, strengthened by gladiators and sailors, with the Illyrian legions advancing by way of Aquileia would necessarily take place on that route.

The Vitellians were eager to prevent this meeting. The first encounter took place near Placentia, between Cæcina, who had anticipated Fabius Valens, and the Othonians. Cæcina was forced to withdraw to Cremona, but effected his junction with Valens unopposed. When the Othonians crossed the Po and offered battle near Bedriacum — between Cremona and Mantua—they were beaten. No decision was, however, arrived at by this defeat, since the Illyrian corps was not yet on the spot. There was no supreme commander in the camp of the Othonians; Otho himself was considered incapable as a soldier, and the better generals, who joined the expedition, as Suetonius Paulinus, displayed no real enthusiasm. Otho, whose nervous temperament was overstrained, gave himself up for lost when he saw that many soldiers would fight no longer. He killed himself on April 15th, 69, A.D., the day after the battle, at Brixellum, where he had awaited the result.

Otho Kills Himself

The senate then recognised Vitellius. He sent back the defeated legionaries to their old quarters, though not before excesses had been committed. The victorious army, whose discipline was loose, then marched to Rome. All the demands of the soldiers, some of which had been expressed as early as the death of Augustus, were conceded by Vitellius, the prætorians were disbanded, and a new and stronger guard was made up out of the best troops of the German army, while the rest drank greedily of the pleasures offered by Italy and the capital. Vitellius was not the man to create order out of chaos. He was of noble birth, had been in his youth a comrade of Gaius, a favourite at the court of Nero and in the stables of the circus drivers; a great gourmand, without energy and brains for business, and now a plaything of the



THE LAST PROCESSION OF AN IMPERIAL MONSTER

Vitellius had no thought of anything but his own pleasures, and was speedily ruining the country to entertain his companions in debauch, until retribution came when Vespasian was declared emperor and Vitellius was made thus to parade the streets, a sword held beneath his chin to make him keep up his head, on the way to execution.

From the painting by Georges Rochegrosse.

troops and their leaders, whose opinion of him grew worse with time. The result was that the course of affairs in Italy was soon criticised by the outside world. The Illyrian troops, who had come too late to decide the matter, returned to their quarters in disgust, and their officers plotted conspiracies. In the east, where the governor of Syria, C. Licinius Mucianus, and the governor of Egypt, Ti. Julius Alexander, had entered into intimate relations with Flavius Vespasianus, the commander of the army which was investing Jerusalem, the belief prevailed that neither Vitellius nor the rule of the Rhenish soldiery should be endured. Mucianus, who was childless, suggested Vespasian and his son, Titus. Ti. Julius Alexander, who, as Præfectus Ægypti, was only a member of the equestrian order, and, therefore, was not himself considered in the question, had Vespasian proclaimed emperor in Alexandria on July 1st, 69.

The Army Declares for Vespasian

The attitude of Egypt was of decisive importance, since that country to a great extent supplied Italy, and especially the capital, with grain, and from there pressure could also be brought to bear on Africa. Vespasian thereupon went to Alexandria. Mucianus finally marched from Syria through Asia and Thrace to the Danubian provinces, in order to join the legions posted there, and to advance against Italy, if their opponents did not transfer the theatre of war from Italy to Dyrrhachium.

In the meanwhile, the officers of the troops on the Danube had, on the first news, declared for Vespasian. They deposed the thoroughly useless governors, who dated from the times of Nero, and began on their own responsibility the advance upon Upper Italy, with Antonius Primus, one of the commanders of the Pannonian legions, at their head. The corps from Dalmatia and Mœsia followed. The invading force advanced without encountering any opposition as far as Verona, which they quickly seized, in order to cut off any possible reinforcements from Germany and Rhætia. An important turning-point was reached when Ravenna went over to the side of Vespasian, for the crews of the fleet there were recruited from Dalmatia and Pannonia.

The Vitellians, who had thought first of holding the line of the Adige, marched back again to the Po; but Cæcina, who commanded there, had so completely lost confidence in Vitellius that he came to an understanding with the party of Vespasian. Not so the soldiers; the Germans did not choose to capitulate to the Illyrians, and they threw the treacherous general into chains. In a murderous encounter between Bedriacum and Cremona, superior generalship decided for the Illyrians. Cremona was taken by the troops of Vespasian, sacked, and reduced to ashes.

Fabius Valens now tried to reach Gaul from the Etrurian coast in order to alarm the troops stationed on the Rhine, but was captured near Massilia and afterwards killed. It was already winter when Antonius Primus marched forward in mad haste on the Flaminian road over the Apennines, deep in snow. The Vitellians in Umbria surrendered. Vitellius himself declared his wish to abdicate, and began negotiations with the prefect of Rome, Flavius Sabinus, a brother of Vespasian. But the soldiers were against the plan, besieged the capital, set fire to it, and slew the prefect on December 19th, 69. The next day the troops of Vespasian, who had met with resistance in the suburbs, succeeded in forcing their way from the Milvian Bridge into the city, and stormed the camp of the prætorians. Vitellius, who had crept away like a coward, was put to death.

Death of Vitellius

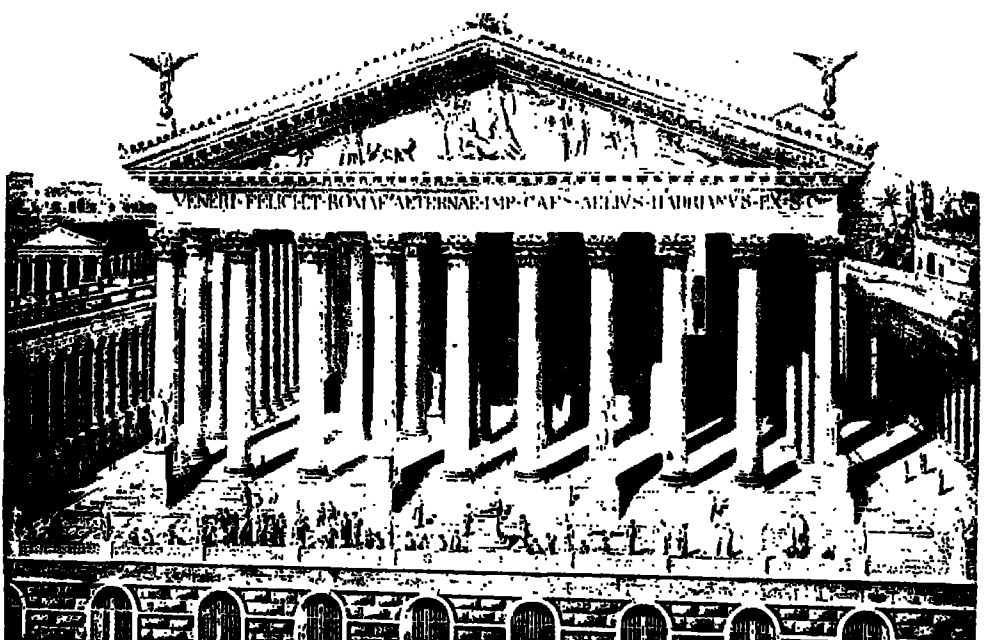


THE GRANDEUR THAT WAS ROME

ILLUSTRATED IN A SERIES OF REMARKABLE RECONSTRUCTIONS OF HER MOST FAMOUS MONUMENTS

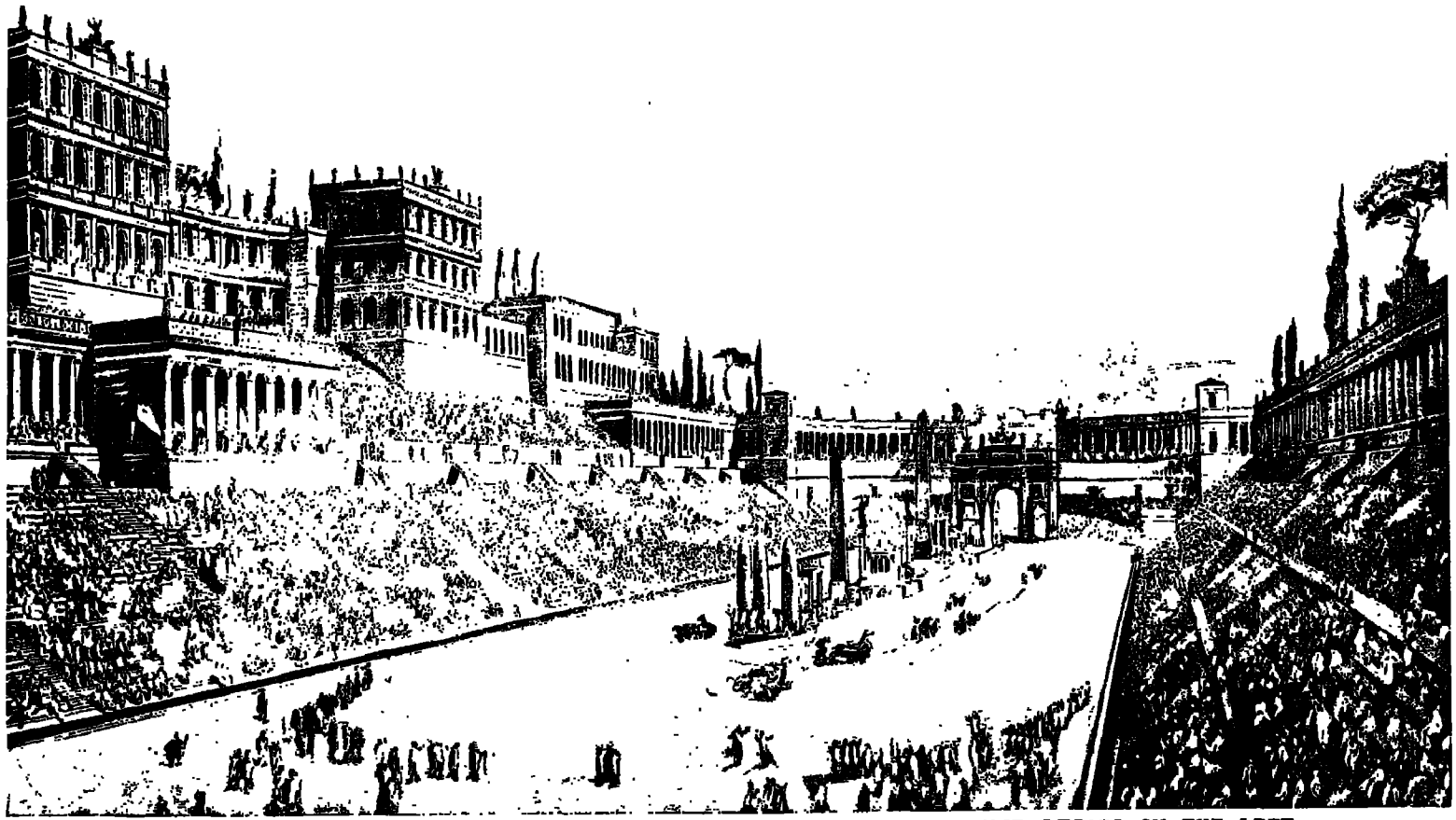


RESTORATION OF THE CAPITOL AS SEEN FROM MOUNT PALATINE



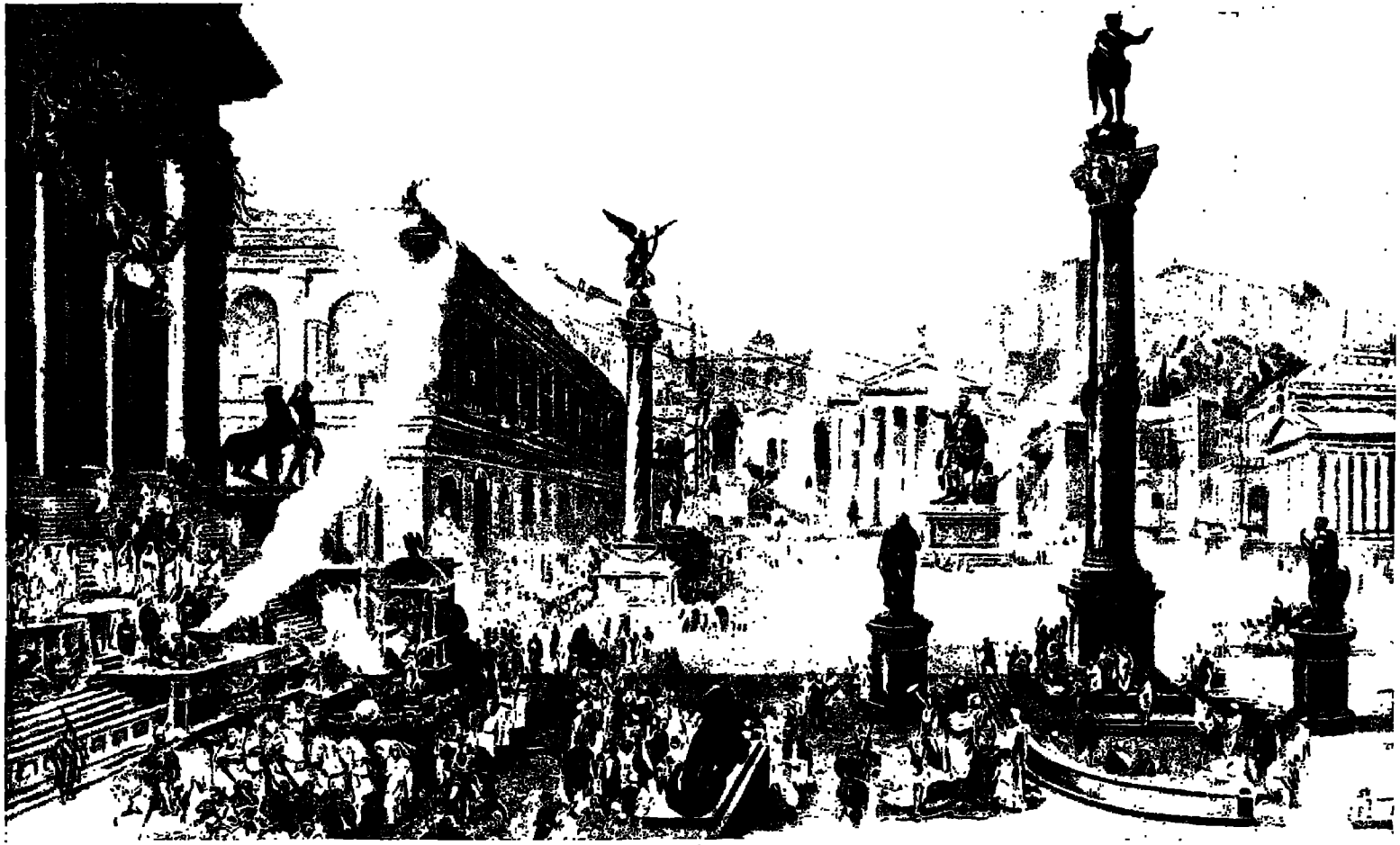
THE GREAT TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME, BUILT BY THE EMPEROR HADRIAN

Reconstruction by the archæologist Gatteschi for M. Rover d'Agen's work on the Forum.

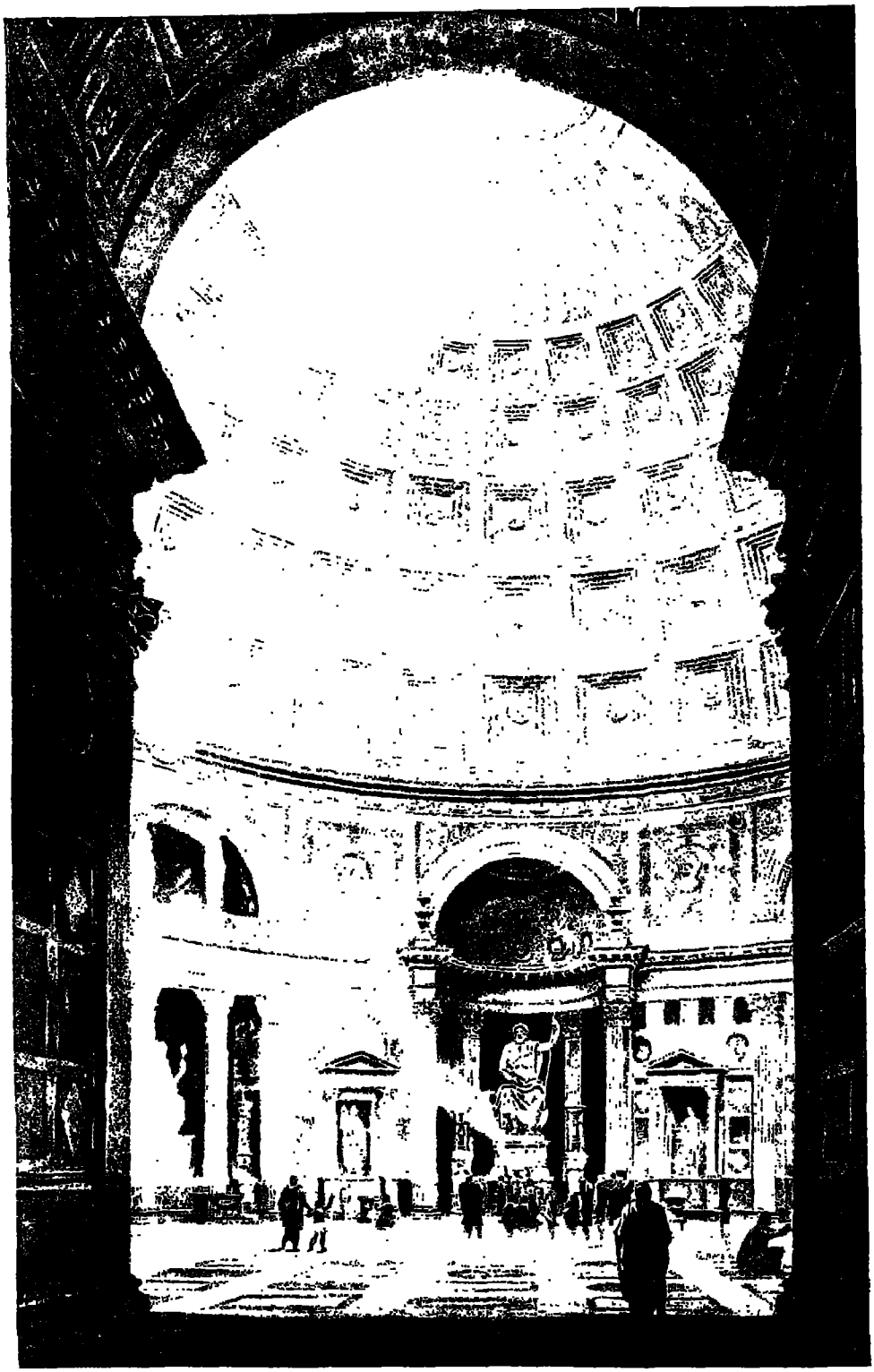


THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS, THE LARGEST IN ROME, WITH THE PALACES OF THE CÆSARS ON THE LEFT

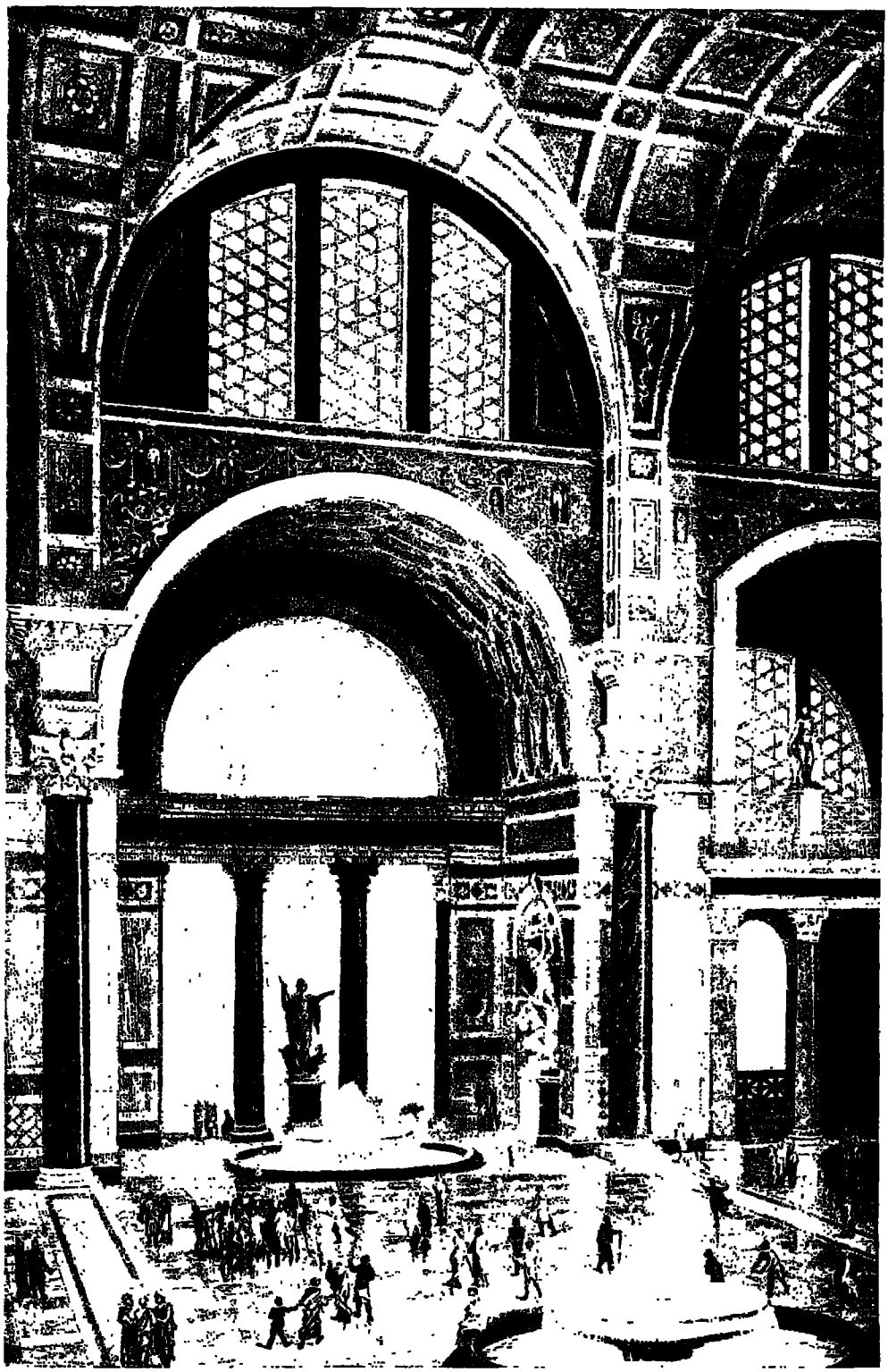
See also page 269



GENERAL VIEW OF THE FORUM, TOWARDS THE CAPITOL, WITH RELIGIOUS PROCESSION PASSING THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX



INTERIOR OF THE PANTHEON OF AGRIPPA



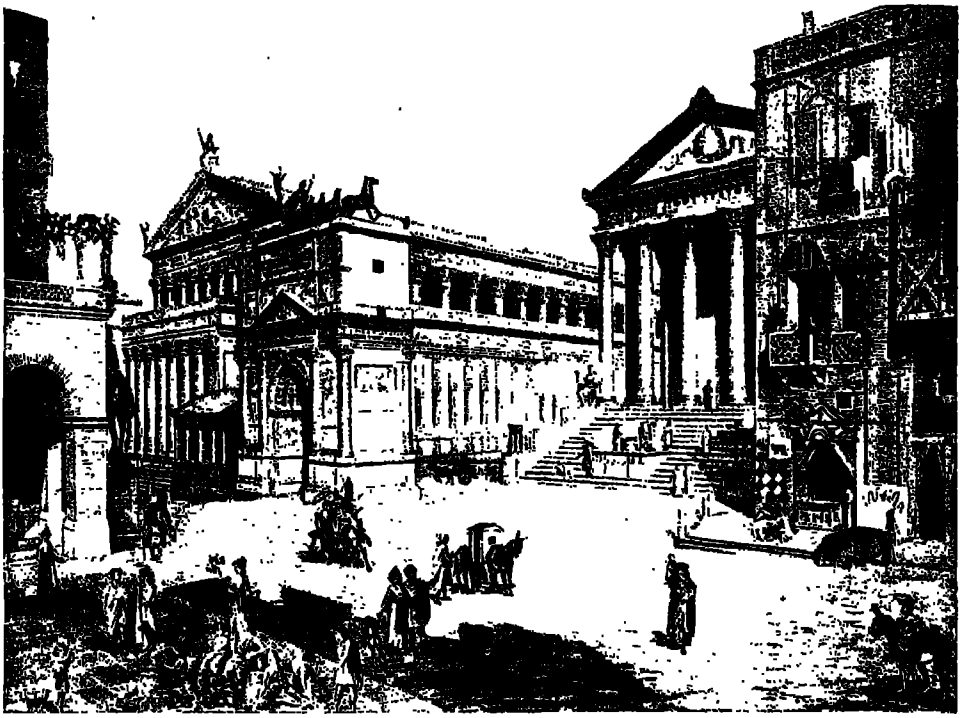
INTERIOR OF THE GREAT BATHS OF CARACALLA



CHARACTERISTIC INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF A RICH CITIZEN

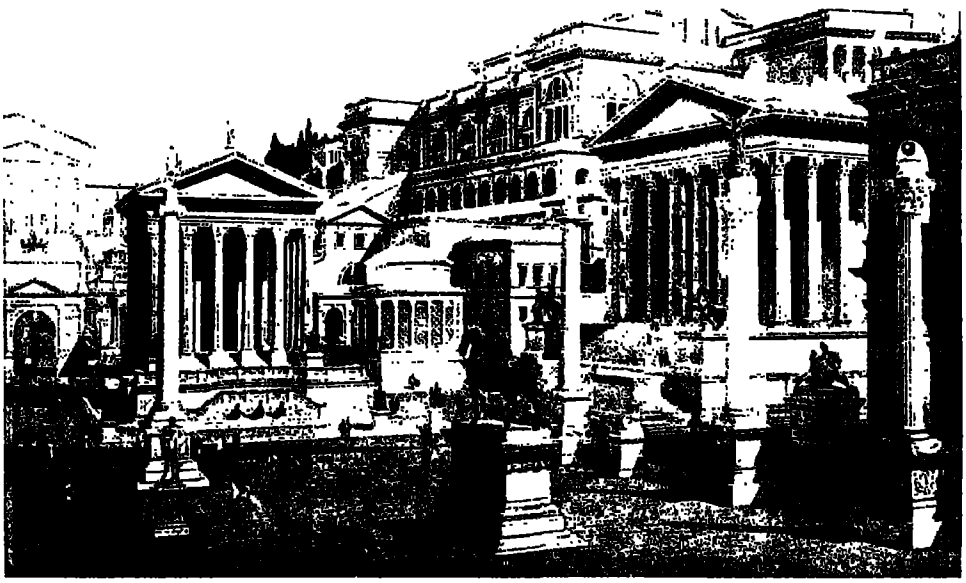


EXTERIOR AND GARDENS OF A ROMAN VILLA IN THE COUNTRY



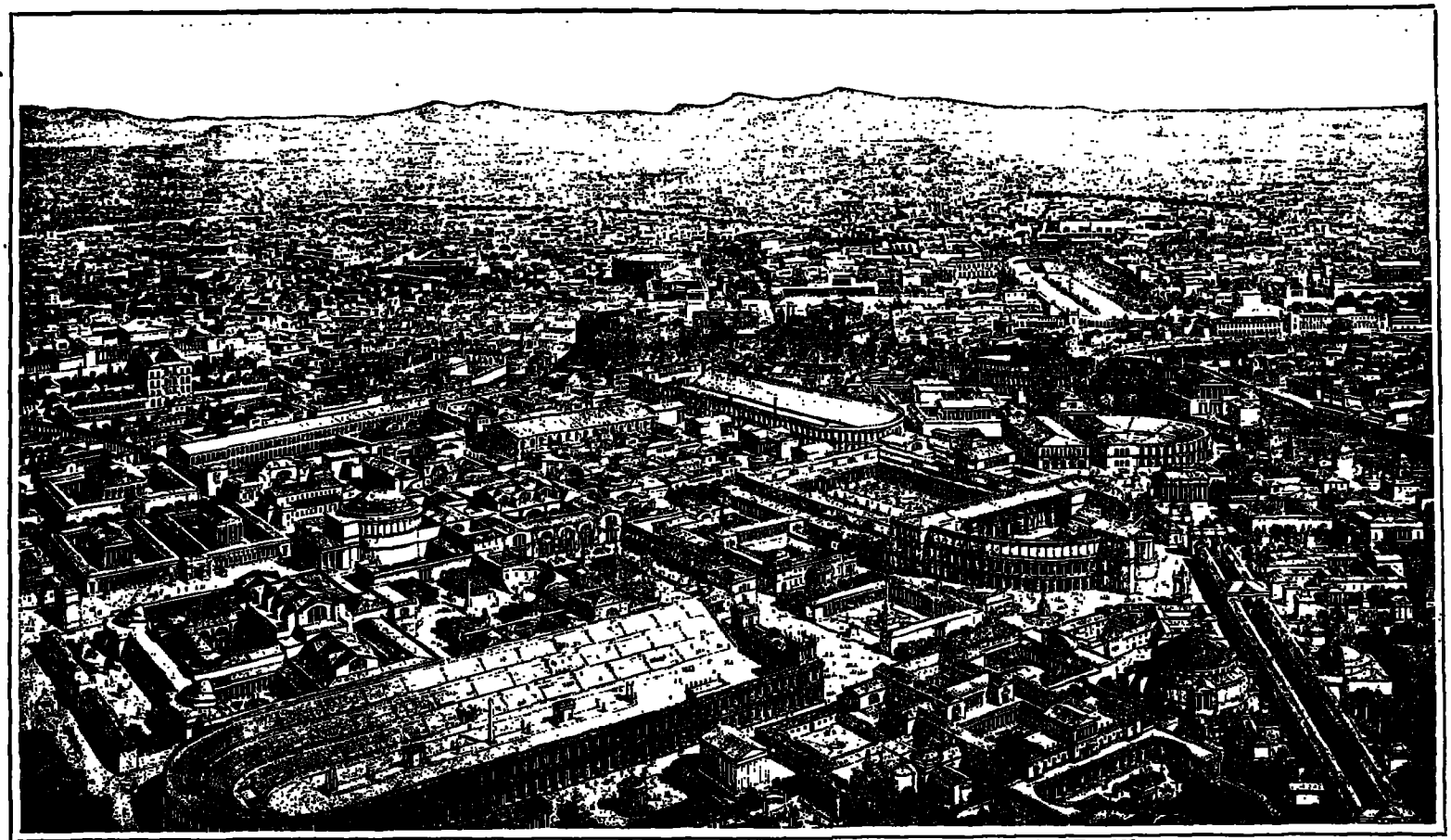
PART OF THE SACRED WAY, WITH THE TEMPLE OF JOVIS STATORIS

From the reconstruction by the archaeologist Gatteschi for M. Boyer d'Agen's work on the Forum



This view of the Forum shows, on the extreme left the Temple of Venus and Rome, with the Arch of Fabian in front and in the foreground the Temple of Julius Cæsar. To the right of that is the beautiful little Temple of Vesta, where the sacred flame was tended by the vestals and the mystic palladium preserved. Behind it is the house of the vestals, a sort of nunnery, and behind that again rises the mighty pile of the Imperial Palace. On the extreme right is a portion of the Basilica Julia, and to the left of it the Temple of Castor and Pollux. The equestrian statue is that of Vespasian. The reconstruction is the work of Professor Becchetti, of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Rome.

TWO SCENES IN THE ROMAN FORUM



A GENERAL VIEW OF ROME AS IT APPEARED IN THE TIME OF AURELIAN

In the centre the Capitoline Hill, Forum and Colosseum beyond; in front of the Capitol is the Circus Flaminus, the Portica and Circus of Pompeius. The large circus in the left foreground is that of Alexander Severus, and beyond it is the Pantheon. On the right is the Tiber, and in the distance the Alban Hills, to the right, and the Volscian Hills, to the left.



ROME UNDER THE GOOD EMPERORS

WITH INTERLUDES OF TYRANNY

EVENTFUL REIGNS FROM VESPASIAN TO COMMODUS

WHEN the senate recognised Vespasian as emperor, the latter's second son, Domitian, came out of his concealment, in order to take part in the revolutions, and at the same time to prove, by all sorts of eccentricities, committed with impunity, that he was a prince. Mucianus, as soon as he entered Rome, set Antonius Primus and his followers aside, for persons whose past was not without reproach were to be found among them—persons who were fit enough to effect a revolution but not to organise a government. First of all, steps had to be taken to provision the capital, for the supplies on hand were sufficient for only ten days. There followed some appointments, executions, suicides—the new order of things had come.

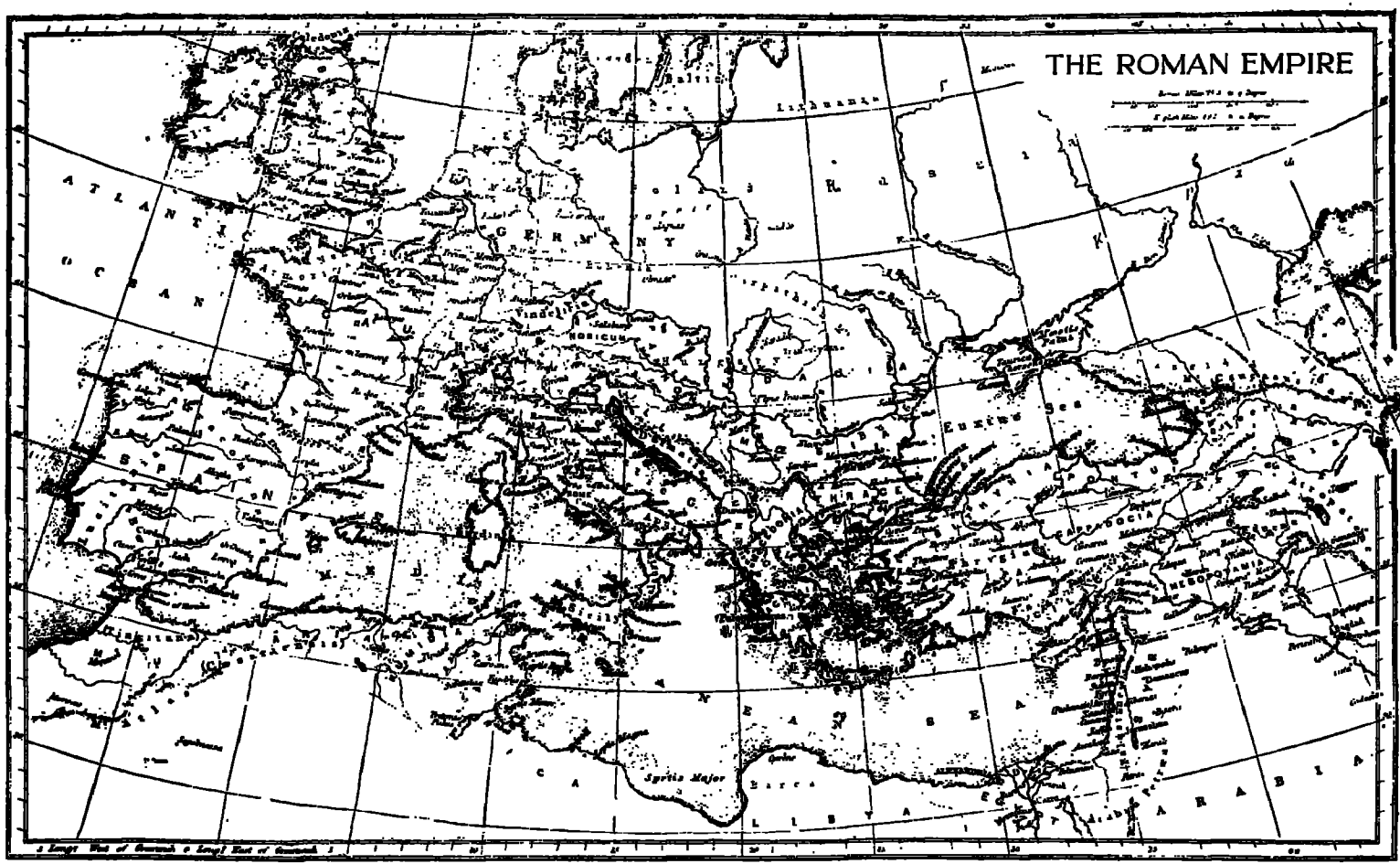
When Vespasian came to Rome from Egypt, in the spring of 70 A.D., he was hailed on all sides with joy, for men were wearied of civil wars. Vespasian, leaving the events of the year of revolution alone, accepted the government in the same form as the Julii and Claudii. While Vitellius had styled himself merely "Imperator" and "Perpetual Consul," Vespasian connected his name with the first dynasty, since he called himself "Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus Augustus," and named his two sons "Cæsar." Thus the principate, which, after the fall of the Julii and of the Claudii, had to go through a grave crisis, emerged in a definitely recognised constitutional form.

Vespasian Re-establishes the Principate

T. Flavius Vespasianus, born at Reate, in the Sabine country, was sixty years old at the time of his elevation. He was no genius, but a thoroughly practical character. He came of a moderately wealthy municipal family, and had laid the foundations of his career under Gaius and Claudius, especially when, at the head of a legion, he shared in the conquest of Britain, distinguishing himself in the campaign. Nero had given him advancement, because he loyally overlooked the follies of his emperor. Vespasian's father had been a banker, and the son inherited the aptitude for finance, which was then peculiarly necessary. Vespasian, however, began his reign with an immense deficit, which had to be made good by new, and in many respects unpopular, taxes. Even the public latrines were taxed; and when Titus ventured a remark on this subject, the old man held a gold coin under his nose, with the words, "*Non olet*"—"There is no smell about that." Thus, after a reign of ten years, he placed the finances once more on a sound footing.

Vespasian a Master of Finance

The affairs of the army had also to be thoroughly reorganised. The defeat of the German legions in Italy had a sequel. That part of the legions which had remained behind in Germany, together with the German auxiliaries, especially the Batavi, had been greatly excited at the occurrences of the times, and had, moreover, been worked upon by the emissaries of the different parties. The rivalry between the auxiliary troops and the legionaries was apparent, and the former found support among their kinsmen in the tribes. A heavy price was paid for having employed these national troops near their homes; and all the more because the province of Belgica and the adjacent parts of Germany were inhabited by very warlike tribes, on the auxiliaries from which the strength of the Rhenish army chiefly rested. These, in opposition to the legions, declared for Vespasian before the decision was known. But when



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER

The names refer to the mediæval as well as the ancient period of Roman history. The towns are chiefly indicated by their modern names, and for those which belong exclusively to a later period a lighter writing is used.

Vespasian had won, Julius Civilis, at the head of the Batavi and the Caninefates, supported by reinforcements from the right bank of the Rhine, continued the war against the legions, while at the same time, the Treviri and Lingones, with other tribes of Belgica, rose under the leadership of Julius Tutor and Julius Classicus, who were Treveri, and of Julius Sabinus, a Lingonian. An independent Gallic empire was planned, a scheme far wider than that entertained two years previously by Julius Vindex, whose rebellion was remembered.

The leaders were now Germans and Belgi with the rights of Roman citizenship, as Arminius the liberator had been. The opposition of the legions failed after the overthrow of the Vitellians in Italy was completed, since even the higher officers, excepting C. Dillius Vocula, the commander of the XXII. Legion, completely lost their heads. The troops mutinied, and deposed their officers—first the governor, Hordeonius Flaccus, and later, Vocula, too. All the frontier camps in Lower Germany, Castra Vetera, Novæsium, and Bonna, fell into the hands of Civilis.

Mutiny of Roman Legions

This was the climax of the rising. As soon as Vespasian was in Rome, he sent to Germany an efficient officer, Petilius Cerealis, who had distinguished himself in Britain. He received four or five legions, including the serviceable portions of the Vitellian troops. At the same time, reinforcements from Spain, Britain and Rhætia were brought up.

The advance on the insurgents was made, after the recapture of Mainz, from Upper Germany, where the legionary camp of Vindonissa had held out. It was soon apparent how unnatural was the alliance between Gauls, Germans, and Roman soldiers. The last returned to their allegiance everywhere; the Treveri were defeated at Bingen, and their capital occupied. Civilis, it is true, surprised the Roman army at Trier with his combined forces; but Cerealis atoned for his want of caution by splendid bravery, and by his victory opened the way into the country of the Batavi. The vanquished were, in the end, leniently treated; only the Gallic insurgent leaders were executed, and Civilis, who had not favoured the scheme of a Gallic empire, was pardoned. By the autumn of 70 everything was quiet. Vespasian disbanded the legions which had mutinied, and formed new ones. Changes in garrisons were also made. The principle was laid down that auxiliary troops should never be employed in the vicinity of their homes; that the separate divisions should be kept apart, and should be commanded by Roman and not by native officers. Most of the German auxiliaries went to Britain, where they

When Britain Was First "Germanised"

were separated by the sea from their kinsmen, until at a later period the bodies of men who voluntarily came over from their homes led to the "Germanising" of that island.

At the same time, Titus, the son of Vespasian, ended the Jewish War after he had invested Jerusalem in April, 70. The town had three lines of fortification. After the first and the second wall were taken, the old city and the Temple Hill still offered a successful resistance, although the miseries of famine were daily increasing. On August 29th, the Temple was taken and burnt, and on September 26th, the upper town was also captured [see plate facing page 1859]. The victors levelled all the fortifications, except three towers, which were left standing to testify to the difficulties of the siege. The city, which had been for a thousand years one of the homes of the ancient civilisation, was destroyed, as Carthage and Corinth had been.

The Jewish people were deprived of their ethnical and religious centre, and scattered over the face of the globe, a dispersion that has often been regretted later. The Jews who remained true to their ancestral religion were forced from this time to pay to the Capitoline Jupiter that tribute which they had previously offered to God in the Temple at Jerusalem. A hundred thousand prisoners were sold into slavery, after the soldiers had crucified as many as they pleased. The province of Judæa received a legion as garrison, and some military colonies, among them Emmaus,

After the Destruction of Jerusalem

were established there; these were intended to facilitate the work of holding the country, and to complete the mixture of nationalities. In the Syrian legions, Syrian was frequently spoken by the soldiers when off duty; otherwise, Latin was adopted there also as the military language. Cæsarea, founded by Herod, remained the capital of the province. Titus, together with his father, celebrated a triumph at Rome. On his triumphal

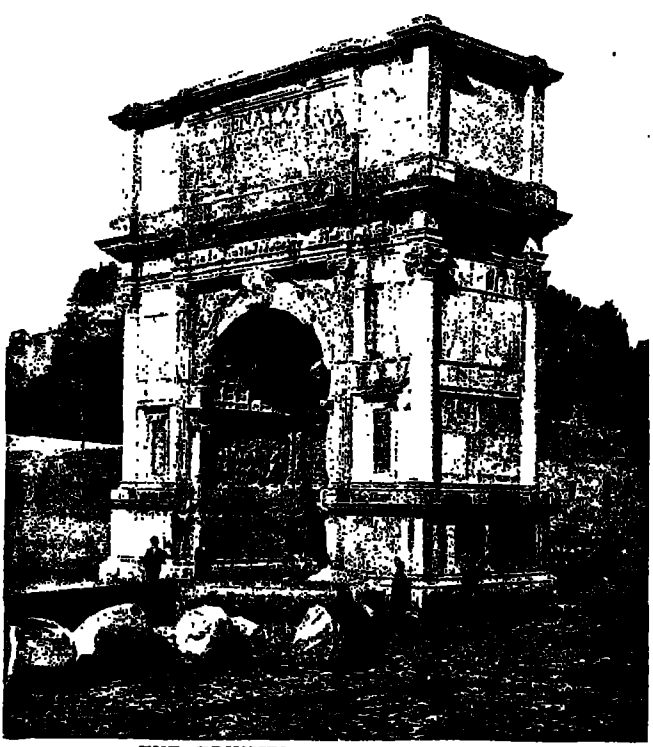


SOLDIERS BEARING THE SEVEN-BRANCHED CANDLESTICK
A reproduction of the remarkably preserved sculpture on the Arch of Titus, illustrated below, showing his soldiers bearing the famous candlestick taken by him from the Temple at Jerusalem and carried through Rome in his triumph.

arch were represented scenes from the war, and the sacred vessels of the Temple, while the inscriptions stated that the Jewish people had been tamed, and that the hitherto unconquered Jerusalem was destroyed. It was noticed that the emperors scorned to assume the surname Judaïcus, though they received the greetings for their victory as "imperatores."

Vespasian reorganised affairs in the rest of the East. Thus he transferred a legion to Cappadocia, because the countries by the Caucasus and Armenia often showed themselves eager to make inroads. An invasion of the Dacians on the Lower Danube had to be repelled and the garrison strengthened. On the other hand the legions were withdrawn from Dalmatia, a province perfectly pacified, and, instead, the legionary camps of Carnuntum on the Lower Danube, and Vindobona—the modern Vienna—were formed in Pannonia. Much was also done in the Danubian provinces and in Dalmatia towards improving the condition of the towns. Vespasian conferred the Latin rights on the Spanish communities, and by this means the way was prepared for the spreading of the Roman spirit. In Africa the institution of the provincial cult goes back to Vespasian. Achaia became a province again, since, as the emperor remarked, the Greeks had forgotten how to be free; with no governor there to decide, the quarrels between the separate communities had broken out once more.

In Rome, Vespasian carried out great architectural schemes, since the prisoners supplied the necessary labour, and the rest of the population was eager for employment. He built the temple to the



THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TITUS
One of the best preserved monuments in Rome, this beautiful arch was erected over the Sacred Way, where that road led to the Forum on the east, near the Colosseum. The triumphal procession of the conqueror of Jerusalem would pass through it on its way to the Capitol. The bas-relief is seen under the arch.

goddess of Peace and the great Flavian Amphitheatre, called the "Colosseum." It was shown that the emperor, otherwise so thrifty, did not shun expenditure for objects of general utility.

Mucianus and Titus exercised great influence in the government. While the former filled the consulate for the second and third times, Titus received, as the nominated successor to the throne, the command of the guard, which had been restored to its old footing. By this means the necessary force could be brought to the aid of the authorities. When Cæcina, the former general of Vitellius, tried to stir up the soldiers to sedition, Titus invited him to dinner and had him stabbed on leaving. At first Vespasian found opposition in the senate, because he was descended from a plebeian family. He was opposed, too, by the doctrinaires, who always honoured Cato, the antagonist of the Cæsars, as their ideal. This resistance was broken down; the resolute republican, Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of Thrasea Pætus, was brought to trial, and the senate was reorganised. The old families, who had once governed the republic, were greatly diminished, for the numerous executions in the Julian and Claudian times, as well as their own excesses and celibacy had reduced their numbers. Thus the last Sulpicius had been buried with Galba. When Vespasian and Titus assumed the censorship, in 73, they filled up the senate from the municipal ranks, which even in Rome were far less independent than their predecessors. A new era began, both for the principate and for the senate, an era of which the literary standard-bearers were Cornelius Tacitus and the younger Pliny.



THE EMPEROR TITUS
Conqueror of the Jews and destroyer of Jerusalem, he succeeded his father Vespasian in the year 79.



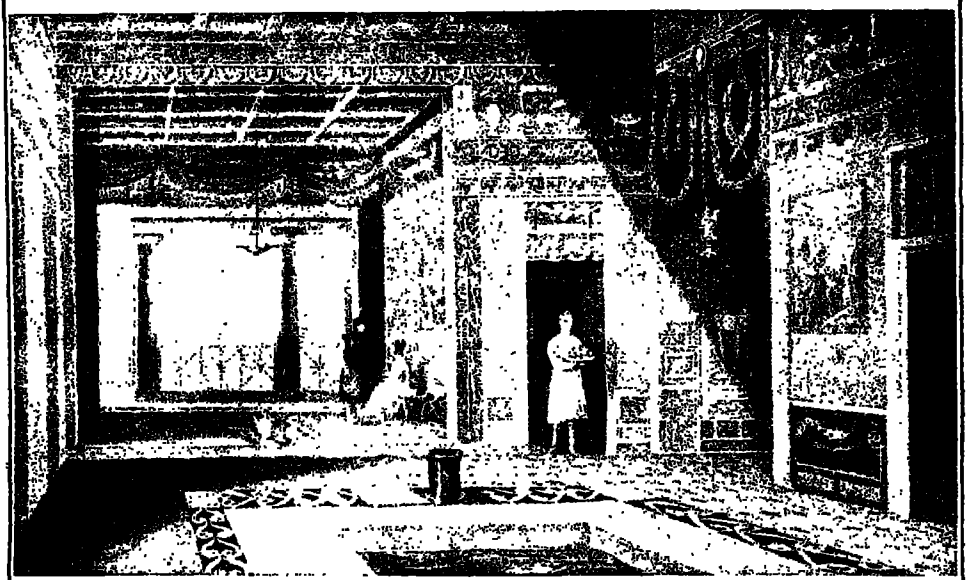
TACITUS, THE HISTORIAN
This great man was one of the chief ornaments of the reigns of Vespasian and later emperors. His friendship with Pliny is famous.

When Vespasian died, in 79, after a vigorous reign, his son Titus, then in his fortieth year, succeeded him. Titus had grown up at the court of Claudius as the playmate of Britannicus, with splendid talents; a brilliant officer, but licentious. His health was undermined. Great notoriety attached to his relations with the Jewish princess, Berenice, a daughter of Julius Agrippa, who followed him to Rome. When he assumed the sole sovereignty, he laid down the principle that no one would be permitted to leave the emperor unconsoled. He would not have gone very far thus in the long run, but he was fated to find an occasion to test his charity on a large scale. On August 24th, 79, an eruption of Vesuvius overwhelmed the Campanian towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ. The elder Pliny, a comrade-in-arms of Titus from the time of the Jewish War, then prefect of the fleet at Misenum, met his death there, for his curiosity as a naturalist carried him too far into danger. Of these buried towns, Pompeii especially has been brought to light by excavations made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to which we are indebted for an exact picture of the domestic life of the Italian population in the first century A.D. The emperor did all that lay in his power to help the sufferers, as he did on the occasion of a three-days fire, which devastated Rome in the following year.

Titus was succeeded two years afterwards by his brother, Domitian, who had up till now been kept in the background, except that he had repeatedly filled the consulate, and had been admitted into all the priestly colleges. His personality is unsympathetic. Just as he had previously intrigued against Titus, so he now made the senators feel his power in every way, as he filled the consulate seventeen times; and, as perpetual censor, reserved to himself the right of filling up the senate with nominees of his own liking.

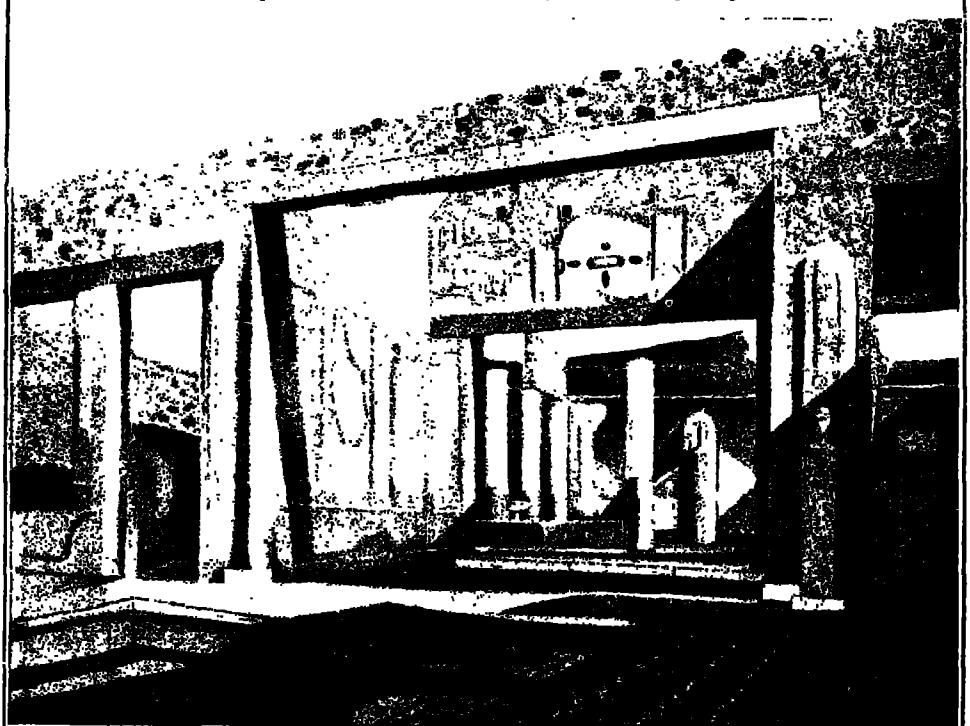
The title of censor disappeared after Domitian; but the right of nomination remained in the emperor, and formed an important stepping-stone in the

THE BEAUTIFUL HOUSES OF POMPEII



RESTORED INTERIOR OF THE "HOUSE OF THE TRAGIC POET"

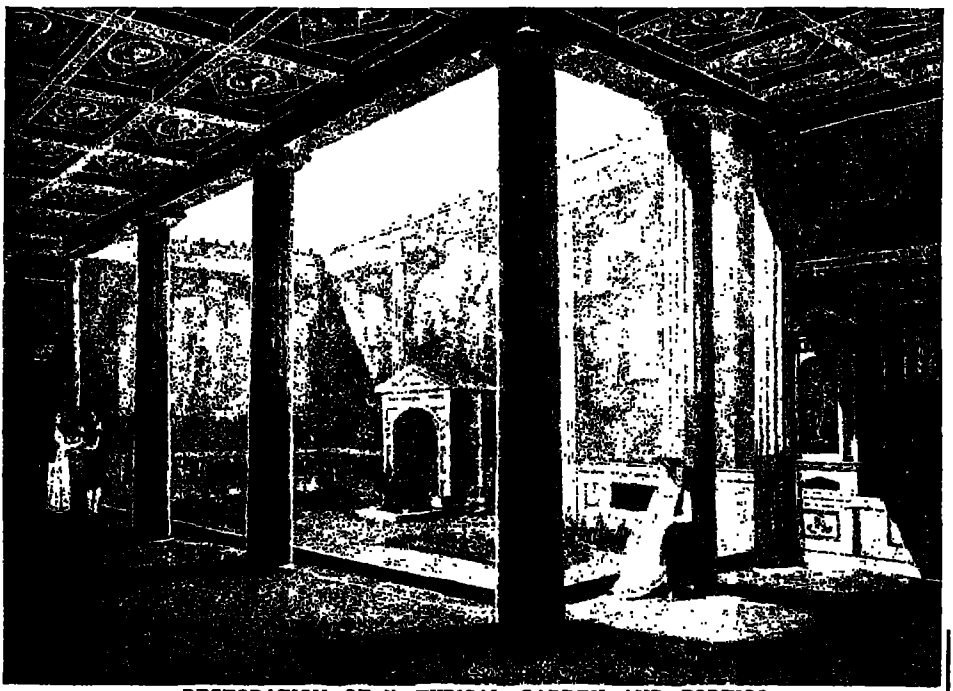
The remains of this house are so good that restoration is easy. On the vestibule in mosaic is the figure of a barking dog with the famous legend "Cave canem." The house takes its name from an enigmatic inscription on the wall, but as there are two shops, one on each side of the vestibule, the house was possibly that of a rich tradesman.



REMAINS OF THE HOUSE OF THE BANKER L. CÆCILIUS JUCUNDUS

The actual state of the house of the banker, identified by his bust and inscription, is seen in this picture. The house was rich in frescoes. In the background we look, on the left, into the peristylium (the courtyard), which was enclosed on two sides by a portico running out on seven pillars; on the right we see the viridarium (the garden), amongst the once isolated pillars of which three sleeping and dwelling rooms have later been built on. The room on the left edge of the picture is the triclinium (eating-room), that on the right is an exedra (a reception room).

THE GARDENS AND BATHS OF POMPEII



RESTORATION OF A TYPICAL GARDEN AND PORTICO

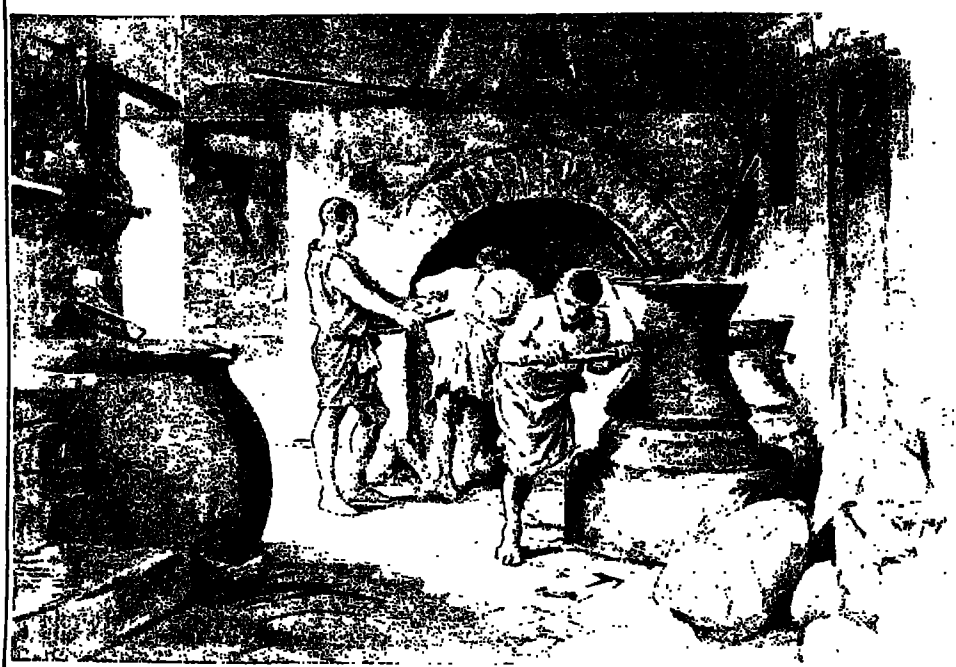
Well-stocked flower gardens were not greatly in favour among the Pompeiians, fountains with brightly coloured fish and decorative mosaic paths being the chief features of the open courtyards, the walls of which were lavishly covered with frescoes, not always of a high order of art. The above illustrates the typical style of garden.



THE HOT ROOM, OR TEPIDARIUM OF THE PUBLIC BATHS

The baths of Pompeii are very well preserved, and the lead pipes through which the water was carried from Stabiæ, 2,000 years ago, are still to be seen. This picture shows the remains of the tepidarium partially restored.

POMPEII TRADESMEN 2,000 YEARS AGO



INTERIOR OF A BAKERY IN THE MAIN STREET

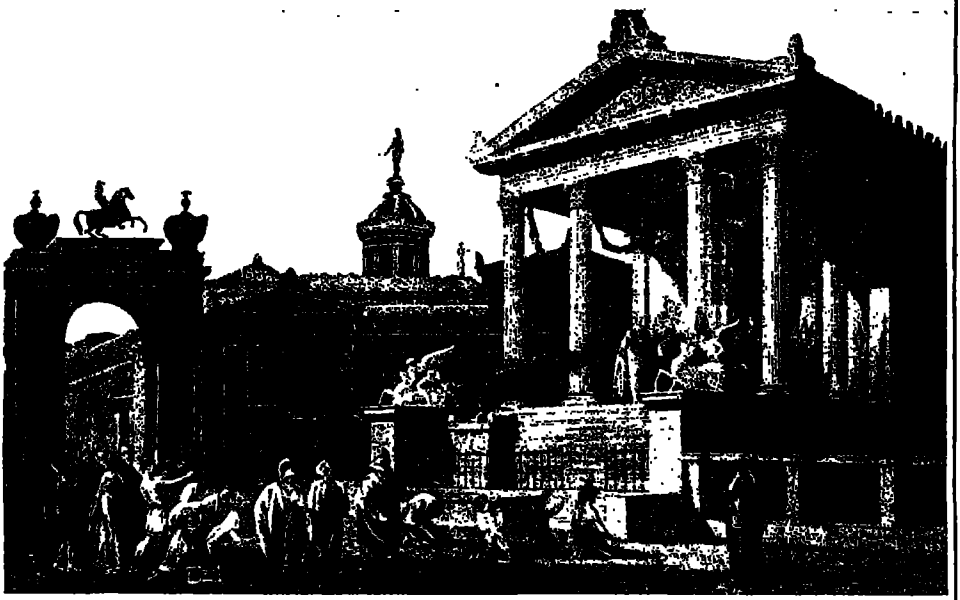
None of the remains of Pompeii are more interesting than those of the numerous bakeries, where the ovens are still intact, the heavy granite mills for grinding the corn still standing on the ancient floors, and even the remains of the bread and pies, which were being baked when the city was destroyed, are preserved in the museum.



THE SHOP OF A GENERAL DEALER IN FRUIT, POULTRY AND WINES

Very little restoration is necessary to make the ruined shops of Pompeii as they were. The counters still stand with deep holes in them where the great wine-jars, with pointed bottoms, were placed to keep their contents cool.

TEMPLES AND STREETS OF POMPEII



SUPPLIANTS BEFORE THE TEMPLE OF FORTUNE

There were numerous temples in Pompeii to Greek, Roman, and even Egyptian deities. One o. the most notable and most popular was the Temple of Fortune, the above restoration of which is based on the existing remains.



Edwards

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL STREETS AS IT IS TO-DAY

The streets of Pompeii were paved with blocks of lava, and at every crossing were large stepping-stones on a level with the pavements to enable people to cross the roads without the fatigue of stepping down from the pavements and up again. The chariots had to be carefully guided in clearing these large stones. In the foreground is a fountain, and in the distance, on the left, one of the posts marking the different wards of the city may be seen.

development of the principate into the monarchy. Domitian, on the whole, took Tiberius as his model. Epaphroditus, the freedman of Nero, long enjoyed influence over him, until Domitian recollected that Epaphroditus had aided the suicide of Nero; this caused his fall and death. The emperor was resolved to rule without favourites, trusting in the support of the army and the people. He wished to be addressed as "Lord" and "God," which corresponded to the Oriental conception of the attitude of the ruler to his subjects, not to the Roman idea of the "First Citizen." The emperor called the month of October, in which he was born. Domitianus, after himself, just as in the same way July and August received their names. The mistrust felt by the emperor for all senatorial officials resulted in his exercising a strict control over the administration of the provinces. This proved beneficial to the subjects. and his government can in no way be put on the same level as that of a Caligula or a Nero. An insurrection, which L. Antonius Saturninus, the governor of Upper Germany, attempted in Mogontiacum with the help of the independent tribes on the other side of the Rhine, was suppressed by armed force in 88 or 89 A.D. In these operations the Spanish "legatus," Ulpius Trajanus, the subsequent emperor, distinguished himself. The conquest of Britain, under the administration of C. Julius Agricola, which took seven years, proceeded rapidly, especially with regard to the strengthening of the interior, which had been frequently interrupted by repeated insurrections. The geographical horizon of the Romans was thus widened by sea and by land.

Domitian Assumes Divinity

War also was made on the Chatti and the Sarmates, in which the latter completely annihilated a Roman legion. Finally, the war against the Dacians demanded the exertion of the full strength of the empire. The sphere of Dacian influence, starting from the modern Transylvania, had gradually extended, on the one side, through the easterly passes up to the Black Sea; on the other, on the west towards the Central, and on the south towards the Lower, Danube. The governor of Mœsia fell in battle, and the province was placed in so critical a position that Domitian himself went there with his prefect of the guard, Cornelius Fuscus.

The war, in which the Romans assumed the aggressive, was in the end successful. After the death of Cornelius Fuscus, Domitian concluded a peace in 89 A.D. with Decebalus, the Dacian king, in which the latter received a yearly present of money and certain privileges; the opposition, therefore, said that the peace was bought. It became apparent that Domitian was not fit for the task which had to be performed there; but he did not wish to entrust it to any one else, in order not to effect a change of parties. The tension between the emperor on the one side, and the senators and military chiefs on the other, increased Besides this, there were family disputes. The emperor was not on good terms with his wife, Domitia Longina, a daughter of Domitius Corbulo, after he had ordered her lover, the actor Paris, to be assassinated. The emperor also ordered his cousin, Flavius Clemens, and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, to be executed, because they were well inclined towards Christianity. Domitian strictly upheld the old religion. On September 18th, 96, Domitian was murdered by members of his household. He was forty-five years old.



DOMITIAN AND HIS WIFE DOMITIA

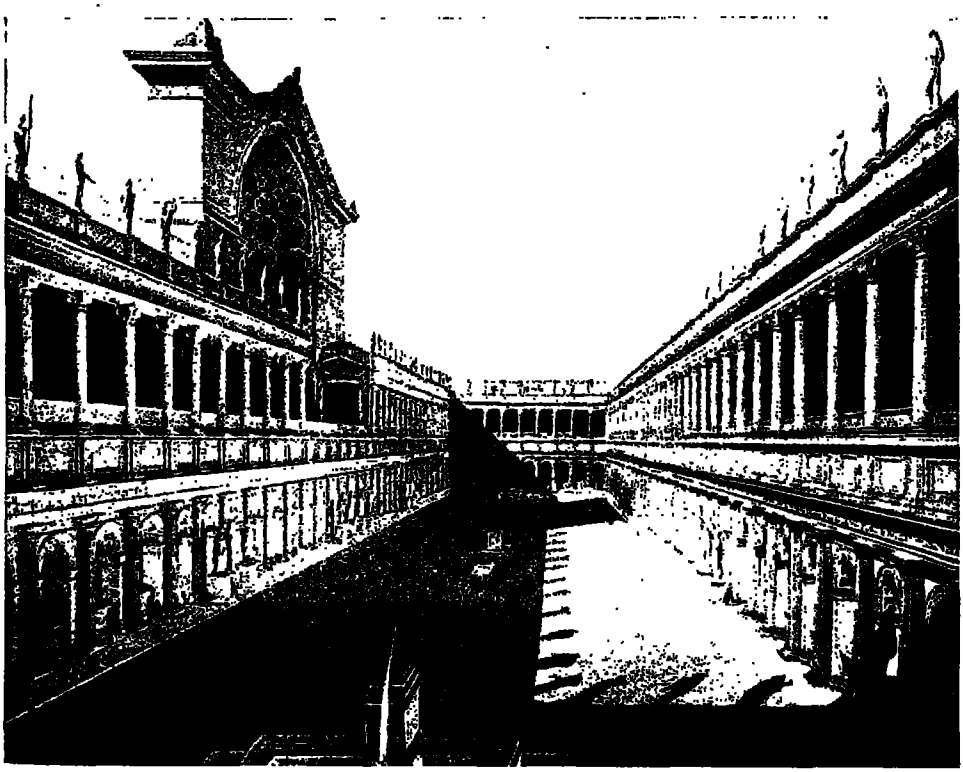
Domitian was the last of the twelve Cæsars. He was a cruel and unpopular emperor and was suspected of poisoning his elder brother Titus, whom he succeeded. Despite elaborate precautions he fell a victim to the assassin in his forty-fifth year, and in death the senate and all Rome dishonoured one who had often dishonoured them.

Domitian Stands by the Old Gods

The "Lives of the Emperors," which were published under Hadrian by his secretary, Suetonius Tranquillus, is a sufficient authority so far. From this point the "History of the Emperors," by Dion Cassius, becomes the chief source



THE GREAT AUDIENCE CHAMBER IN THE IMPERIAL PALACE OF DOMITIAN



STADIUM, WHERE THE GAMES WERE HELD, CONNECTED WITH THE IMPERIAL PALACE

These reconstructions, based upon existing remains on the Palatine Hill, are by the archæologist Gatteschi, and were made for the work of M. Boyer d'Agen on ancient Rome.

Although Domitian had selected the sons of Flavius Clemens to succeed him, their dynastic claims had ceased to be respected, and the aged consul, M. Cocceius Nerva, was proclaimed emperor; quite an unsuitable choice, made, it is evident, by women and lackeys. A reaction was setting in against the government of the senate, which, up to this time, had been in violent opposition to the principate, and was now officially suppressing all memorials of Domitian and annulling his acts. It was soon apparent that Nerva, who had been a successful writer of erotic verse under Nero, but had shown no special ability in a military or civil capacity, was unequal to his task, at all events as far as the enemy was concerned. When the prætorians, whose favourite Domitian had been, demanded the surrender of his murderers, Nerva was powerless to protect them. Moreover, an able soldier was required both for Germany and for the Dacian campaign. The situation as regards the Parthians and other Oriental peoples was likewise far from reassuring, and there was always the danger of these hostile groups uniting into a formidable confederacy if timely measures were not taken.

A Love Poet as Emperor



NERVA, THE MAN OF PEACE
The first emperor of foreign extraction, and a model of mildness, temperance and pacific government.

Such were the motives which, in 97, led the childless Nerva to adopt M. Ulpius Trajanus, the governor of Upper Germany. Henceforth it became the rule for the reigning emperor to choose his successor in the principate, contrary to the previous custom, by which the welfare of the state was subordinated to dynastic interests. Recent events had proved the inefficiency of purely senatorial government and the need of an actual imperator.

Trajan, a native of Italica in Spain, and at this time forty-four years of age, was the son of a man who had commanded a legion in the Jewish War and had been subsequently consul and governor of the province of Syria. The new emperor-elect was, above everything, a soldier. He was then in Germany engaged in carrying out the policy of the Flavian emperors, of which one feature was to resume possession of the districts on the right bank of the Rhine, including the so-called *agri decumates* with their capital, Sumelocenna. The origin of the name decumates is uncertain; it is possibly a term used by the *agrimensores*, the rendering "tithe-lands" resting on no real evidence.

It was his countryman, the consul Licinius Sura, who recommended Trajan to Nerva. The news of his adoption reached him at Cologne. He at once sent for the mutinous Prætorian guard, in order to seize and punish the ringleaders. A victorious campaign was fought against the Suevi on the Danube, in consequence of which Nerva and Trajan assumed the title of Germanicus. At the same time the concentration of troops on the Lower Rhine, begun under Domitian, was continued.

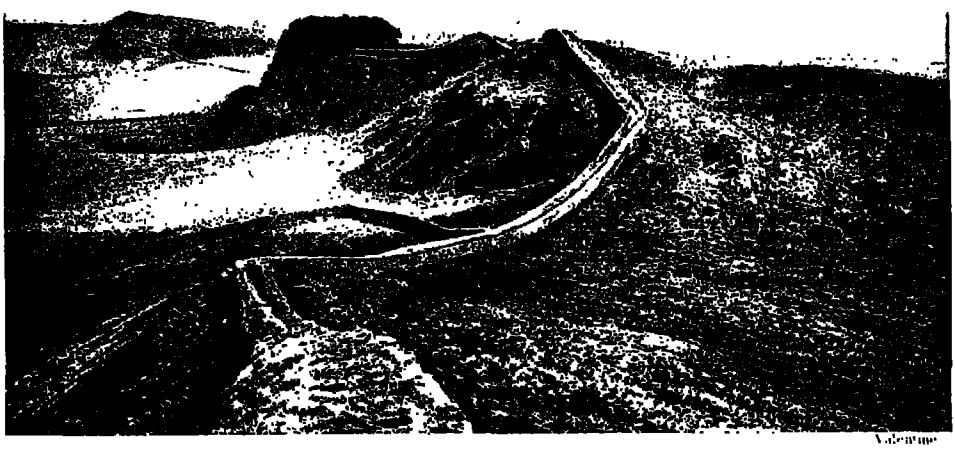
On the 27th of January, 98 A.D., death removed Nerva, and Trajan assumed supreme authority at Rome. He received a hearty welcome from all who had felt themselves oppressed under Domitian, above all from Cornelius Tacitus, consul in the year 98, and from the younger Pliny, consul in the year 100 A.D.

Steps were taken at this time to reform the condition of Italy. The sovereign country had become more and more a land of capitalists. Apart from the senatorial class, in whose hands numerous large estates in various parts of Italy became concentrated, there were the office holders returning home with well-filled purses after filling some civil or military post in the provinces. Others had made fortunes out of trade and speculation. These men played an important part at home, as they spent their money freely, particularly in the endowment of public institutions—baths, libraries, games—by which the lower classes benefited; but, in reality, such public benefactions formed only a vast subsidy system extremely unfavourable to sound economic conditions. Domitian had endeavoured by police regulations to preserve agriculture wherever it was still found in Italy; otherwise wine-culture would have been more general, especially as Italian wine, which at this time found no competitors in Burgundy or Tokay, formed a profitable article of export.

How the Wealthy Spent their Money



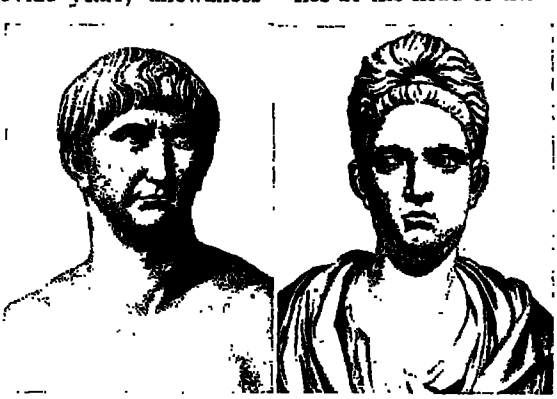
NATIVE LABOURERS UNDER ROMAN OFFICERS BUILDING A WALL
From the fresco painting by William Bell Scott



REMAINS OF THE GREAT WALL BUILT BY HADRIAN FROM THE TYNE TO THE SOLWAY

But the country was suffering from other disorders; the condition of society was such as might be expected of an enervated population living in indolence. A reluctance to marry or to bring up a family, united to such universally disseminated vices as we find censured in the satirists of the period, Petronius, Martial, and Juvenal, was taking such deep root that the population, instead of increasing with the material progress of the country, was rather on the decline. Some attempt, therefore, had to be made to rescue those, at least, who as yet were not hopelessly corrupt—the young. This was done by means of the magnificent alimentation endowments which Nerva initiated and which Trajan continued. Their object was to provide yearly allowances (*alimenta*) for boys and girls until the completion of their education. The endowments were in land, and several records in the form of land registers have come down to us, one from the district of Beneventum, the rest from that of Veleia (in Liguria). This beneficent scheme, which aimed at preserving the supremacy of Italy, was further developed and organised by succeeding emperors.

Emperors who Encouraged the Young



TRAJAN AND HIS WIFE PLOTINA

When Nerva chose Trajan as his successor all Rome rejoiced, and his rule was one of enlightenment though it ended in misfortune. His wife, Plotina, was a worthy helpmeet of a good emperor.

After spending the years 99 and 100 at Rome, Trajan in 101 took the field against the Dacians. The positions of Aquincum and Acumincum on the Middle Danube had already been taken and the garrisons reinforced from Britain and the Rhine; the whole campaign, indeed, was carefully planned and vigorously executed. Trajan commanded in person. It was intended not merely to relieve Mœsia, but also to seek out in their own territory the Daci, whose rich gold-mines must have been in themselves a strong attraction to the Romans. The first campaign ended in the overthrow of Decebalus, whose authority, extending to the Danube and the sea, was now confined to the region of Transylvania. There, in 102 A.D., he was left to rule, a vassal of the Romans. But Trajan soon discovered that Decebalus was unfaithful to the terms of the treaty, and that a second campaign would be necessary.

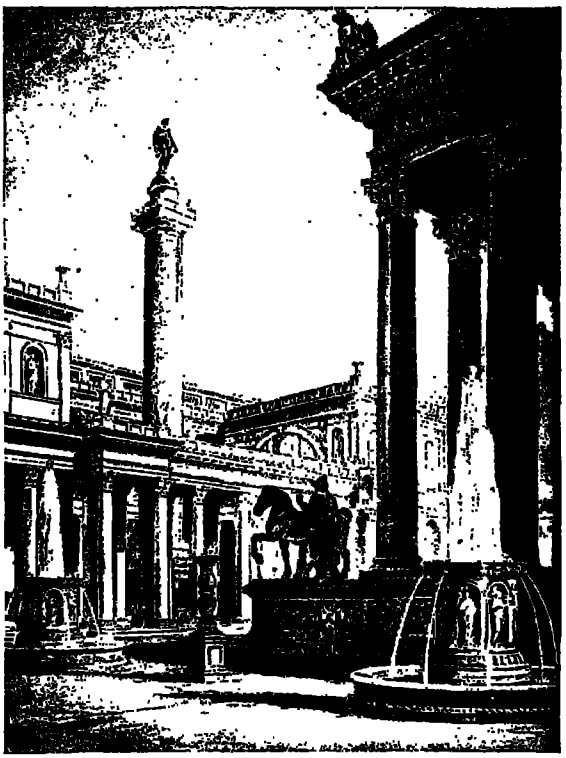
This opened with the building of Trajan's Bridge over the Danube (near Severin), by which the river, which had proved his most formidable adversary, was put in irons. For the second time Trajan converged his forces on the Dacian capital, Sarmizegethusa, in the Hatzeg valley, by way of the valley of the Alt and the Rothenturm pass, the Banat and the Iron Gate, and most probably the Vulkan pass. The Daci defended themselves in their woods and fortresses, whither they had conveyed their treasures for safety—among other places at the "Muncseler Grediste," which lies at the head of the valley to the south of Broos, a region which, to this day, is remarkable for the discovery of Greek and Roman coins and even of entire treasure-hoards hidden at that time. Decebalus committed suicide when he saw that all was lost. Of the Dacians, part submitted and part were exterminated or expelled, their place being taken by settlers from other provinces. Sarmizegethusa became the new colony of Ulpia; the gold region was occupied and a legion quartered at Apulum for its protection in 107 A.D.

The triumph of Rome was now complete, and the Greek cities on the Pontus were delivered from the oppression of the Dacian power. There was great rejoicing in Olbia and in Tomi; and the founding of Nicopolis on the northern slopes of the Hæmus worked effects that were felt later throughout the whole of the Balkan peninsula. The hard-won victory was recorded at Rome as well as on the banks of the Danube and on the Euxine on coins and monuments. Fitting honours were paid to the fallen warriors, and a triumph and games were celebrated. A "Tropœum

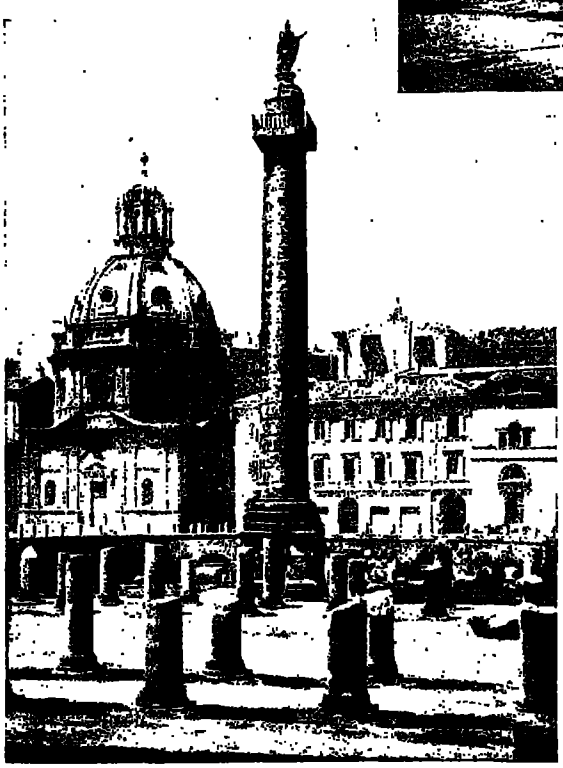
Dacian Power Destroyed

Trajani" was erected at Adamklissi in the Dobrudscha, not far from Tomi, on the coins of which town the trophy is represented. The monument to the fallen soldiers has been recently discovered. None the less the new province of Dacia entailed fresh burdens on the finances and necessitated a permanent increase in the military establishment.

About the same time (106 A.D.) the governor of Syria, A. Cornelius Palma, annexed the district round Bostra and Petra. It received a legion as garrison and formed henceforth the Roman province of Arabia, through which an imperial road led to the Red Sea. The emperor, however, proceeded from Dacia to Rome. Here he spent the following years and built the "Forum Trajani," containing the Pillar of Trajan, on which are basreliefs commemorating the Dacian War. Trajan devoted himself with



TRAJAN'S FORUM AS IT WAS
Trajan's most notable adornment of the city, reared to commemorate his Dacian campaigns.



THE FORUM OF TRAJAN AS IT IS
Although nothing but stumps of the noble pillars remain, the great column is still intact, but a statue of St. Peter replaces that of Trajan.

energy to the business of government, above all to the encouragement of Italian commerce. He began the improvement of the harbour of Ancona, which was important for the trade with the opposite coast of Dalmatia and the East. He further constructed the Via Trajana from Beneventum to Brundisium, which, being shorter than the Via Appia, opened up new districts to commerce. The gratitude of the inhabitants was expressed in the triumphal arches, erected in his honour, which exist to this day in Ancona and Beneventum.

Provincial affairs were not neglected at this time, as may be seen from Trajan's correspondence with the younger Pliny, who from 111 to 113 was governor of Bithynia. Pliny had been entrusted by the emperor with an extraordinary mission, which accounts for the interest displayed by the latter;

but we see at all events that the central government wished to be kept informed even of comparatively unimportant matters. About the same time, or a little earlier, P. Cornelius Tacitus became proconsul of the province of Asia; he already possessed a great reputation as orator, advocate, and historian. Tacitus had completed the "Histories," which covered the period from Galba to the end of Domitian, and was engaged on the period from the death of Augustus to the downfall of Nero when Trajan entered upon his Oriental campaign.

Tacitus as Proconsul of Asia

In 114 the war with the Parthians broke out. The late king of the Parthians, Pacorus, had formed an alliance with the Dacians, and the ruling king, Khosru, had encroached upon the Roman sphere of influence in Armenia by arbitrarily imposing a king on that country. In Armenia Parthian interests had ever been in conflict with those of Rome, and Trajan resolved to determine the dispute once for all. With the support of the Caucasian tribes and of the dependent princes of Syria he annexed Armenia and made it a province. After setting up a rival claimant to the Parthian throne Trajan went into winter quarters at Antioch. Early in the following year he crossed the Tigris, and reduced the districts of Adiabene and Babylon with the towns of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, reaching the Persian Gulf through the territory of Mesene. Two more distant provinces were formed—Mesopotamia and, beyond the Tigris, Assyria. Only old age prevented Trajan from going to India, as Alexander the Great had done. Soon, however, reverses came. A rising in the conquered countries forced Trajan to retreat in order to preserve his communications.



THE ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENVENTUM

One of the two arches still existing erected by the Romans to mark their gratitude to Trajan for his services to the country.

The strongly fortified town of Hatra was besieged by him in vain; Khosru regained possession of Parthia. In addition, a rising of the Jews took place throughout the eastern provinces, partly fomented by their kindred, who were enjoying prosperity in the Parthian kingdom, and partly occasioned by a revival of Messianic hopes; in Cyrene they went so far as to set up a "king." Trajan broke down under a strain that was too severe for a man of sixty, and returned to Antioch a pitiable wreck. He had hardly set out on his journey to Rome when he died on the way at Selinus in Cilicia on August 8th, 117 A.D.

And thus the life of Trajan ended in grave misfortune. He had overtaxed his own and his country's strength and the result had been failure. It was at this time the aim of Roman policy in the East to control the overland trade with India. An advance in the direction of Arabia had been attempted by Augustus, and Trajan's expedition to the Persian Gulf had been undertaken with the same object. But the attempt generally miscarried, the interior of Arabia being protected by its deserts; the province of "Arabia" was no more a province than were "Africa" or "Asia." Arabia proper,

Rome's Policy in the East

with its caravan routes, remained a world apart till the rise of Islam. The Romans had therefore to content themselves with developing the maritime route from Egypt to India, and with entering into an agreement with the Parthian kingdom, which secured the trade route to India and the country of the Seres—that is, China. In such circumstances, no reason remained for the retention of Assyria and Mesopotamia, or even of Armenia, either from a military or from an economic standpoint.



THE EMPEROR HADRIAN AND HIS WIFE SABINA
Hadrian was, like Trajan, without legal issue, and was on bad terms with Sabina, who refused to bear an heir to the throne.

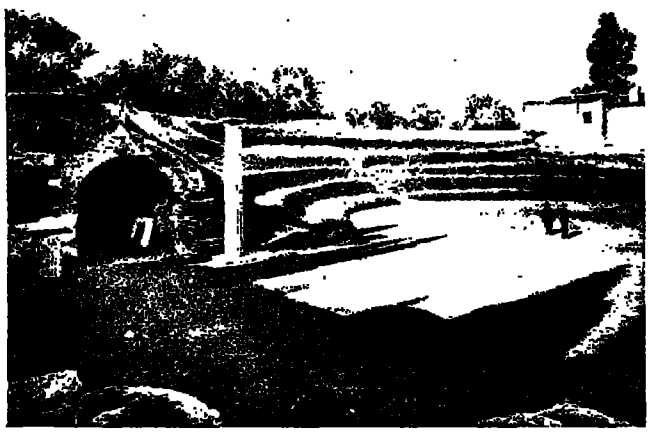
So thought the man who became Trajan's successor. P. Ælius Hadrianus. He also was a native of Italica in Spain; he was a cousin of Trajan, and had been brought up as his ward. His marriage with a grand-daughter of Trajan's sister, Marciana, had brought him into still closer connection with the imperial family. An able officer, he had accompanied Trajan on all his campaigns and had held important commands, both on the Danube and on the Euphrates; after the Second Dacian War he had been made governor of Lower Pannonia. At the time of Trajan's death he was at the head of the army of Syria. His biography is the first of the lives of the various emperors in the "Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ."



HADRIAN'S FAVOURITE, ANTINOUS
The beautiful youth, immortalised in sculpture, who accompanied the emperor everywhere and died mysteriously.

As regards the real circumstances of his adoption, a tradition was preserved in the family of a later governor of Cilicia that it was due to a forgery on the part of Trajan's wife, Plotina, after the decease of her husband. It could, however, have been no secret that Hadrian was not in sympathy with Trajan's policy of expansion. On the other hand, the generals, who, like Trajan himself, reasoned only as soldiers, were all in favour of this policy; such were Lusius Quietus, the governor of Judæa, who, after much bloodshed, had lately been victorious over the Jews in their native country, Cornelius Palma, the conqueror of Arabia, and others. Hadrian had therefore to face a strong opposition in this quarter when he departed from the path of his predecessor. His first act was to terminate the Parthian War by recognising Khosru as king, abandoning the conquered territories, Arabia excepted, and consenting to the installation of a member of the Parthian royal house as ruler of Armenia. Immediately afterwards came the suppression of the Jewish revolt in Egypt and Cyrene by Hadrian's most devoted lieutenant, Marcius Turbo. This Marcius Turbo was sent to Mauretania and afterwards to Pannonia and Dacia. Even this last province would have been resigned by Hadrian had not so many Roman settlers been established there. Hadrian contented himself therefore with reducing the garrison, after travelling in

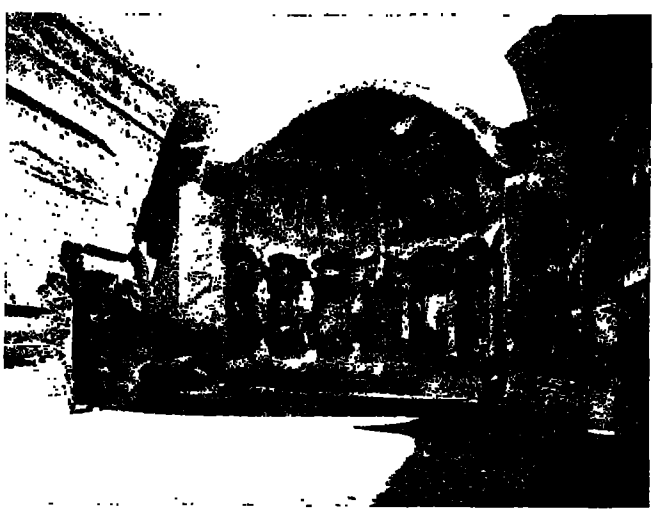
person from Antioch through Mœsia and Dacia. Marcius Turbo was appointed by Hadrian to the post of prefect of the prætorians at Rome, where a conspiracy seems to have been formed shortly before his arrival. Lusius Quietus and Cornelius Palma, together with Avidius Nigrinus, who under Trajan had been mentioned as his possible successor, met their deaths on this occasion, and the new ruler was rid definitely of all who coveted or envied his position.



REMAINS OF THE GREEK THEATRE AT HADRIAN'S VILLA.
The immense series of ruins known as Hadrian's Villa, near Tivoli, some fifteen miles from Rome, are among the most interesting in Italy. The model Greek theatre, like many of the other more public buildings of the "villa," was connected by underground passages with the private apartments.

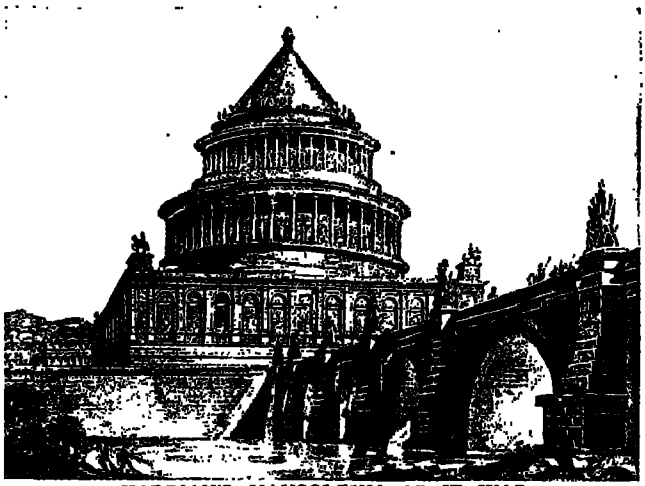
Hadrian took the affairs of state vigorously in hand. The finances, which Trajan's military policy had thrown into confusion, were organised with such success that Hadrian was able to remit a great accumulation of arrears in taxes in Italy, and to a smaller extent in the provinces. This measure gave general satisfaction. Further, a notable advance was made in the direction of the codification of the law, the jurist Salvius Julianus being instructed by Hadrian to define once for all the principles on which the prætors administered justice. But it was to the organisation of the army and of the civil administration that Hadrian especially devoted himself. Every province and every army corps came under his personal supervision. The civil service of later times is his creation; whereas previously imperial freedmen of all sorts had held office, he drew far more exclusively on the middle class, the "Roman Knights." He revised the army tactics with an eye on the methods of warfare pursued by hostile nations.

In the auxiliary troops the peculiar virtues of each nation were encouraged and rendered effective. The army respected Hadrian for his thorough knowledge of the service, in war as well as in peace; and it is said he knew by name multitudes of soldiers in the ranks. On the whole, Hadrian may be regarded as the most gifted in will and intellect of all the emperors between Augustus and Diocletian. Traces of his activity are everywhere to be met with. In Britain he constructed a rampart against the Cale-



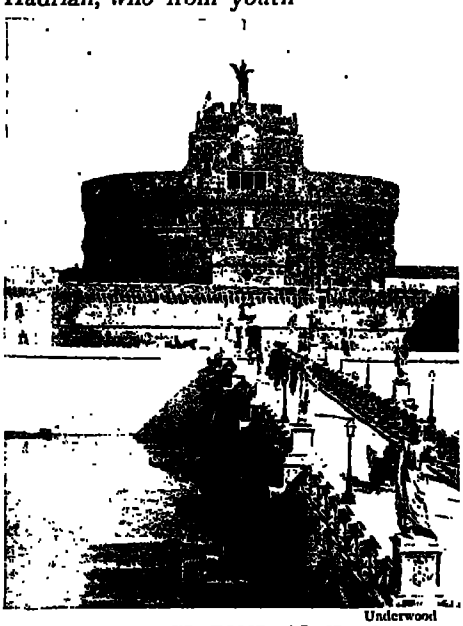
REMAINS OF HADRIAN'S IMITATION CANOPUS
Canopus was an Egyptian city devoted to the worship of Serapis and infamous for its obscenities. Hadrian, who imitated in his wonderful "villa" all the great sights of his wide travels, built a small Canopus and reproduced its life within his own grounds. "Hadrian's Villa" was really a large and populous town.

donians. In Africa his orders to the army have been preserved in the camp of Lambæsis, engraved in stone as a record of his presence there; he even visited Mauretania. In Judæa he founded, on the ruins of Jerusalem, the colony of Ælia Capitolina. It was this that caused the revolt of the Jews under Rabbi Eleazar and Barcochebas, the "son of a star," a revolt which entailed great financial sacrifices, and which was put down only after two years of bloodshed (132-134), by reinforcements summoned from Mœsia and elsewhere. Even after the victory the garrison remained double its original strength; the province received the name of Syria Palæstina, for the name Judæa was to be uttered no more. Greece owes much to Hadrian, who from youth



HADRIAN'S MAUSOLEUM AS IT WAS

This magnificent tomb, which the emperor built for himself on the banks of the Tiber, is still an outstanding feature of Rome. His ashes were deposited here.



Underwood

HADRIAN'S TOMB AS IT IS

It has passed through many vicissitudes, having been used as a stronghold in the Middle Ages, and is now merely a show place. It is known as the Castle of St. Angelo.

was so fond of Greek literature that he was called "Græculus." He was certainly the first of the emperors to wear a beard after the Greek fashion, all his predecessors having been shaven according to Roman custom. At Athens, before he became emperor, he held the archonship: in return he adorned the city with buildings, and invested it with certain liberties and revenues. His extensive improvements in the Peloponnesus were commemorated a generation later by the traveller and antiquarian Pausanias in his "Tour of Greece." In the neighbourhood of Rome, at Tibur, Hadrian built a colossal villa surrounded by extensive gardens, in which were represented the places of interest which the emperor had visited in his travels. The cost must have been enormous.

Like Trajan, Hadrian had no children; the Empress Sabina would have none, as she was on bad terms with her husband—a fact which she very frankly admitted to those about her. This estrangement caused troubles at the court, in some of which the imperial secretary, Suetonius Tranquillus, author of the "Lives of the Emperors," was concerned. Hadrian's favourite was the beautiful boy Antinous, who accompanied the emperor on all his travels, until he met with a mysterious death in the Nile on the occasion of the emperor's visit to Egypt. While the Oriental peoples deified this boy, the art of the Greek masters exalted him into an ideal figure with the expression of sentimental melancholy characteristic of the portraiture of this epoch. To perpetuate the memory of his favourite, Hadrian founded the town of Antinopolis. As he was constantly attended on his travels by a numerous retinue of architects and

builders, such an undertaking presented no difficulties. On the whole, the character of Hadrian was imperious and restlessly energetic, egoistic, and capricious. In literature his tastes were original, and he preferred among the Latins the ancient authors, such as Ennius and Cato to the more modern; in this, too, his influence on his own and the following age was considerable.

As his successor, Hadrian had selected L. Ceionius Commodus; after his adoption in the year 136 he received the name of L. Ælius Cæsar, and was at once despatched to Pannonia to take over the command of the four legions quartered there, while at the same time he assumed the consulship for the second time. We know that deputations came even from Asia to Pannonia to congratulate him. But he died before Hadrian on January 1st, 138, immediately after his return to Rome. In his place T. Aurelius Antoninus was adopted. He was the husband of a sister of Ælius Cæsar; having no sons he was obliged, in order to secure the succession, to adopt M. Annius Verus (later the Emperor Marcus Aurelius) and L. Verus, son of Ælius Cæsar. So violent was the opposition which this step aroused among Hadrian's next of kin that he was obliged to procure the removal of the consular L. Julius Ursus Servianus, now ninety years of age, and of his grandson, a youth of eighteen.



ÆLIUS CÆSAR

Chosen to succeed Hadrian, he predeceased the emperor, dying after his return to Rome from the East.

Hadrian died of dropsy on July 10th, 138, at Baiæ, the famous health resort on the Campanian coast. Antoninus caused the body to be burnt with due solemnities at Puteoli in the villa which had formerly belonged to Cicero, but he had great difficulty in prevailing upon the senate to grant the customary honours. The ashes of the deified Hadrian were deposited later in the magnificent mausoleum which he had built across the Tiber, now known as the Castle of St. Angelo.

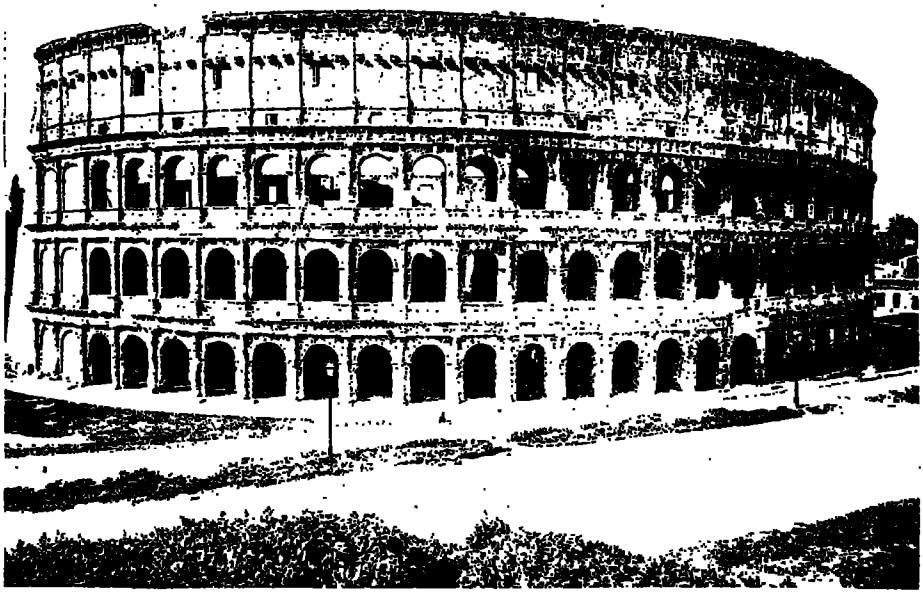
While Hadrian had avoided war for political reasons, keeping at the same time a firm hand on soldiers and generals, and insisting on full and accurate reports, his successor, T. Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus "Pius," who at the time of his accession had reached his fifty-second year, was by his mild and equable temperament strongly inclined to peace. His family was sprung from Nemausus, but had for two generations enjoyed senatorial rank, and had acquired large estates in Italy. He had held the consulship in the year 120, and had later been one of the four consulars to whom Hadrian entrusted the supervision and judicial control of the Italian municipia.

After his proconsulship in Asia Antoninus returned to Italy. During the twenty-three years of his imperial rule he scarcely left Italy, although on the Danube and in the east troubles were brewing which caused his successors much difficulty. The frontier feuds he left to his provincial governors to fight out. In Britain a second wall was built south of Hadrian's, and named after Antoninus. On the advanced frontier of Upper Germany and Rhætia a similar boundary wall or *limes* was erected. In Africa the fighting which had broken out with the turbulent Moors along the whole frontier rendered it necessary to strengthen the forces in that quarter. In addition to reinforcements from Spain, for which employment was found in Tingitana,

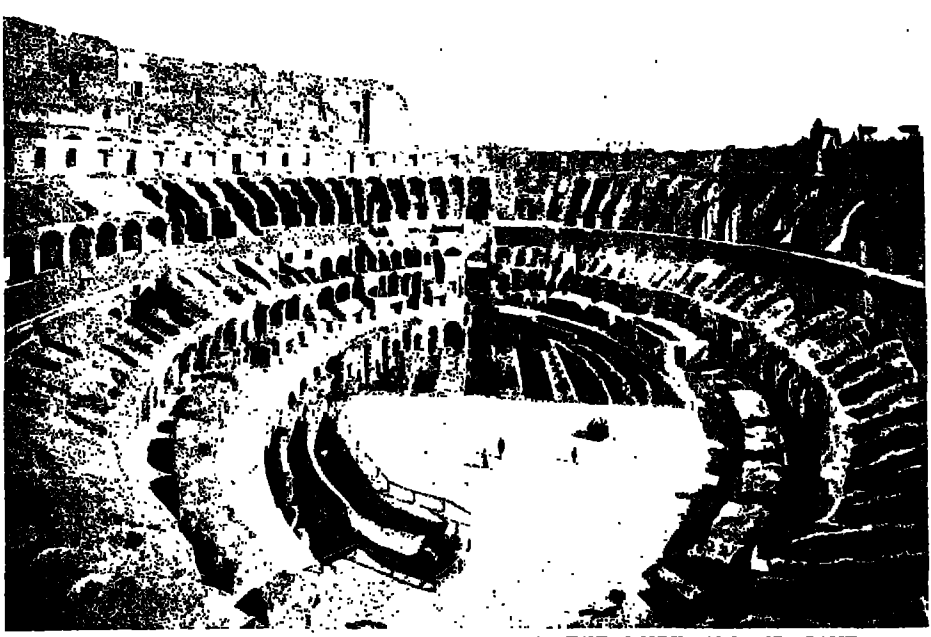


ANTONINUS PIUS AND FAUSTINA

Hadrian's successor ruled peacefully for twenty-three years. The beautiful Temple of Faustina, of which considerable remains still exist, was built by him in memory of his wife, who was a disgrace to her sex.



THE MOST IMPOSING VIEW OF THE COLOSSEUM



THE INTERIOR, SHOWING THE ARENA, AND THE UNDERGROUND CAVES

The Colosseum typifies ancient Rome, as St. Peter's does the modern city. Known as the Flavian Amphitheatre, it was built in the reign of Vespasian, and was long the scene of gladiatorial combats and fights with wild beasts. Capable of accommodating 80,000 spectators, each class had its special part of the mighty building set apart, the imperial benches and those of the vestals being on the first stage, and the common people on the topmost. Faced with white marble, it was one of the finest structures the world has ever seen, and even in its ruin it remains a majestic monument of the builder's art.

TWO VIEWS OF ROME'S MOST WONDERFUL BUILDING

troops were also despatched to Cæsariensis from Germany, from Pannonia, and even from Syria, until in 150 B.C., after a struggle of several years' duration, peace seemed firmly established.

In the provinces of the interior, proconsular Africa, Narbonensis, Southern Spain, this period of peace, which lasted for fifty years, witnessed a vigorous growth of municipal institutions and a rapid extension of Roman civilisation. This is attested by architectural remains. Meanwhile, the emperor resided on his estates, his favourite one being that of Lorium, near the twelfth milestone on the Via Aurelia, and enjoyed the delights of a country life. For this reason, and also because he observed with painful precision the ritual of the Roman state religion, he was by partial critics compared in wisdom to the old Sabine king, Numa Pompilius. But it is evident from the letters of the African orator and imperial tutor, Cornelius Fronto, that life at the court was parsimonious and not a little tedious. The intellectual activity of the time was no longer controlled and inspired by political circles, as under Julius Cæsar and Augustus, and even under Trajan and Hadrian; literature was becoming divorced from politics both in Athens and in Alexandria, where the pulse of intellectual life beat strongest.



THE FIRST CO-EMPERORS OF ROME
Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the adopted sons of the child'ess Antoninus, were the first emperors to share a dual sovereignty. The one was celebrated as a philosopher and the other a philanderer.



THE YOUNGER FAUSTINA
Wife of Marcus Aurelius and daughter of the elder Faustina, she was a true daughter of her mother.

When, in 161, Pius succumbed to an illness contracted by eating Alpine cheese, he was succeeded by his adopted sons, M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Verus, the latter having been chosen to share the functions and title of emperor: the first instance of a dual sovereignty. M. Aurelius was forty years of age at the time of his accession; an earnest man, whose leisure was devoted to philosophical studies, of which his book "To Himself," written in the Greek language, is the fruit, and whose chief aim was the conscientious discharge of his duties as emperor. L. Verus took matters far less seriously. It was consistent with the stoic views of M. Aurelius, but it was none the less a sin against the state, that he allowed first his worthless adopted brother and later his still more worthless son to succeed to the government. The internal administration was continued on the lines laid down by Hadrian; but externally a storm broke out in this reign which marked the beginning of a new era for Italy and a great part of the empire.

In the east it was necessary to make war on the Parthians, as they had taken advantage of their ascendancy in Armenia to overrun Syria also. In the year 162 L. Verus was despatched to the east, and the mobilisation of troops on a large scale was begun in that quarter. Forces from the Lower Rhine and the Danube received orders for the Euphrates, and the Italian fleets had to convey the drafts to Seleucia Pieria, the harbour of Antioch. But the bulk of the work fell to the lieutenants of Verus while he preferred to hold his court at Antioch. After Armenia and the districts on the Mesopotamian border had been subjugated, the Tigris was crossed; and Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the free Greek towns of the Parthian kingdom, were annexed. The booty taken was considerable. The district of Osroene, with its capital Edessa, was permanently occupied, and the Roman supremacy firmly established in Armenia. After four

years the war came to an end, and both emperors enjoyed, in 166, a splendid triumph at Rome.

War, however, had already broken out on the Danube, which, owing to the fighting in the east, had been left exposed. Along the whole course of the river the tribes, yielding no doubt to pressure from behind, were in motion, swarming into the Roman provinces and threatening Italy from the Alps. They laid siege to Aquileia and took Opitergium (now Oderzo). In all haste the generals who had distinguished themselves against the Parthians were despatched to raise new levies and restore the northern frontier. For the first time for many years Italy itself had to furnish recruits, and two new legions were formed, to which at first the title of Concordia was given in honour of the two emperors; later they were known as the Italian legions. Meanwhile, Upper Italy and the Cis-Alpine district were united under one government; this was important as determining their future organisation.



MARCUS AURELIUS AND FAUSTINA WITH THE GODDESS ROMA
Reproduced from a beautiful bas-relief preserved in the Villa Albani at Rome.

To make the situation worse, the troops returning from the east had brought the plague with them; thousands succumbed to it, and the effects were felt even in the next generation. Owing to the cost of transportation from provinces so remote as Africa and Egypt, a scarcity of money was beginning to be felt. The expedient was therefore adopted of enrolling on the spot, without regard to the consequences, all who were capable of military service. Whereas formerly the possession of the Roman franchise, or, at all events, the first step towards it, the Latin *jus*, had been a necessary condition of service in the legion, the requisite qualifications were now conferred at the moment of enlistment by special dispensation of the emperor. This measure recalls that of Marius, 270 years before. The result was that the army corps on the Danube were composed entirely of barbarians. As these legions constituted more than a third of the imperial army, the preponderating influence in politics belonged henceforth to the Illyrian districts. Of the thirty legions, later increased to thirty-three, twelve were quartered in the vicinity of the Danube, nine, and later eleven, were in the provinces of the east, and four on the Rhine.

Both emperors went to the front. After the death of L. Verus, in the year 169, at Altinum (near Venice), Marcus was left in sole command. He established his headquarters at the Pannonian fortresses of Vindobona, Carnuntum and Brigetio, successively falling back in winter on the less exposed position of Sirmium. By the time the Alps had been cleared of



THE EMPEROR COMMODUS AS A VICTORIOUS GLADIATOR, WEARING HIS LION'S SKIN IN IMITATION OF HERCULES

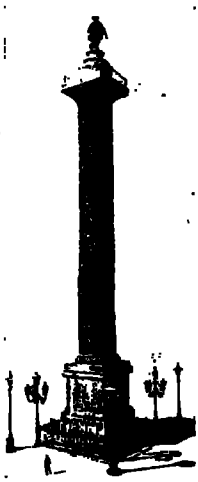
From the painting by E. H. Blashfield, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement et Cie.

the enemy, and the line of the Danube recovered, the theatre of war extended from Castra Regina (Regensburg) as far as the modern Transylvania. The Roman armies suffered considerable loss, especially in officers of high rank. By the year 172 the Germanic tribes had been reduced, but it was not till 175 that the Sarmatian tribes, which included the Iazyges, were finally subjugated. The emperor now assigned settlements in the devastated provinces of the frontier to entire nations. This measure, which was repeated in Dacia and Pannonia more than once in the following ten years, was useful as mitigating the antagonism existing between the various races under Roman sway. The attempt to check the depopulation of Italy by establishing barbarians there, notably at Ravenna, as a peasantry bound to the soil, failed utterly owing to the intractable nature of these people. It was necessary either to exterminate or to expel them; the contrast between the home of an ancient civilisation and the frontier regions with their thin veneer of Roman culture was here strikingly displayed.



A SECOND NERO
Marcus was blamed for letting his unworthy son, Commodus, whose portrait we give, succeed him.

The war on the Danube came to a premature conclusion owing to the fact that the governor of Syria, Avidius Cassius, had been deceived by a false report of the death of Marcus Aurelius, and had proclaimed himself emperor in the east; personal antagonism seems to have played some part in the affair, for the emperor, busied with his philosophy in his Pannonian winter quarters, was by no means universally popular. When Marcus took the field in person Avidius Cassius was speedily abandoned by his adherents and slain in 175.



THE AURELIAN COLUMN

Marcus returned to Rome and appointed his unworthy son Commodus to be co-regent. In the year 178 he returned to the Danube with his son, as disturbances had again broken out in that quarter of the empire. The emperor now proposed to cross the Danube and to occupy the country on the further banks, though he had previously been content to maintain a neutral zone beyond the frontier. But before Marcus could carry out these plans he was taken ill in Vindobona and died on March 17th, 180. Commodus assumed the imperial power. He contented himself with a merely formal conquest and returned to Rome in the course of the year 180. The young man was fond of physical exercise, and sanctioned a public festival in honour of himself as the Roman Hercules; in other respects, he was idle and licentious, in fact, a second Nero. The government was at first in the hands of the prefects of the guard, Tarrutenius Paternus and Perennis. The former, who was a capable officer, fell a victim to the intrigues of his colleague in the year 183; Perennis was the victim of a mutiny two years later. From that time onwards Cleander governed. He was a Phrygian slave, who had been brought to Rome and had been freed by Marcus Aurelius; Commodus advanced him to the position of chief chamberlain, and gave him command of the guard with two others. But three years later, in 189, Rome was threatened with famine and Cleander was abandoned to the fury of the populace. The greatest influence was now exercised by an Egyptian, Eclectus, who was chamberlain, and by Marcia, a concubine of the emperor, who acted in close concert.

Reckless expenditure soon produced a considerable deficit, but this fact in no way checked the emperor's profligacy. He appeared in public as a gladiator, naturally with due precautions; Commodus gained the victor's prize no fewer than 735 times. His relations, and all officials of high rank were in constant peril of death by poison or the sword. However, he continued to rule for thirteen years. Commodus fell a victim to a conspiracy, plotted by Marcia, Eclectus, and the prefect of the guard, whom he had threatened. He was strangled on New Year's Eve, 193, by a gladiator, hired for the purpose.

A SCENE OF ROMAN ORGIE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE DECADENCE
From the painting by Thomas Couture in the Louvre.



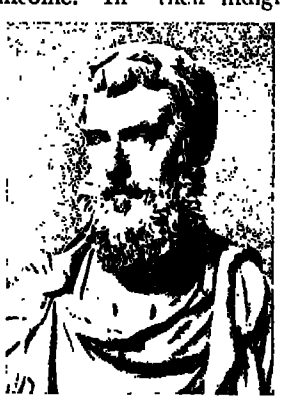
THE PRÆTORIAN EMPERORS

ROME UNDER THE POWER OF THE ARMY

THE PRÆTORIAN GUARD AS KING-MAKERS

DURING the next ninety years the average length of reign was four years. The morning after the murder of Commodus, P. Helvius Pertinax, prefect of the guard, and colleague of Commodus in the consulate, was saluted emperor.

Pertinax was the son of a wood merchant of Alba Pompeia in Liguria; he had done such good military service under Marcus Aurelius that he had been promoted to the consulate, and afterwards to the important posts of governor of Mœsia, Dacia, Syria, and Britain. He was advanced in years and of unassuming character, and in general he looked upon himself as an agent appointed by the senate to perform the duties of the highest office in the empire. He would allow no special honour to be shown his wife, and even desired to keep his private property distinct from the emperor's income. In the provinces, however, his own elevation was publicly celebrated, and to some degree that of his wife and his son. Pertinax attempted to abolish abuses, to relieve financial distress, and to restore discipline among the troops quartered in Rome. In consequence he lost the support of the Prætorian guards, to whom Commodus had shown special favour. Their commander, Æmilius Lætus, also considered himself slighted. Consequently the soldiers mutinied, and on March 28th, 193, Pertinax was slain after a reign of eighty-seven days.



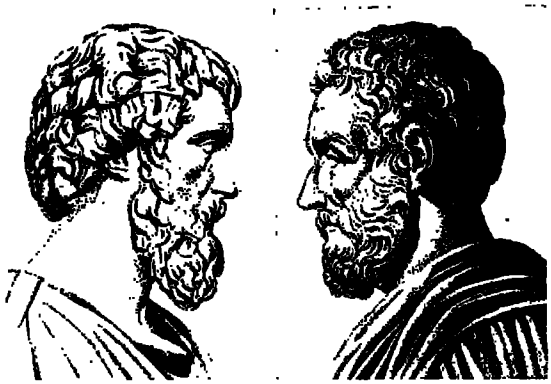
THE EMPEROR PERTINAX
Would have been a wise and just ruler, but the Prætorian guard, which had elected him, disapproving of his policy, after eighty-seven days, mutinied and killed him.

The Prætorian guard carried their audacity to the point of putting up the empire at auction. The consular M. Didius Severus Julianus offered 6,200 drachmæ per soldier, and outbid the city prefect Sulpicianus. Julianus came from Mediolanum. Like Pertinax, he had passed through the usual official career; he had been legatus legionis in Mogontiacum, imperial governor in Belgica, Dalmatia, and Lower Germany, and pro-consul in Africa. He now became emperor by the will of the prætorians. We have an admirable account of these occurrences by the senator, Dion Cassius; there is also the more rhetorical history of Herodian, who had no access to official circles. Dion and Herodian both wrote in Greek.

But the expectations of both sides proved false. Pertinax had been highly respected in the provinces, where he was regarded as a capable officer and governor. When the armies in the provinces heard of the scandalous proceedings at the capital their indignation knew no bounds. The events which had followed on the death of Nero were repeated. The soldiers recognised that the government lay really in their hands; but as each of the great army corps had its own candidate for emperor, they proclaimed their respective generals elected—D. Clodius Albinus in Britain, L. Septimius Severus in Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria. Of these three, the last-named was an Italian by birth, from the town of Aquinum. The other two were Africans; Septimius Severus came from Leptis, Albinus from Hadrumetum. All three had risen through the military and civil service to the great offices they held. Albinus was the most distinguished of them, but distinction did not now imply pre-eminence. Septimius Severus commanded the most powerful

army; he was also in the more immediate neighbourhood of Italy, and he at once began his march upon the capital city.

The prætorian troops professed themselves ready to defend their emperor; but they had become so effeminate as to be utterly unfit for real warfare. They marched out with a large band of camp followers, to whom they left all the work of entrenchment, and the hardy Illyrian legions of Severus met with practically no serious resistance. An attempt at interference on the part of the senate came to nothing; their ambassador, Vespronius Candidus, the consular, had made himself very unpopular with the soldiers when governor of Dacia at an earlier period. The proscription issued by the senate against Septimius Severus was equally ineffectual. Rome was captured by the legions, and Didius Severus Julianus was slain after two months of power.



DIDIUS JULIANUS AND CLODIUS ALBINUS

At the death of Pertinax different sections of the army declared for different emperors. Julianus was elected in Rome, Albinus in Britain, Severus in Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria.

Septimius Severus Triumphs

After Septimius Severus had thus secured himself in possession of the government, he came to an agreement with Clodius Albinus, granting him the title of Cæsar, and handing over the western provinces to his independent charge. An important precedent for the future was thus set up. Septimius Severus found that it was necessary, first of all, to subdue Pescennius Niger, who had already established himself in Byzantium. The siege of Byzantium lasted for three years, and continued even after the defeat of Niger's army in Asia Minor and the death of the pretender himself, who had finally made common cause with the Parthians in 196. Byzantium was razed to the ground upon its capture, a step which was afterwards bitterly regretted, as the straits were thereby laid open to barbarian inroads. Severus was obliged to bring the Parthian War to an abrupt conclusion, as affairs in the west were urgently demanding his attention. Clodius Albinus enjoyed the confidence and goodwill of the senate to a much greater extent than Severus, who shrank from no means by which he could attain his ends; a conspiracy against him was rigorously suppressed.

Hitherto Severus had posed as the avenger of Pertinax; he now proclaimed himself the official son of Marcus Aurelius and brother of Commodus. He gave the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to his son Bassianus, on whom he also conferred the dignity of Cæsar. He thus made himself the legal successor of the Antonines and of Commodus, who had been overthrown largely through the efforts of the senate. Leaving a number of legions to guard Italy, Severus marched with the Illyrian and Mœsian legions through Noricum and Rhœtia upon Gaul, where Albinus had collected his troops, the legions of Britain, the Spanish troops of occupation, and the Gallic contingents; the army of the Rhine



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND HIS WIFE JULIA DOMNA

Severus commanded the strongest forces and headed for Rome, where Julianus was defeated and killed. Albinus was given the western provinces, but later Severus crushed him, as well as the supporters of Pescennius Niger. Severus died at York in the year 211.

declared for Severus. A decisive battle was fought at Lugdunum, in which Albinus was defeated, in 197. The capital of Gaul was sacked, the provinces were subjugated, and the adherents of Albinus were everywhere hunted down and slain.

Severus owed his elevation and his triumph to the Illyrian soldiery, which had been a deciding factor in military affairs since the wars under Marcus Aurelius. They were barbarians, in conscious antagonism to such centres of civilisation as Italy, Narbonensis, Noricum, and Spain, which had hitherto given tone to the empire and had furnished recruits for the Prætorian guard. This guard, as previously under Vitellius, was now disbanded, and a new corps was formed, in which the flower of the Illyrian legions was incorporated; at the same time, the "imperial horse" (*equites singulares*), selected individually from the mounted auxiliary troops, became of great importance. These forces were thought insufficient; a legion was stationed in Italy on garrison duty, at Albanum near Rome, where once Alba Longa had stood; where, later, the Roman grandees, and finally the emperor himself, had each their "Albanum." Italy was treated as though it were a conquered province, and the preponderating influence of the Illyrian districts became manifest.

Severus Organising his Empire

Severus showed great energy as a ruler. After he had conquered the Parthians in a second war, Mesopotamia was reorganised as a province; later on, he went also to Britain, where the tribes to the north of the wall were in a state of continual turbulence. He reorganised the system of provincial administration in every part of the empire. His object was to diminish the size of individual districts, in Syria and Britain, for instance, where the commanding generals had been previously too powerful, as shown by their recent edicts. For the same reasons provincial governors were drawn from the equestrian rather than from the senatorial class; succeeding emperors followed this example. The African countrymen of Severus obtained great influence.

Posthumous Honour to Hannibal

He looked upon himself as a cosmopolitan Roman, and also as one of Hannibal's countrymen, and raised monuments to that general. It is related that the emperor's sister spoke nothing but Punic in the family, and never succeeded in mastering Latin, so that Severus sent her home to Africa. The emperor's brother, Septimius Geta, governed the province of Dacia for some time; and one of his successors, Mevius Surus, seems also to have been a relative. The all-powerful prefect of the guards, P. Fulvius Plautianus, became the father-in-law of the heir to the throne, but afterwards brought about his overthrow. Together with the Africans, the Syrians also took an important place at court, as Severus had married a Syrian for his second wife, Julia Domna from Emesa, who had great influence over him.



THE ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

This arch was erected 203 A.D., as a memorial of Severus' successful campaigns in the east. It also bore the names of his sons Caracalla and Geta, but after Caracalla murdered his brother he erased his name from the arch and substituted in the fourth line a bombastic reference to himself. The alteration is easily detected.

Septimius Severus died at York (Eboracum) during the military operations in Britain in the year 211; he bequeathed the empire to his two sons, who had been appointed Augusti during his lifetime: M. Aurelius Antoninus, who was nicknamed Caracalla, from a Gallic mantle which he had made fashionable in Rome,

and P. Septimius Geta. These two could not agree, and eleven months after the death of Septimius, Caracalla had Geta killed. The uproar caused by this deed was quelled by rich and timely presents to the troops. The jurist Papinian, who was at that time prefect of the Prætorian guard, was executed because he hesitated to declare the act of fratricide justifiable. Caracalla followed his father's methods in the favour he showed to the soldiers; but he utterly demoralised them as regarded discipline. He was a poor man of business and no general, as became apparent when he took the field to defend Rhætia against the new Germanic confederacy of the Alemanni in 213 A.D.

Caracalla Kills his Brother

He was also obliged to carry on a campaign on the frontier of the Lower Danube, and finally against the Parthians. The last war dragged on at great length, as neither the emperor nor his troops displayed any military capacity. This fact led to the murder of Caracalla at the instigation of his præfectus prætorio, M. Opellius Macrinus, on April 8th, 217, between Edessa and Carrhæ. His stepmother, Julia Domna, who had come with him as far as Antioch, committed suicide.





CARACALLA AND HIS WIFE PLAUTILLA

This son of Severus was a poor degraded creature, who, though already married to the daughter of the prefect of the Prætorian guard, publicly married his own mother, and murdered his brother Geta. He built the famous baths, and in due course was assassinated.

One measure of Caracalla's proved of the utmost importance in the internal development of the empire. Hitherto, the separate provinces of which the empire consisted had been in possession of widely differing privileges. They held either the Roman, Latin, or "peregrine" rights, according to which they stood in different relations to one another. Thus, for instance, Gauls and Spaniards could obtain the office of senator much more quickly than Africans and Asiatics or even Pannonians; the first Egyptian senator appears under Caracalla. The "Antonine decree," which now remodelled these conditions, was based upon the principle of conferring the same privileges upon each separate unit of the empire; reasons of finance were also taken into consideration when Caracalla conferred Roman citizenship upon every community. It took, however, some decades before this measure was carried out. Even then many remained excluded, as, for instance, the majority of the Egyptian peasantry; whereas the Greek-speaking towns, even in Egypt, obtained the Roman rights. Similarly, both European and Asiatic Greeks were now proud to call themselves "Romans," while since the second century they had only had the title of "Roman citizens."

Caracalla's successor, M. Opellius Macrinus, was born in Cæsarea in Mauretania, and had been advanced in office by Plautianus on account of his legal abilities, until he had become one of the prefects of the guard under Caracalla. He concluded the operations against the Parthians which the murder of Caracalla had interrupted. The highest official of the empire was thus of equestrian, and not of senatorial, rank, and obtained his position because no member of the royal house had shown any fitness for it. However, the dynastic principle had taken root, and the Syrian soldiery were particularly anxious to shake off the heavy yoke of discipline. The sister of Julia Domna, Mæsa, who had withdrawn to Emesa, had two daughters, Soaemias and Mamæa. The former had a son, now fourteen years old, by a high dignitary named Varius Marcellus; this son was a priest of the sun-god Elagabalus, and was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers stationed in the neighbourhood; Macrinus was defeated near Antioch in 218, and slain with his son Diadumenianus in their flight.

An Emperor Introduces Sun-worship

The new emperor, who called himself M. Aurelius Antoninus, son of Caracalla and grandson of Severus, came to Rome,



Edwards

REMAINS OF THE IMMENSE BATHS OF CARACALLA NEAR THE APPIAN WAY

bringing with him the Syrian sun-worship in its most licentious form, while his grandmother looked after the affairs of state with the title of Augusta. The son of Mamæa and Gessius Marcianus was advanced to the position of joint regent and successor to the throne under the name of Marcus Aurelius Alexander. "Heliogabalus," as the emperor was soon called by a Roman confusion of names, carried his excesses too far, and was deposed in 222.





THE EMPERORS MACRINUS & ALEXANDER SEVERUS
The former had a very brief reign before he was slain, and the degraded youth "Heliogabalus" began his three years' imperial orgie, to be followed in turn by Alexander Severus, who was only a child of thirteen when elected and a man of twenty-six when deposed.

Alexander was only thirteen and a half years of age; he reigned under the guidance of his grandmother and his mother, a state council of senators also taking an important share in the government. In the year 229, the historian Dion Cassius held the post of consul for the second time, as the emperor's colleague; after his retirement, he wrote at Capua a history of Rome up to his own times. This was also the time of the famous jurists, Ulpian, Paulus, and Modestinus, who exercised a controlling influence upon the legislature and the executive. The more important magistracies at Rome were entirely in their hands, and the code of civil law received constant additions from their authoritative decisions or from their opinions delivered as *juris consulti*. So much deference was also shown to the special systems of the provinces, especially where Greek jurisprudence had taken root, that the provincial codes began to assume a distinctly cosmopolitan appearance.

The women in power proved to be satisfactory rulers in times of peace and made their court a centre of intellectual life, but showed themselves, of course, incapable of meeting the exigencies of war. Alexander Severus, to give him his imperial title, was obliged to turn his attention to Roman

interests on the Euphrates frontier, where the Parthian empire had been displaced by the later Persian kingdom, whose new-grown power destroyed the ascendancy of Rome. Before any decisive result could be attained the emperor was forced to hasten to the Rhine, where the German races were pressing more and more closely upon the frontier. Here the required display of energy was again wanting; a general of high repute, C. Julius Verus Maximinus revolted, and overthrew Alexander Severus and his mother in their camp at Mogontiacum in 235.

Collapse of the Imperial System

The imperial system, which had hitherto prevailed, collapsed. A bitter struggle to the death now begins, with no ruling dynasty in existence; for a long period there was no emperor who reigned more than two years or who died a natural death.

Maximinus was of Thracian origin, and had risen from the ranks; he was now made emperor, without having filled any one of the higher state offices. He was a capable soldier, brought the war on the Rhine to a prosperous issue, and then hastened to the Danube, where great danger was threatening the province of Dacia. How far the great migrations which had first attracted attention under Marcus Aurelius had advanced was shown in the case of the Goths, who had reached the Black Sea, and had definitely established themselves on its northern coast.





THE EMPERORS MAXIMINUS AND BALBINUS

After the deposition of Alexander Severus the imperial system, which had hitherto prevailed, collapsed, and emperors were for a long time to come mere creatures of a day, none of their reigns exceeding two years.

This district included the imperial provinces of Lower Mœsia and Dacia. The latter province possessed regular communication, by the Ojtoz pass, with such commercial ports on the Black Sea as Olbia and Tyras, corresponding in importance to the modern Odessa. When the Goths had seized this point, they threatened Dacia from the east, while other races, as the Asding Vandals, established themselves to the north of the province. Maximinus obtained several successes, enough to gain the victorious title of Dacicus. But he had not time to go to Rome, and therefore took up his winter quarters in Pannonia, as Marcus Aurelius had done before him, where the towns of Sirmium and Siscia (the modern Sissec) were then important centres.

The senate, however, declared against Maximinus, as was reasonable enough, if their conception of the empire be taken into account. The aged proconsul of Africa, M. Antonius Gordianus, was proclaimed emperor by his province and was recognised by the senate. He, however, with his son and co-regent Gordian II., was, in 238, defeated by the legion stationed in Numidia, which remained true to Maximinus. Thus there was an open breach between the senate and the army. The senate caused Italy to be put into a state of defence by a regency of twenty senators. The importance of Mediolanum and Aquileia to Upper Italy is seen in the fact that they became centres of enlistment and manufacturing arsenals. Aquileia prepared to oppose the entrance of Maximinus into Italy. The reserves were collected at Ravenna, and communications were kept open by the fleet. Maximinus marched forward from Emona, and besieged Aquileia. When it was seen, however, that the town would be hard to take, and want began to appear among the soldiers, the troops lost patience; the members of the second Parthian legion were especially anxious about their wives and children, whom they had left behind in Albanum. The emperor and his son, whom he had appointed co-regent, were defeated in 238. The history of Herodian goes as far as these events. For the history of the succeeding period up to the time of Diocletian, we are referred to the "Scriptores historiæ Augustæ," a collection of biographies of the emperors, some of which are merely rhetorical fabrications.

The Defeat of Maximinus

Under these circumstances, inscriptions, coins, and Egyptian papyri become of considerable importance as throwing light upon the history of the times.

The senate had already elected two Imperatores from among its members, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus and D. Cœlius Calvinus Balbinus; at the demand of the troops, the grandson of the elder Gordian, who was also the nephew of the younger, was appointed Imperator as Gordian III. The two senatorial emperors were regarded with but little sympathy by the troops, partly because the Numidian legion had been disbanded on account of its goodwill towards the two first Gordiani, the soldiers being sent to Rhætia and embodied in the legions there stationed.



Gordianus and his son. Gordianus II., who acted as co-regent.



Trebonianus Gallus and Gallienus.

A GROUP OF BRIEF EMPIRE-RULERS

The elder Gordianus and his son Gordianus II. were recognised for a short time but were soon defeated, while Gallus, a Perusian, had got himself proclaimed emperor only a little while before the plague carried him off, and Gallienus, son of Valerian, was assassinated.

The wars both against the Carpi and the Goths, and also against the Persians were about to be renewed, when Pupienus and Balbinus were overthrown by the soldiery at Rome after their government had lasted about three months. Gordianus was only fourteen years of age, and the præfectus prætorio, C. Furius Timesitheus, acted as regent; the emperor married his daughter in the year 241. In the following year the Goths and the Carpi were driven out of Dacia. The war against the Persians was then begun, and continued with unbroken success until the death of the prefect Timesitheus in 243.

The new præfectus prætorio, the Arab, M. Julius Philippus, could not agree with the young emperor. Gordianus was also anxious to get rid of him, but Philippus had him murdered in 244 before this desire could be accomplished. He then made peace with the Persians and betook himself to Rome, where he was recognised by the senate, his son becoming co-regent. In the year 248 the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of the city of Rome was celebrated amid great rejoicing.

Meanwhile, the other divisions of the army were by no means satisfied with the state of affairs. When war with the Goths broke out again the troops in Mœsia proclaimed their general, Trajanus Decius, as emperor. He marched to Italy, defeated and killed the Arab emperor Philippus at Verona, and afterwards overthrew his son in Rome in 249. After Decius had appointed his two sons to be co-regents he hastened to finish the war against the Goths, who had already overrun the Balkan districts. Decius forced them to retreat, but fell in fighting against them at Abrittus, three miles south of Adamklisse in Mœsia, his elder son being slain with him in 251. The governor of Mœsia, C. Bibius Trebonianus Gallus, a Perusian, now had himself proclaimed emperor, the younger Decius remaining co-regent, until the plague carried him off.

The war with the Goths continued. The governor of Mœsia, M. Æmilius Æmilianus, obtained a victory over them, and was proclaimed emperor; he defeated Gallus and his son Volusianus in

Italy in 253. But three months later, a friend of Decius, the consular P. Licinius Valerianus, was proclaimed emperor in Rhætia, where a strong army corps was then stationed. In this affair the Numidian soldiers, whose legion had been disbanded sixteen years previously, took a considerable share. This legion was now reconstituted. Valerian appointed his son Gallienus as co-regent; the son of Gallienus was also made Cæsar and co-regent. But Valerian was not fortunate in other respects. On every side the nations beyond the frontier were pressing upon the provinces, on the Rhine and Danube, in Africa and in the east. In Germany the imperial boundaries were broken down, and Dacia was seized by the Goths and their allies: Syria and Cappadocia were occupied by the Persians. While Gallienus went to Gaul, to hold the line of the Rhine, Valerian undertook the war against the Persians. He suffered a defeat, and was taken prisoner by the Persians and died in captivity in 260.

Valerian Dies in Captivity

Upon the receipt of this news in the west a time of general confusion ensued. On every side were incursions of the barbarians; a profusion of edicts increased the disorder; in Italy and Africa plague was raging. When Gallienus went to the Danube to crush the rebel leaders in that quarter Gaul broke away from the empire, with the object of forming an independent empire in alliance with Spain and Britain. The Goths were in possession of Dacia and the Black Sea; they sent expeditions from Taurica over to the opposite coast of Cappadocia, or southwards to Greece and Asia Minor through the Hellespont, which had remained unprotected since the destruction of Byzantium. In the east Palmyra had become the centre of an empire which extended to Further Asia and Egypt, under Odœnathus, who, however, recognised the supremacy of Gallus, and was appointed *dux orientis* by him. Gallienus, who was a feeble, though not an utterly senseless ruler, finally took up his permanent headquarters in Upper Italy; from there he checked the advance of the Alemanni or let things take their course.

The Empire in the Throes of Dissolution

The Alemanni advanced as far south as Ravenna, the Franks plundered Tarraco, and Antioch was taken by the Persians. The empire was in the throes of dissolution. During this time Gallienus made a rule which led to important consequences—that senators, and even men of equestrian origin, should be excluded from military commands. These posts were consequently filled by men who had risen from the ranks, and who exercised a material influence upon the future development of affairs.

Aureolus, one of the best generals of Gallienus, declared against the emperor, who besieged him in Milan; the result was a conspiracy among his officers, who determined to depose the emperor and to set up one of themselves, M. Aurelius Claudius. After both Gallienus and Aureolus had been killed the new emperor was recognised throughout the empire, with the exception of Gaul and Britain. It was chiefly the generals of Illyrian origin who undertook the task of re-establishing the empire; they relied mainly on the forces of Illyricum and Upper Italy, the frontiers of which included Rhætia and Noricum up to the Danube. Central and Southern Italy with Africa formed a separate sphere of civilisation. In the west, Gaul, Spain, and Britain stood aloof under their own emperors, while the east was entirely dissociated from the empire. Claudius first defeated the Alemanni, who had advanced from Rhætia into North Italy, on Lake Garda, and drove them back after the inhabitants had suffered severely from their marauding raids; even at the present day in South Tyrol buried pots are found containing coins of this period, which had been thus hidden on account of the Alemanni, the owners being afterwards unable to recover their property.

Buried Treasure after 1,600 Years

The district round Lake Garda then became of importance, for the enemy did not hesitate to pass round Verona, and to push further westward into the district of Brixia. Claudius gained a second success against the Goths, who had advanced down the Balkan peninsula as far as Thessalonica. The emperor marched upon them from the west, so that the Goths were obliged to retreat; Claudius then defeated them at Naissus (the modern Nisch) and took numerous prisoners, whom he either enlisted or settled as colonists. When Claudius, the "conqueror of the Goths," died of the plague shortly afterwards in Sirmium his brother Quintillus was appointed emperor and

recognised as such by the senate in 270. Shortly afterwards, however, he abdicated in favour of L. Domitius Aurelianus, who was chosen by the majority in the army. Aurelian was first obliged to deal with a fresh incursion of the Alemanni.

In view of these repeated attacks, Rome itself seemed insecure, though the passes of the Apennines formed a strategical protection, like the Balkans in the east. Aurelian surrounded Rome with a defensive wall of vast extent, which was later to be of great importance. The emperor then proceeded to pacify the Goths. Dacia, which had been occupied by Trajan and where settled, after the manner of the "sacred spring" of the old Italici.

Aurelian transported the Roman population from the districts beyond the Danube to the "new Dacia," which he had constituted south of the Danube; he came to an agreement with the Goths and Vandals on the question of the frontier, and turned his attention to the east. The problem before him was to restore the unity of the empire. The kingdom of Palmyra was ruled by Zenobia (in the Palmyran tongue, Bathzebinah), the widow of Odœnathus, and by her son Vaballath Athenodorus, both of whom



PART OF THE AURELIAN WALL OF ROME, BUILT ABOUT 276 A.D.

Aurelian had a glorious reign of six years, and greatly improved the city—a considerable part of his walls still remain.

they had been established securely for twenty years, was handed over to them. He did not again attack the Alemanni in the agri decumates and on the frontiers of Rhætia, but they were to receive a permanent settlement, and to live in peaceful intercourse with their neighbours.

The plan would have been successful but for the many roving bands which, under leaders of their own choosing, persistently raided into North Italy and Gaul. About the middle of the third century Aventicum of the Helvetii was destroyed by the Alemanni; since that time they looked upon the eastern districts as a land open to colonisation, which they occupied and usurped the title of Augusti, in face of Aurelian's preparations. Aurelian sent Probus, who was afterwards emperor, to attack Egypt; he himself subdued Further Asia, then won a victory at Emesa and pressed on to Palmyra. Zenobia attempted flight and was taken prisoner [see page 1867]; her counsellor, the philosopher Longinus, was executed, and she herself was sent to Italy. Palmyra rose in revolt and was destroyed in consequence (272 and 273 A.D.). From this catastrophe the city never recovered, though the Byzantines built a castle there. The splendid ruins have remained standing in the oasis, together with numerous inscriptions, written

in Greek or in the Semitic dialect of the Palmyrans [see page 1865].

When Egypt had likewise been subdued opposition was confined to the Gallic dominion, where several emperors had ruled within a short time; they had their residence at Augusta Treverorum (Treves), which then rose to be one of the chief towns of the empire. But the Gallic power was already much shaken—on the one hand by the insubordination of the generals and the army, and on the other by a revolt of the Gallic peasants, who had united into a regular society, and received some measure of support from the barbarians. The freedom enjoyed by the German peasants came as a revelation to the Roman colonists, who were crushed by their heavy burdens under the empire, for the municipal officials, whose business it was to apportion the payment of taxes among the citizens, were in the habit of throwing the weight of taxes on the lower ranks of society. The Gallic emperor, C. Esuvius Tetricus (268–273), felt his position growing insecure, and made overtures to Aurelian; in consequence, Aurelian appeared in Gaul and took over the government in 274. Tetricus followed Aurelian to Italy, where he became a senator and spent the rest of his life in a position of dignity and respect.

Gallic Emperor as a Senator

Aurelian celebrated a splendid triumph in Rome; he took advantage of his presence in the city to do away with the persistent abuses that had grown up in connection with the Roman coinage; he had, in consequence, to repress a revolt of the workmen with much bloodshed; the mints were in part transferred to the provinces. Aurelian was inclined to regard force of arms as the means of settling even domestic difficulties; on the other hand, he assumed the title of "Lord and God," after the Oriental fashion, and the introduction of the court ceremonial peculiar to an eastern despotism was due chiefly to him. Aurelian also built in Rome the great temple to the sun god. This deity was of considerable importance in the struggle to found a monotheism upon the old polytheism; even Diocletian was accustomed to swear by "the great god Sol." The widespread worship of the god Mithra was only an offshoot of the sun-worship. All cults of this kind were spread to all parts of the world owing to the constant increase of communication between the east and the west on the part of soldiers, merchants, officials, and their retinues. Religious societies sprang up in increasing numbers, for neither the emotions nor the intellect found satisfaction in the ancient liturgical rites that constituted the essence of the state religion. In one kingdom, where there were no opposed political parties, religious strife became so intense among the people that the government was obliged to interfere.

Aurelian as "Lord and God"

The government allowed freedom of debate, but maintained the religion of Rome as the state worship, and therefore continued to support the worship of emperors. To this the Christians were entirely opposed; the veneration of stone images was also discordant with the spirit of Christianity. Philosophical discussion of these difficulties went on at Alexandria, where Greeks, Egyptians, and Jews met, and attempted to find some system which should be generally acceptable as embodying their several religious conceptions. A decisive change in Alexandrine thought took place about the beginning of the second century A.D. That was the period of Clement of Alexandria and of Origen, who were in communication even with the imperial court. Alexander Severus and the women of his family lent a ready ear to the discussion of subjects formerly unheard of in Roman society; the same remark applies to Philippus the Arab. Christian propaganda was highly successful in Africa, thanks to the efforts of Tertullian and Cyprian, the latter of whom was bishop of Carthage. As Tertullian informs us, Christians might then be found in every province of the empire and in every position of life. On the other hand, there were occasional periods of reaction, as under Maximinus the Thracian, who pursued a different policy on this question. Moreover, such thorough Romans as Decius and Valerian persecuted the Christian belief, as conflicting with the state religion. Public opinion was already beginning to follow the emperors, according as their attitude towards Christianity was friendly or the reverse.

The Sowing of Christian Thought

Christianity was continually gaining followers among the masses, on account of its mysterious doctrine of immortality, its rules enjoining charity and love for neighbours, and for other reasons, which, to the public mind, were as little capable

of rationalistic explanation as were the doctrines of the Roman priests, augurs and soothsayers. Religious development proceeds by its own laws, which human forces are inadequate to resist. There was, indeed, no lack of causes to help the growth of the faith. When the worship of the sun god became the official religion of Rome the Christians immediately substituted their own God as the "true sun"; on December 25th they celebrated, not the nativity of "the sun invincible" or of Mithra, but the nativity of "the Lord," and in this sense, they were able to keep "Sunday" as a general festival.

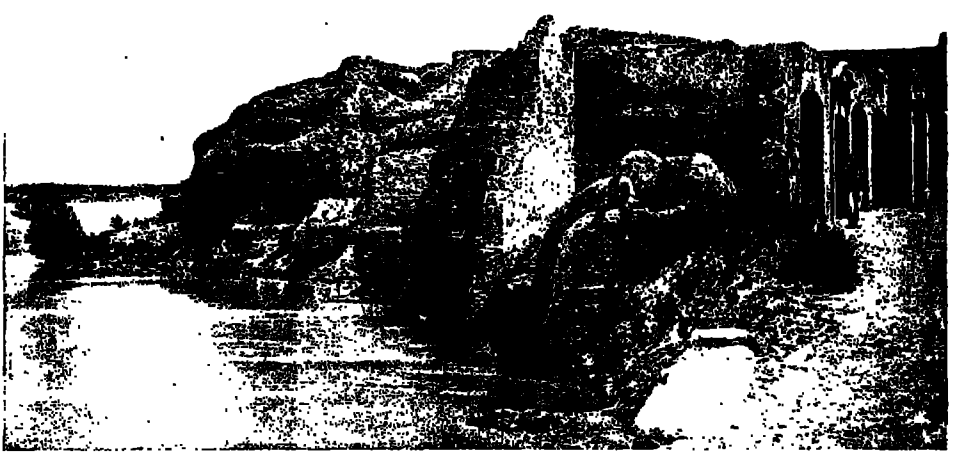
Murder of Tacitus

In the year 275, as he was on the point of making an expedition against the Persians, Aurelian perished near Byzantium, the victim of a conspiracy, which had been organised by his secretary. The senate named as his successor a man who claimed descent from the historian Cornelius Tacitus, M. Claudius Tacitus of Interamna in Umbria. Tacitus took the field against the Goths, who were plundering the district of Pontus. He defeated the enemy; shortly afterwards, in 276, he was murdered in Cappadocia by some officers who bore him a grudge. His brother, the præfectus prætorio, M. Annius Florianus, was proclaimed emperor in succession to Tacitus.

But M. Aurelius Probus, the Illyrian, who had distinguished himself under Aurelian, was proclaimed emperor by the Syrian legions. Florian could make no stand against him; he was betrayed by his own soldiers and killed at Tarsus. Probus had the murderers both of Aurelian and of Tacitus executed, and restored discipline. He then drove the Alemanni and the Franks out of Gaul, conquered the Burgundians and the Vandals in Rhætia, and settled thousands of barbarians on the frontier. After he had pacified the Goths, he was acclaimed as the "Restorer of Illyricum." Probus then crossed over to Asia Minor, where he cut off the plundering Isaurians from the zone of civilisation by settling veterans in the districts to act as frontier guards; he also took measures against the Persians. On his return Probus made some stay in the Danubian districts; to occupy his troops, he employed them in draining the marshes and planting vineyards, a procedure which made him very unpopular with the army.

After several abortive attempts in the east and the west the troops in Rhætia proclaimed M. Aurelius Carus as emperor; Probus met his death in Sirmium in 282. Following the custom of an earlier period, Carus appointed his sons Carinus and Numerianus to be Cæsars; to the first of these he entrusted the protection of the Gallic frontier, while he himself marched through Pannonia with Numerian against the Persians. He was so far victorious that the possession of Armenia and Mesopotamia, for which a perpetual and obstinate contest had been fought, seemed to be assured; but Carus was killed by a stroke of lightning as he was returning home. Numerian was proclaimed Augustus, but was murdered a month later.

The Soldiers Despise Useful Work



A RELIC OF EARLY ROME: REMAINS OF THE CELEBRATED HARBOUR OF OSTIA



CONSTANTINE AT THE BATTLE OF MILIRAN BRIDGE

The decisive battle of Constantine in his movement against the emperor Maxentius. Here he fought with the cross for his emblem. The victory established his supremacy, and with him the dawn of the new era for followers of Christianity.



THE RECONSTRUCTED EMPIRE

CONSTANTINE UNDER THE BANNER OF THE CROSS
PAGANISM'S LAST STRUGGLE WITH CHRISTIANITY

IN Italy, Carinus, who had also assumed the title of Augustus, held his own against his rival. But on November 17th, 284, the army of the East declared, not for Aper, but for an officer of the guard, who had come into prominence since the reign of Aurelian, C. Valerius Diocletianus. He crushed Aper in person without much ado. On the River Margus in Mœsia, not far from the junction of the Morava and the Danube, where there was a town called Margum, Carinus confronted Diocletian, who had marched upon that point from Gaul; Carinus won the battle, but was afterwards, in 285, slain by his own officers, who bore a personal grudge against him. Diocletian then came to an understanding with the leaders of the other factions, and thus obtained universal recognition, an unheard of event at that period.

Diocletian was in the prime of life when he began his reign. His family came from Dalmatia, and occupied a low position in society; but at an early period he became a member of the new imperial guard, the "protectores," which was a nursery for the generals and statesmen of the age, and accompanied the reigning emperor into every part of the empire, the affairs of which were continually becoming more difficult for one man to control. It was then that Diocletian conceived his plan of dividing the administration of the empire. He appointed his comrade M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus—generally known as Maximian—as co-regent, first with the dignity of Cæsar in 285, shortly afterwards with that of Augustus in 287. In the year 293 he added two other Cæsars to help him and his fellow Augustus in their labours.

Diocletian's Division of his Empire

The empire was thus divided into four principalities, over which Diocletian merely held supreme control; his authority was so great, a contemporary observes, that the other rulers looked up to him as to a father or a supreme god. Maximian was first obliged to quell the peasant rising in Gaul and to secure the frontiers. Diocletian, meanwhile, subdued the Persians and Saracens in the east, in order to restore security in that quarter. His residence, when he allowed himself a little ease, was Nicomedia in Bithynia, while Maximian resided partly in Aquileia, partly in Milan, preference being finally given to the latter town. The Cæsar whom Diocletian had chosen, C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus—known as Galerius—had his headquarters in Sirmium, whence the Danube and Balkan districts were controlled. The principal headquarters of the other Cæsar, M. Flavius Valerius Constantius—distinguished as Constantius, or Constantius Chlorus—was Augusta Treverorum (Treves) and also Eboracum (York), according as his presence was more especially needed on the Rhine or in Britain, which had long been under the government of two usurpers in succession, Carausius and Allectus. All these capitals of Rome were adorned with splendid buildings marking the beginning of a new period of architecture.

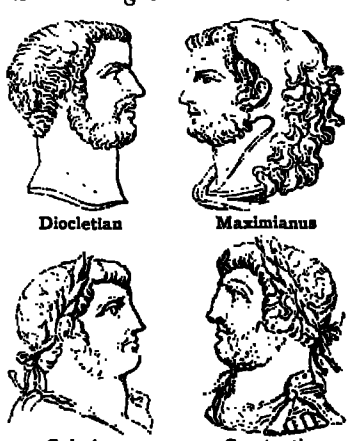
The Empire Ruled by Four Cæsars

All four rulers were sprung from the Illyrian provinces, which were then the kernel of the empire, and all four had risen through military service. Constantius, the only one who was not of low birth, had governed the province of Dalmatia under Carus; Galerius enjoyed the reputation of a bold and even reckless general. The two Augusti assumed additional titles from the gods, Diocletian taking the name "Jovius" and Maximian "Herculius"; two new legions that were formed on the Lower Danube were known by these titles. Moreover, the Cæsars were united to the Augusti by family ties; Constantius married Maximian's stepdaughter, Theodora, and Galerius Diocletian's

Relationships of the Four Emperors

daughter Valeria. In other respects also the connection between the emperors and the Cæsars was closely maintained; thus, Constantine, the son of Constantius, was educated at Diocletian's court. Augusti and Cæsars were to give one another mutual support, when necessary; thus, Maximian aided Constantius in his war against Allectus, in the year 296. Maximian then turned to Africa, in order to check the unruly frontier tribes.

Diocletian next reorganised the affairs of Egypt, whose peculiar position in the empire was abolished, and secured the southern boundary so thoroughly against the Blemmyes, that it remained peaceful for a long period. From Egypt, he was obliged to march against the Persians, who had overrun Armenia and Mesopotamia. The Cæsar Galerius, who had the chief command, lost a battle, for which Diocletian reprimanded him before his troops; however, the disaster was redeemed by a decisive victory. Not only was Armenia increased in extent, but the Tigris and some territory beyond it was acquired as a frontier, and the occupation was rendered permanent. Thus, not only was Valerian's defeat avenged, but a condition of affairs was established which endured for some time to come. We repeatedly meet with Galerius in Nicomedia, while Diocletian was directing the erection of his great buildings at Rome, Salonæ and elsewhere from his residence at Sirmium.



Diocletian — Maximianus — Galerius — Constantius

FOUR CÆSARS AT ONCE

Diocletian, a great and far-sighted organiser, divided the empire with three colleagues while remaining the supreme emperor, and great progress was made under the four Cæsars, Rome existing merely as the titular capital.

Diocletian proved himself to be an organiser of the first order. His division of the empire was made upon principles founded on experience gained during the period of threatening dissolution. During the last decade, the emperors had paid only passing visits to Rome, so that the guard there stationed was nothing more than a garrison. The senate ceased to exercise any influence on the conduct of affairs from the time the emperors began to come from the ranks of the army. On the other hand, Northern Italy was of great military importance, on account of the continual incursions of the barbarians; Milan was an excellent centre for operations on the Rhine or the Danube. Rome became, then, merely the theoretical capital of the empire that bore its name; the senate degenerated into a useless institution based on caste. A distinction was made between the city (urbs) and the district which it ruled and those parts of the empire ruled by the authorities in Milan; the one was known as the "urban" district, the other as the "Italian"; and thus the name Italy came to have a new political meaning. Rhætia on the north, Africa on the south and the islands, with "Italy" and the urban region, formed one administrative district, the control of which centred in Mediolanum (Milan). The country which had once been predominant sank to provincial position during the second half of the third century, and was rated as a province even for purposes of taxation. The following districts were constituted by Diocletian for administrative purposes: (1) Rhætia, (2) Venetia Histria, (3) Æmilia Liguria, (4) Alpes Cottiæ, (5) Flaminia Picenum, (6) Tuscia Umbria, (7) Campania Samnium, (8) Apulia Calabria, (9) Lucania Bruttii, (10) Corsica, (11) Sardinia, (12) Sicilia. In consequence of further division, the number of governmental departments, or provinciæ, amounted to sixteen a hundred years later, and afterwards to seventeen.

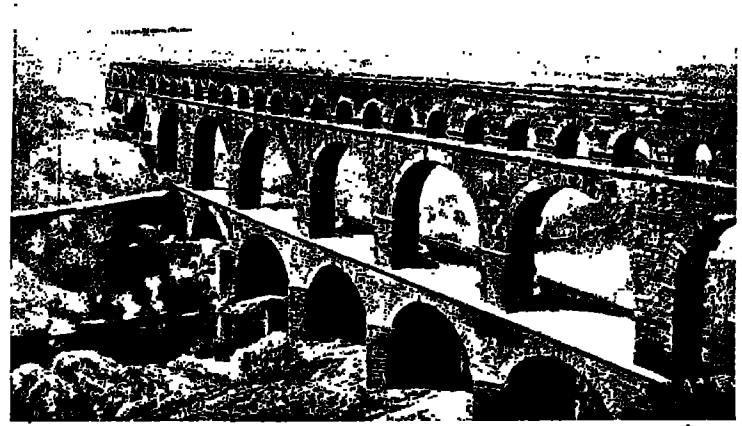
Diocletian a Great Organiser

Rome in Eclipse

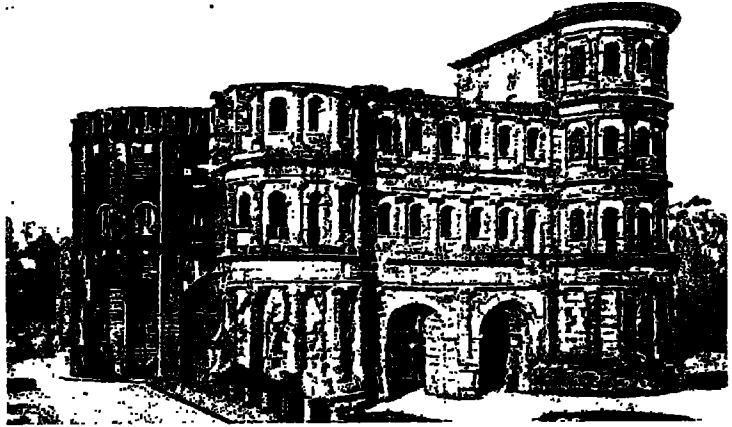
The financial administration of the empire became of increased importance after the most prosperous districts began to substitute money subsidies for their required contingents of troops. The result of this system was that the administration passed from these districts to those which supplied the best soldiers, the defenders of the boundaries of the empire; these were the Illyrian provinces. The military system introduced by Augustus had been found insufficient when the



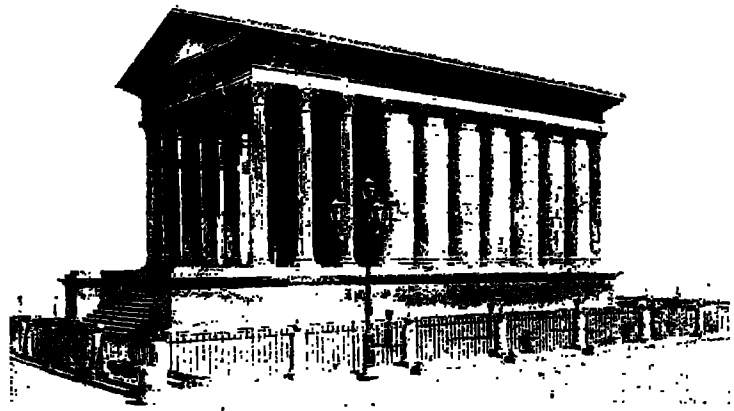
ROMAN COLONNADE AT MILAN—THE ANCIENT MEDIOLANUM



THE PONT DU GARD: AN ANCIENT ROMAN AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES



THE PORTA NIGER AT TREVES—THE ANCIENT TREVERORUM



THE MAISON CARRÉE, NIMES: FINEST EXISTING ROMAN BUILDING

THE SPREAD OF ROMAN ARCHITECTURE DURING THE TIME OF THE FOUR CÆSARS

When Diocletian and his colleagues divided the empire, and government ceased to be centralised in Rome, splendid buildings arose in the provincial capitals, such as Milan and Treves.

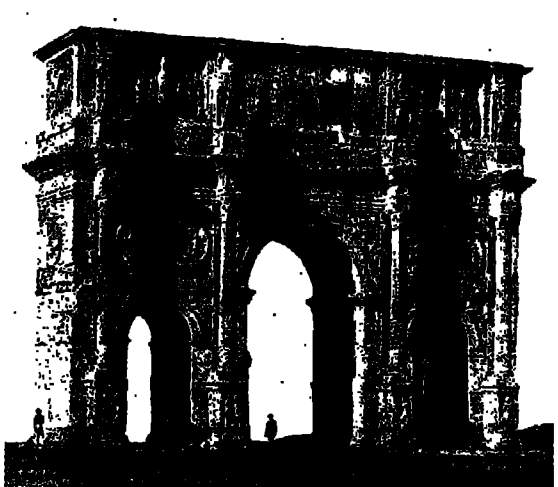
barbarians began to attack the empire on several sides simultaneously. A standing army was required, capable of reinforcing the troops on the borders in case of emergency. Moreover, those soldiers who had married and were in occupation of allotments of ground were not equal to severe fighting; but to keep a standing army in addition was found extremely expensive. So the want was supplied by auxiliary troops, drawn from the barbarian tribes upon the frontiers, and these became one of the most valuable arms of the service. In North Britain they were taken from the districts north of the wall; many of them were Germans; in Africa, the Moors held this position: in Syria the Saracens; and all these were by no means to be despised. Diocletian increased the army to four times its previous size.



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT
This son of Constantius became sole emperor, founded Constantinople, and made that the centre of his empire. He was the first emperor who recognised Christianity.

Such measures necessitated a corresponding increase in taxation. The revenue in the west of the empire began to be administered with that financial skill which had, up to this time, been displayed in Egypt alone. The currency was placed upon a firmer basis by the coining of the *solidus*, to serve as a standard value, an innovation corresponding to the reforms of Aurelian. The character of Diocletian's economic policy is shown in the edicts concerning usurers, fixing a maximum price for the necessities of life and a standard wage for labour. As a social reformer Diocletian was in advance of his age; for instance, he made professions hereditary and the relations of these to one another and to the state as a whole were subjected to strict and arbitrary regulations. The senators, the members of the council of state, the artisans, the peasant coloni, the quarrymen, etc.—upon the relations of these to one another was the whole system of taxation founded, and the "sacred Fiscus" became the main feature of the state's activity.

In reorganising the administration Diocletian introduced the bureaucratic system. Under the emperor were the præfecti prætoria, under these the *vicarii*, who were put over the so-called "Dioceses" (twelve in number for the whole empire). The lower grades of office holders were all subject to the vicarii. These officials, however, were concerned only with civil matters, military affairs being under a special officer, or *dux*; then there was a division between the civil and military powers, contrary to the custom of earlier times, when both had been united. The number of the provincial districts, which had been greatly reduced in extent, amounted to 101 under Diocletian; this number was increased at a later time, as a consequence of many alterations, which were, however, of no great importance as a whole. In other respects, Diocletian's system was no less permanent than that of Augustus. Diocletian made shipwreck upon the religious question, which he took in hand in a spirit of absolute hostility to Christianity. On February 23rd, 303, he issued an edict, with the view of completely suppressing



THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME
Near the Colosseum stands this famous triumphal arch. It is constructed very largely of sculptures which were removed from earlier arches, and is thus, in a sense, a memorial of vandalism.

the practice of the Christian religion. Christians were dismissed from the army and from all other offices, their places of meeting were destroyed, the property of their congregations was confiscated. Their organisation under their bishops had been already so far developed as to run on parallel lines with the hierarchy of state officials. There were bishops at Rome, at Lugdunum (Lyons), Mediolanum (Milan), Aquileia, Ravenna, Verona, Brescia, Carthage, Sirmium, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus and Nicomedia; they exercised immense influence and their writings had a wide circulation. A considerable literature of Christianity was already in existence: there were the records of the life of Christ, of the Apostles, St. Paul in particular, and of the martyrdom of their most famous men; there were polemical writings against the Jews and the heathen, dogmatic explanations to prevent error, and much else of like character.

Propaganda was rife and vigorous, its results varying with place and circumstances. Generally speaking, the town populations were more ready to accept the new ideas than the peasants, who were still satisfied with the religious conceptions inculcated from of old. Diocletian had previously persecuted only the Manichæans, whose activity in the Eastern Persian provinces showed prospects of success. It was only after eighteen years of power that he found sufficient cause for interference in the spread of the Christian organisation throughout the empire and the encroachment of the different factions on the functions of the state. He met with a resistance which, being merely passive, was the more difficult to crush. Of his regents, Maximian and Galerius carried out the edict energetically: Constantius held back. Many bishops suffered death or were condemned to the mines. However, Christianity survived the persecution and came forth from it purified. In proof of this we have a document, "De mortibus persecutorum," ascribed to Lactantius, though this authorship is denied by many. The author was a Christian, who represented all the misfortunes which fell upon the persecutors, and the manner of their death, as a judgment from God. A Pannonian legend of Christian stonemasons in the district of Sirmium reveals Diocletian in more gracious light: here in the neighbourhood of his birthplace the king seems to have been less hedged in by his divinity.

Diocletian's Measures Against the Christians

Christians Proof Against Persecution



THE CROSS AND CONQUEROR
The legend is that, seeing in the heavens a sign of a cross, Constantine adopted it as his standard, and under the banner of the Cross gained his victories.

Diocletian was much cast down by the poor result of his attempt, and was also physically weakened by a severe illness. He had originally planned as a feature of his system of government that the two Augusti should abdicate after a certain time, and that then the two Cæsars should be advanced to the position of Augusti. Each Augustus was then to choose another Cæsar as his associate. This arrangement, which seems to have some connection with his superstitious ideas, Diocletian brought into effect after reigning for twenty years. He laid down his office on May 1st, 305, at Nicomedia, and obliged Maximian to do the same at Mediolanum, although Maximian had ruled a year less. Both retired into private life as *seniores Augusti*, Diocletian to his home at Salonæ, Maximian to Lower Italy.

Diocletian's place as emperor was taken by Galerius; he appointed the two new Cæsars, Flavius Valerius Severus for Italy and its frontier together with Africa, and Galerius Valerius Maximinus Daia (or Daza) for the East. Both were of humble origin. Constantius became Augustus, without having had any share in making appointments or fixing delimitations.

Diocletian's system depended for its permanence upon the continued supremacy of the emperor; it was too delicate

an arrangement not to be speedily broken down by personal ambition. In July, 306, Constantius, then Augustus, died at Eboracum, and his army proclaimed his son, Constantine, who while still young had proved his worth, though only a year before he had been passed over. Galerius was opposed to the step, but finally recognised Constantine as Cæsar, while Severus was raised to the position of second Augustus. The prætorians in Rome speedily followed the example set them; the ancient capital had long been dissatisfied with the political changes, and Maxentius, the son of Maximian, was summoned to the position of emperor.

Conference of the Emperors

The supreme emperor, Galerius, opposed this step also, and ordered Severus to crush the usurper. But meanwhile the old Maximian had determined to come forward again, and the troops would not fight against him. Severus had to fly to Ravenna, and there he surrendered. Maxentius slew him afterwards in the neighbourhood of Rome, and had himself proclaimed Augustus. Galerius himself returned to Italy, but was unable to restore order. Maximian, who could not agree with his son, betook himself to Gaul. Constantine there married Maximian's daughter, Fausta, and was advanced to the dignity of Augustus by the emperor in 307. Universal confusion resulted. A general conference of the emperors was called at Carnuntum, the headquarters of the Pannonian army, with the object of restoring order. Diocletian took part in this conference, and both Maximian and Galerius attempted in vain to induce him to resume control of the government. However, he persuaded Maximian, who had always bowed to his decisions, to retire to his former position.

In place of Severus, who had been killed, Galerius nominated as Augustus his old comrade in arms Valerius Licinianus Licinius. When Galerius had entrusted him with the government of the province of Illyria in 308, Maximinus Daia resigned the title of Augustus. Galerius accepted his resignation in the following year, when he gave Maximinus and Constantine respectively the titles of Sons of the Augusti. Meanwhile, the old emperor Maximian had made an attempt to win over the sympathy of the army at Arles. This proved a failure. Maximian was besieged in Massilia by Constantine, who had hurried to the spot, and was driven to suicide in 310. Shortly afterwards Galerius fell ill at Serdica and died in dreadful agony in the nineteenth year of his reign, at the beginning of 311. Thereupon the Augusti, Constantine, Licinius, and Maxentius came to a mutual understanding, recognising at the same time the seniority of Maximinus.

The Emperors Struggle for Seniority

Maxentius, whose authority extended from Africa to Rhætia, was not a capable ruler; his excesses and oppression made him an object of hatred, but he was strongly supported by his præfectus prætorio. Constantine's army was not numerous, but well trained; he attacked Italy, drove back the troops of Maxentius to Turin, and, after a second encounter, blockaded Verona, thus cutting off all approach from the passes of the Alps. After the fall of Verona, Constantine marched upon Rome. The crushing victory of the Miliran Bridge brought ruin and death to Maxentius, and decisive triumph to Constantine, who, moved, as it is said, by a dream and a vision, avowed himself to have fought under the banner of the Cross of Christ. A fuller account of his relation to the newly adopted faith will be found in the chapters describing the rise of the Christian Church.

Constantine Raises the Banner of the Cross

The prætorian troops were wholly disbanded, so that the only forces in Rome were the cohorts under the prætor urbanus. Constantine had a meeting with Licinius in Milan, and gave him his sister in marriage. Licinius and Maximinus could not, however, come to an agreement. When the latter crossed into Europe and advanced to an attack, he was beaten at Heraclea on the Propontis on May 1st, 313, and obliged to flee to Asia. There Maximian ended his life. Licinius then put to death every one who might have become dangerous, such as the relations of Galerius, Maximian, and Severus, not even sparing the women—Valeria, the widow of Galerius and her mother Prisca, the wife of Diocletian, who had taken refuge with Maximinus Daia, and had been kept prisoners by him, because Valeria had refused his hand in marriage. These events greatly embittered Diocletian's last years in Salonæ.

But the agreement between Constantine and Licinius was not of long duration. Dissension appeared in the year 314, after

Bassianus, who had married a second sister of Constantine, had been raised to the position of Cæsar. He was to have governed a district between the dominions of Licinius and of Constantine, to keep the balance between these two forces. But when Bassianus showed himself more inclined to favour Licinius, Constantine immediately deposed him. War broke out in consequence. Constantine, who was by far the more capable general, defeated Licinius at the Save, near Cibalæ, in Pannonia; a second indecisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis. Licinius, who had appointed Valens, the commandant of the Thracian frontier, to be Cæsar, retreated on Berœa, with the object of falling on Constantine's rear as he pressed on to Byzantium.

However, both parties were so exhausted that they entered into negotiations, and Licinius had to resign Illyricum with Serdica and Thessalonica into the hands of Constantine. The latter thereby obtained a great military advantage, as experience had proved that the Illyrian soldiers were the best; the protection of the frontier on the Lower Danube was reorganised by both emperors. Valens was sacrificed by this arrangement, and it was determined that both emperors should nominate only their own sons as Cæsars, and this not as co-regents, but as mere successors to the throne. This implied the victory of the dynastic theory over Diocletian's arrangements, and was an advantage to Constantine, inasmuch as his son was the elder of the Cæsars.

Dynastic System Displaces Diocletian's Plan

Religious questions had a bearing on all these events. Constantine had originally declared himself for the Christians, although he permitted the earlier religions and the worship of the emperor to continue. After Galerius had initiated a persecution a short time before his death, the Christians were permitted to practise their religion by the edict of April 30th, 311. On June 13th, 313, Constantine and Licinius issued a second edict, whereby the Christians were allowed the same religious freedom and civil rights as the followers of the old religions, and the confiscated Church property was restored. The defeat of the Emperors Maxentius and Maximinus Daia, who were hostile to the Christians, made possible the promulgation of this edict throughout the empire. But after relations became strained between Constantine and Licinius, the latter abandoned Christianity, hampered the Christians in the practice of their religion, and would not tolerate them about him, whereas Constantine, apparently from conviction, consistently followed the opposite course of policy. Constantine considered himself as supreme emperor, and therefore encroached on the jurisdiction of Licinius, as, for instance, on the occasion of a marauding expedition which the Goths had made into Thrace. This led to a breach between the two rulers in the year 323.

Constantine Supreme Emperor

Their respective armies encountered one another in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; Licinius was beaten on July 3rd, and besieged in Byzantium, while the Cæsar, Crispus, the son of Constantine, conquered his fleet within the Dardanelles at Callipolis (the modern Gallipoli). Egypt fell away from its ruler; Byzantium became untenable. Finally, Licinius and his new regent Martinianus were decisively defeated at Chrysopolis, the modern Scutari, on September 18th. These events led ultimately to the foundation of the future capital of the empire. Hitherto, Serdica, the modern Sophia, in Bulgaria, had served as Constantine's Rome on the European side, while Nicomedia was honoured in like manner on the Asiatic side; now, however, men recognised, as though "by divine inspiration," the importance of the straits to the government of these two continents, for defence against the barbarians of the north. Licinius, who had fled to Nicomedia, surrendered to the conqueror, who gave him his life at the request of his wife Constantia. But in the next year he created disturbances in Thessaly, and was slain in 325.

Constantine was now sole Augustus. His rise is portrayed in a writing usually known as the "Anonymous Valesianus," from the name of its first editor, Valesian; more recently it has been called "Origo Constantini imperatoris" (the Origin of the Emperor Constantine). Constantine's great work was the completion of Diocletian's system. As the centre of gravity was situated in the Græco-Oriental east, the court ceremonial underwent a great change; the emperor became a superior and almost unapproachable being to his subjects. Constantine preserved the fourfold division of the empire, and placed a præfectus prætorio at the head of the civil

The Great Work of Constantine

administration in each division. In the department of finance he carried out thorough reforms by withdrawing the debased currency from circulation. In the military organisation of the empire he made several alterations. He created a new commander for cavalry and for infantry, the *magister;* he lowered the strength of the frontier garrisons, while increasing the standing army; he also showed particular favour to German troops and commanders, who had acquitted themselves with the utmost credit in his wars.

Constantine a Supporter of the Church

As regards religion, his influence over the Christian hierarchy enables us to place Constantine among the supporters of the new Church, which was now supplanting the old faiths. He took the initiative in quelling dissensions on points of dogma; he presided in person over the great council at Nicæa in 325. Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia, was his confidential adviser; Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, opposed him with varying success. Another Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, wrote a history of Constantine as well as a history of the Christian Church. This book was the first of a new genus of historical composition, written from an ecclesiastical point of view. Similar tendencies appeared in the members of Constantine's family. His mother, Helena, who had been the wife of Constantius Chlorus, and was cast off when Constantius married the daughter of Maximinus, was held in high honour. She was a zealous adherent of the Christian faith. Constantine's eldest son, Crispus, was taught by the learned scholar Lactantius, a passionate defender of Christianity.

The younger sons of Constantius, the step-brothers of Constantine, also took a personal interest in the theological disputes of the time. Constantine broke with Diocletian's system, in the first place, by upholding the integrity of the administration against the rights of the Cæsars; and, in the second place, by not laying down his authority when his twenty years' rule expired in 326. This involved him in a quarrel with the Cæsar Crispus, which resulted in the banishment of the latter to Pola in Istria. The empress Fausta was also involved in this disturbance, and shortly afterwards Constantine had her strangled in her bath, and also had the son of Licinius, who was nearly eleven years old, put to death; all this after the manner of Eastern sultans and without any clearly apparent motive.

The Crimes of Constantine

As a result, we find that the three step-brothers of Constantine by Theodora became more prominent; with their descendants they had formerly been kept in the background, but they now came forward, perhaps because no one of the sons of Constantine, who had been raised in turn to the dignity of Cæsar, appeared to be of particular ability, and their mutual relations were not in any way satisfactory. In the year 335 the emperor determined to divide the empire, so that his eldest son, Constantine II., should have the west, the second son, Constantius, should have the Asiatic provinces and Egypt, and Constans, the third son, Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. Constantine also appointed his nephew Dalmatius, who had been raised to the post of Cæsar, and was a skilful soldier, to the province of Thrace, with which was connected the command of the line of the Danube against the Goths; while a second nephew, who was also Constantine's son-in-law, Annibalianus, was made king of Armenia and the adjacent district of Pontus, with the town of Cæsarea in Cappadocia as his capital.

The Longest Reign Since Augustus

It is remarkable that in these arrangements no express mention is made of Constantinople. This town covered a more considerable expanse of ground than did the ancient Byzantium; the foundation-stone had been laid in the year 326, and on May 11th, 330, the dedication ceremonies had taken place. As Constantine modelled his new Rome on the ancient city and gave it similar privileges, the division of the kingdom into the eastern and western halves was already prepared for. But Constantine's foresight in his choice of a capital has been attested by the course of history; his "Rome" has held a prominent place in the events of the last fifteen hundred years. Thrace and Bithynia at once gained new importance in the empire. The maritime traffic on the Propontis and Bosphorus increased, the more so, as "the town of Constantine" was fed, on the model of the Roman Annona, from Egyptian sources.

Constantine died at a vigorous age on May 22nd, 337, at a villa near Nicomedia, while preparing for a campaign against



JULIAN THE APOSTATE ADDRESSING A CONFERENCE OF THE SECTARIANS

The Emperor Julian, nephew of Constantine the Great, was reared in the Christian faith, but secretly cherished the old gods of Rome, and when he became emperor he lost no time in declaring for the ancient religion. Hence the epithet "apostate." But Julian must always be regarded as an enlightened ruler and a philosopher, despite his paganism.

From the painting by Edward Armitage, A.R.A., by permission of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

the Persians; he had reigned thirty-one years, longer than any emperor since Augustus. This was a fact of considerable importance, as it gave time for the reforms which he introduced to take root.

Constantine's Sons Murder All Relatives

After Constantine's death Constantius hastened from Mesopotamia to Constantinople, to perform his father's obsequies and to execute the provisions of his will, the other sons being unable to arrive so early. We hear nothing of Dalmatius; apparently the stroke was already prepared. The soldiers demanded the removal of Ablavius, the præfectus prætorio; then they murdered Optatus, a brother-in-law of Constantius. Finally, the brothers of Constantine, and no less than seven of his nephews, fell victims to this anxiety of the sons to secure the power; with the exception of two youthful nephews, the emperor's sons alone remained. Each of these took the title of Augustus in September, 337, the official theory being that the three brothers ruled jointly.

Constantine II. was soon at war with Constans, as he had gained no advantage from the murder of his cousins. But when Constantine II. pressed forward into Italy he was surprised and slain at Aquileia by the troops of Constans. Constans then seized the western throne in 340, the division of the empire being, however, maintained. Constans quarrelled with Constantius, who was then fighting against the Persians, about the theological questions which then disturbed the Christian world concerning the nature of Christ —whether he was only a man, as the rationalist Arius declared, or whether he was God, as Athanasius of Alexandria maintained. Constantius was an Arian, Constans an Athanasian, and it was the opposition of the latter which prevented the complete victory of Arius.

A Christian But Still a Tyrant

Constans was, besides, so hated for his excesses and his brutality that a revolution broke out; Magnentius, a brave commander, though of half barbarian origin, revolted in conjunction with one of the highest court officials; Constans lost his life while in flight in 350. The whole western empire came into the hands of Magnentius, including Rome, where a more distant relation of the house of Constantine had set himself up, while in Sirmium the soldiers hailed their old leader Vetranio as emperor. But Constantius, who had made peace with the Persians, took up arms for the legitimate cause. He first induced Vetranio to retire. At Mursa (the modern Esse) in the region between the Save and the Drave, where Constantine and Licinius had once met, was fought what was considered the greatest battle of the century. The Saxons and Franks in the army of the Gallic emperor stood firm against the troops of Constantius.

But the desertion of a commander, who felt bound by duty to Constantine's house, decided against Magnentius in the autumn of 351. He was obliged to retreat to Italy and found himself attacked there by land and sea in the following spring. The troops of Constantius received a slight check at Ticinum, but Magnentius was obliged to retreat by the Cottian Alps to Gaul; there his opponent stirred up the Alemanni against him, and when Magnentius saw the collapse of his power he committed suicide in 353.

Character of Constantius

Constantius, who thus became sole monarch through the overthrow of his adversaries, was a narrow-minded bigot, full of theological and legitimist theories, who devoted himself rather to court etiquette than to state business. His palace swarmed with eunuchs and informers, and there was great lawlessness among the military and civil officials. As there had been no fruit of the emperor's marriage, two cousins, Gallus and Julianus, who were the solitary survivors in the direct line, were brought up with a view to their succession; hitherto they had been kept in complete isolation in a villa at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Gallus was sent as Cæsar to Antioch. The portion of the history of Ammianus Marcellinus which has been preserved begins with the description of the elevation of Gallus. Julian remained in Constantinople to complete his studies and afterwards proceeded for that purpose to Nicomedia and Athens. The emperor in the meantime resided at Milan, in order to continue his anti-Athanasian policy.

Synods were held and refractory bishops were banished; when such measures were applied to the Roman bishop Liberius, great dissension arose in Rome. In the year 354 Gallus fell into disfavour with Constantius; he was recalled and finally executed. Trouble had been brewing in Gaul since the last popular rising,

and the incursions of the Alemanni and the Franks were becoming more numerous. In the east, war with the Persians again broke out. The emperor determined to conduct the Persian war in person, and to send Julian as Cæsar to Gaul in 355. Julian was only twenty-four years old, a man of letters and a philosopher, but he showed no less ability as administrator and general. He defeated the Alemanni at Strasburg, and inflicted severe reverses upon the Franks. The Roman government offered, however, no objection to the barbarians settling upon the frontiers, which had been already depopulated by constant raids; the Alemanni settled in Alsace, and the Salic Franks on the Lower Rhine.

Meanwhile, Constantius had been so unsuccessful in the war with Persia that he sent to Gaul for reinforcements. The troops in that country were anything but inclined to leave their usual quarters and their wives and children. In the winter of 360, Julian was residing in Paris, a little town built round an island, as he himself describes it. The soldiers mutinied, raised him on a shield, according to the Germanic custom, and saluted him as Augustus. Julian attempted to procure the recognition of his title from Constantius; when Constantius refused to grant it, Julian began war, advancing through Rhætia into Illyricum. But before another conflict could take place between the armies of the east and the west, the news arrived that Constantius had died of an illness in Cilicia.

Julian Comes to Power

Julian was now everywhere recognised (361). He immediately entered upon a policy of reform, especially with regard to the system of taxation, and considerably lightened the burdens laid upon his subjects.

Religious questions largely claimed his attention. As a philosopher, he acknowledged the old gods, whose worship he attempted to revive; his writings, which show considerable intellectual power, give us full information on this point. As the historian Ammianus Marcellinus and the rhetorician Libanius of Antioch were his friends, we have detailed information concerning Julian's personality and aims. Christianity was, however, still tolerated, and Julian allowed the bishops, whom Constantius had banished, to return to their sees. In the course of his administration he certainly deprived them of many privileges which Constantine and his sons had bestowed upon them. Thus, ecclesiastics were no longer released from the obligations binding upon ordinary citizens; they were also ordered to restore the possessions which they had wrested from the votaries of the old religion. Christians were also forbidden to teach the liberal arts, rhetoric, etc. Julian's attempt to repress Christianity lasted only two years, so that it is impossible to say what the results might have been if his reign had been prolonged. Generally speaking, it appears that the old religion could reckon upon active adherents only among special classes of society, as among the Roman senators, the rhetoricians in Antioch, in Alexandria and Athens; or at particular centres of worship, as at Olympia, where the games were continued for the sake of maintaining trade, and Cyrene, where the shrine of Isis brought in a large income, and in other places.

Attempts to Restore the Old Religion



Jovian — Valentinian I. — Valentinian II. — Eugenius

A GROUP OF EMPERORS AFTER JULIAN

Numerous rulers of short reigns followed Julian the Apostate. Several of these are here illustrated from coins and medallions. Eugenius was the last to make a stand for the old paganism, but fell before Theodosius.

In the year 362 Julian betook himself to Antioch, to resume the conduct of the war against the Persians. The next year he triumphantly crossed the Tigris, a fleet being maintained upon the river to provide supplies and to protect his communications. Later developments, however, obliged him to retreat, and the

emperor was mortally wounded in action. Julian expired while discussing the immortality of the soul on June 26th, 363, and with him the house of Constantine became extinct.

Confusion at the Death of Julian

During the confusion that arose upon Julian's death the military and civil officials, who were stationed at headquarters, chose the captain of the household troops, Jovian, emperor. Jovian succumbed to an illness before he reached Constantinople, and an officer in Nicæa was elected in a similar manner to the post of emperor, the Pannonian Valentinian, who had come into prominence during the last reign. He appointed his brother Valens joint-regent, and entrusted the east to him, while he himself undertook the pacification of the west, where disturbances had broken out upon the death of Julian. Valentinian, who was an admirable ruler for his time, succeeded in securing the frontier on the Rhine and the Danube by a chain of fortresses; but in the year 375 he died at Brigetio.

He was succeeded by his young son Gratian, who appointed as joint-regent his brother Valentinian II., only four years old. In his religious beliefs Gratian was a zealous follower of Athanasius; he discontinued the policy of toleration that had been maintained towards the followers of the old religions and proceeded actively against them. On the other hand, Valens in the east was an Arian; under his influence, Arianism spread among the German races, especially the Goths.

The frontiers on the Lower Danube, especially on the delta, were reconstituted by Valens. Beyond these, in the modern Transylvania, and afterwards further to the east, dwelt the Gothic tribes, occupying extensive tracks of land with their flocks; among them and near them were the remnants of the earlier populations. Communication with the banks of the Danube was closely maintained, especially by way of the River Alt, or Aluta. An event occurred at this time which disturbed the balance of power that had subsisted during a century on the line of the Danube. The Huns, an old Tartar nation, attacked the eastern Goths and subdued them. The impulse travelled in a westerly direction, so that the Goths who were settled in Transylvania began to feel themselves insecure, for the Huns were already pressing forward towards the eastern passes of the country. As allies of the empire, the western Goths demanded permission to settle in the district south of the Danube, and finally extorted it by threats; but the Roman officials put difficulties in their way, and treated them shamefully. The emperor Valens, who hurried up from the east to drive them back, suffered a defeat near Adrianople, which cost him his life, in 378.

Quarrels of Arians and Athanasians

In these circumstances, Gratian, who was a weak ruler, found himself obliged to appoint the valiant Spaniard Theodosius as joint-regent, and, later on, to accept him as a brother-in-law, although it was but two years before that the father of Theodosius, a celebrated general, had been executed. While Theodosius was occupied with the pacification of the Goths, the emperor Gratian was slain in Gaul by a usurper, Maximus, who had arisen in Britain, in 383. Maximus, who took up his residence in Treves, was recognised by Theodosius and Valentinian II. as Augustus for Gaul, Spain and Britain. Maximus showed himself strongly orthodox in the religious disputes on points of dogma, and persecuted the Priscillanists, a growing sect originating in Spain. Theodosius, too, was an Athanasian, and his policy was therefore diametrically opposed to that of the emperor Valens. Valentinian II., with the support of German auxiliary troops, made his capital, Milan, a centre of Arianism, in strong opposition to native population and their famous bishop Ambrose.

An Emperor Arises in Britain

These dissensions gave Maximus the opportunity of attacking Italy. Valentinian fled to Theodosius, who demanded his restoration; Maximus would not consent, and war broke out. In 388 Theodosius was victorious at Siscia, Poetovio, and Emona, where his Gothic auxiliaries afforded valuable assistance. Valentinian's rule was restored, but shortly afterwards he quarrelled with the Frank Arbogast, the commander of the troops in Gaul, who murdered Valentinian in 392 and raised the famous Roman, Eugenius, to the position of emperor. Eugenius once again gathered round himself the adherents of heathendom. But Theodosius refused to recognise him, and conquered him in a bloody battle on the River Frigidus, the modern Wippach, east of Aquileia. Eugenius was slain, and Arbogast committed suicide in 394.



THE COMING OF THE GOTHS

THE SUNDERING OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND DECAY OF THE WESTERN POWER

THEODOSIUS united the whole empire under his rule, but subdivided the government between his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, the former having the east, the latter the west in 395. From this time the history of the east definitely diverges from that of the west. For the events which follow, our guide is the historian Zosimus, who wrote in the fifth century. We have, besides, the extensive poetical works of the court poet Claudian, and finally the historical notices in the calendars of Rome, Ravenna, and Constantinople. Notwithstanding this division, it was intended that the empire should continue a unity; but when Theodosius died,

The Death of Theodosius

in the year 395, at Milan, there was a strong divergence of opinion concerning the best mode of maintaining this unity. The commander-in-chief, Stilicho, who was descended from the Pannonian Vandals, and had hitherto been supreme, desired to maintain the unity of command over the army, and proposed also on military as well as upon political grounds the retention of one governing authority for Illyricum—that is, the western portion of the Balkan peninsula as far as the southernmost point of Greece. The fall of Eugenius had not disturbed the unity of the army in the west, and here Stilicho at once assumed the guardianship of the emperor Honorius during his minority; he also attempted to become guardian to the emperor Arcadius, but this project was opposed by the court officials of Arcadius, who won over the Gothic leader Alaric to their side.



UNITED ROME'S LAST RULER

Theodosius united the whole empire, but his later division of east and west was the definite cleavage of the Roman power.

Theodosius had settled the western Goths on the Balkan peninsula, and employed them in the imperial army, though they retained their own leaders and their national organisation. Of these leaders, the most important was Alaric. The struggle between himself and Stilicho was continually breaking out into war, the theatre of which was the Peloponnesus; the constant machinations of the court at Constantinople, at whose disposal Stilicho had been forced to put the Oriental troops, added fuel to the flames. Alaric was favoured as against Stilicho, and was

Beginnings of the Break-up

made commandant of Illyricum in 397. At the same time, the *comes* Gildo was also stirred up by Byzantium to revolt in Africa against Stilicho, but he was eventually overthrown by force of arms.

So sharp was the division between the two portions of the empire that, contrary to all previous usage, the consul appointed in the east was never publicly mentioned in the west, where the date was marked with the name of one consul only. In addition to this, the tribes on the Danube were again in a state of restlessness.

A few years later, while Stilicho was holding the Rhætian frontier, Alaric made an attack upon Italy. He overran the whole of Upper Italy, so that Honorius fled for refuge from Milan to the fortress of Ravenna. Stilicho, however, defeated Alaric in the battle of Plentia and drove him out of Italy, past Verona, by a series of strategic movements in 402. In the year 405 large bands of heathen Goths, with an admixture of other peoples, came into Italy under the leadership of Radagais and crossed the Apennines; but they met their fate when Stilicho marched upon them from the Po with reinforcements of Goths and Huns. They were beaten and destroyed at Fæsulæ in 405. Rhætia and the Rhine frontier were now denuded of troops, and hordes of varying

nationalities crossed the Rhine, Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, and pressed into Gaul, and even into Spain; nor was Stilicho able to offer effective resistance, as his presence in Italy was required by the general affairs of the empire. In the year 408, Arcadius had died at Constantinople, leaving behind him a son still in his minority, Theodosius II. Stilicho again attempted to avail himself of this opportunity to gain the whole of Illyricum for the western empire and so to obstruct the migrations on the Central Danube. He tried to secure Alaric's help for this purpose. Alaric and his people had demanded better lands for settlement than those they were occupying, but in other respects were ready to place themselves at the disposal of the government. The court intriguers took this opportunity of slandering Stilicho to Honorius, to the effect that he was working to overthrow the dynasty.

Honorius Listens to Slanderers

Honorius was a very incapable ruler: he was Stilicho's son-in-law, but, as is usual with weak rulers, he was imbued with absolutist ideas. Moreover, a new pretender, Constantinus, had arisen in the west, who was first recognised by Britain, and afterwards by the provinces of Gaul and Spain, which had abandoned the Italian government to its fate. Honorius made no effort to save Stilicho; the foreign troops belonging to him were attacked and overpowered by the Roman forces, and Stilicho himself was executed in Ravenna in 408. His wife Serena suffered the same fate in Rome, as the people feared her, and his son Eucherius was killed, after vainly attempting to save himself by flight.

The court declined to recognise the compact that Stilicho had made with Alaric, and relied for help against the usurpers and barbarians upon the alliance with the court of Constantinople to which Eastern Illyricum with Sirmium was formally ceded: and the empire was to be saved by edicts against Arianism, paganism, and the wearing of trousers. Alaric then crossed the Italian frontier unopposed. Such barbarian troops as there were deserted to Alaric, as did thousands of slaves of barbaric extraction. The government was abandoned by all its political opponents. They fled into the marshes of Ravenna, and declared every measure that was taken to be unconstitutional. Alaric arrived before Rome and was prevented from sacking the city only by the payment of a large sum; he also demanded of Honorius his recognition as captain-general of the empire, so as to lend him authority over Roman subjects. Though he had expected to settle his west Goths in Venetia, Norica, and Dalmatia, he accepted the two provinces of Noricum.

Alaric the Goth Before Rome

When the negotiations led to nothing, Alaric marched a second time upon the city, where Galla Placidia, the step-sister of Honorius, was ruling with the senate. After a short siege, Alaric obtained possession of Rome by treachery on August 24th, 410. This event caused great excitement in the Roman world; the greatest authors of the time—Augustine, Orosius, Salvianus, Rutilius Namatianus—mention the fact with horror, or give it a theological interpretation, in accordance with the widespread ideas of the time, looking upon it as a punishment from God. Salvianus of Massilia remarks that the Goths did but little damage in Rome, and in particular that they respected the churches, although they were Arians.

Alaric had set up the town prefect of Rome, Allalus, as a rival emperor; but as he gained nothing by this measure, he let him fall again. Ravenna was too well provided with provisions and troops to be attacked with any great chance of success. Alaric therefore contemplated the conquest of Sicily and Africa, the granaries of "urban" Italy, the possession of which would give him command of Italy itself. As he was setting out upon this expedition Alaric died suddenly in Lower Italy, and was buried by his Goths at Consentia (the modern Cosenza) in the bed of the river Busentus.

The Goths in the City

Athaulf, Alaric's brother-in-law and successor, began negotiations with Honorius; the government at length agreed to his terms. Athaulf was recognised as commander-in-chief, and marched into Gaul with his people, where the usurper, Constantine, had just been defeated by the *comes* Constantius near Arles in 411; Athaulf and Constantius found themselves rivals. Galla Placidia, the step-sister of Honorius, who had been carried about by the Goths as a hostage since the capture of Rome, married Athaulf; but he fell at Barcino (the modern Barcelona) in the year 414, a victim to a blood-feud. Three years later, Placidia was married



HONORIUS, THE EMPEROR OF THE WEST, FEEDS POULTRY WHILE HIS COUNTRY FALLS INTO RUIN

The son of Theodosius, who succeeded to the empire of the West, was totally unfitted for his position, lacking energy even to enjoy the pleasures of his age. Most of his time was wasted in feeding poultry. Honorius is here seen at his favourite occupation, while his secretaries, charged with urgent affairs, have to wait his pleasure.

From the painting by J. W. Waterhouse, R.A.

against her will to Constantius, whom Honorius made his joint-regent. He was an Illyrian, and a friend of Stilicho, for whom he took vengeance on the court party, but he, too, died in the year 421. Honorius followed him in 423, after he had quarrelled with Placidia, and forced her to depart to Constantinople. The eastern court, which jealously guarded the interests of the dynasty, sent her with her son by Constantius, Placidus Valentinianus III., who had been advanced to be Cæsar and Augustus, to Ravenna, where one of the superior court officials had, in the meantime, usurped the power. The legitimate succession was restored; Placidia became Augusta and undertook the regency, as her son was but seven years of age.

The Court at Ravenna

In decaying dynasties, women, as a rule, are better sovereigns than men, but in the court at Ravenna party intrigue dominated everything. Among others who struggled for influence was Boniface, the governor of Africa, who in the crisis after the death of Honorius had vigorously supported the dynastic policy, and Aëtius, who had been opposed to that policy, but had afterwards gone over to Placidia. Aëtius, was a native of the Danubian territory, and kept up relations with the Huns and Goths, whom he cleverly played off against one another; after he had recovered Rhætia and Noricum he took Pannonia from the Huns and drove the Goths out of Dalmatia. Boniface thought himself threatened by court intrigues and called to his assistance the barbarians settled in the south of Spain.

These were the Vandals and Alans under their king Geiserich—not a very powerful band, but one that proved sufficiently strong, as soon as it got a footing in Africa, to conquer the whole province, torn apart as it was by religious dissensions. Boniface, after making his peace with the court, found himself unable to drive them out again. Geiserich even seized Carthage and there founded a state, which was essentially a pirate state, and henceforward became no less a terror to the Italian coast than the Carthaginians had once been. To complete the analogy between Vandals and Carthaginians, Sardinia and the west of Sicily were speedily conquered by Geiserich. He divided the great estates of the wealthy Africans among the Vandal and Alan chiefs, favoured the schismatics against the orthodox, won over the small proprietors to himself, and also entered into relations with the Moorish race. Thus was founded a kingdom, which existed for a century. This was a heavy blow for Italy, which lost both its granary and the security of its seas. In Hispania and Lusitania, the west Goths and the Suevi had established themselves: the west Goths, the Burgundians and the Franks had also settled in Gaul, so that the empire ruled from Ravenna was confined to Italy and its frontiers.

The Vandals Found a Pirate State

The rivalry between Aëtius and Boniface led to a battle, in which the latter was victorious, but was mortally wounded by Aëtius. Aëtius fled to the Huns, and with their help, in 432, recovered the high position at the court which he had held for two decades. Aëtius was able to make use of the dissensions that arose among the barbarians so as to gain some influence over the provinces that had been lost, such as Gaul. He was, however, obliged to give up Britain; fugitive Britons crossed to the continent of Gaul, and settled in the district of Armorica (the so-called "Brittany") while the Angles and Saxons came to Britain, at first to protect the Britons and afterwards to rule them.

Britons Flee to "Brittany"

Meanwhile, the Huns had found an energetic leader in Attila, who united in addition numerous Germanic races under his rule. He established his seat of government in the plains between the Theiss and the Danube. From this point, he made war upon the provinces of the eastern empire, while keeping up his friendship with Aëtius. Complications were caused later by the dissolute Honoria, the emperor's sister, who offered Attila her hand in marriage, an act equivalent to high treason, in order to escape from her imprisonment. But Aëtius organised a great confederacy in Gaul, to which the west Goths and Franks adhered, to oppose Attila. A great battle was fought in 451 in the plain of the Moors (near Troyes); Attila was defeated, and obliged to evacuate Gaul. In the next year he overran Upper Italy, after conquering and destroying Aquileia, but retreated when the eastern empire made common cause with the western. Attila died suddenly in the year 453. His empire immediately fell to pieces; the races that



THE BARBARIAN INVASION: PILLAGE OF A ROMAN VILLA BY MARAUDING HUNS

From the painting by George Rochegrosse, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Cie.

had been kept together by his personal ascendancy, the Gepidæ and Goths, drove the Huns out of Pannonia. The territories on the Danube were insufficient to support them; the younger part of the male population, and sometimes an entire clan, emigrated in search of foreign service, or to found new kingdoms; so that the decade following Attila's death is marked by constant unrest and continual shifting of population. Theodosius II. ruled over the eastern empire from 408 to 450, but only nominally, for he was never declared of age. His sister Pulcheria was a personage of great influence during his reign.

Barbarian Unrest after Attila's Death

The empire gradually contracted round its firm nucleus, the city of Constantinople, which was protected on every side by its walls and by the sea. Ministerial crises occurred which cost much bloodshed, and saved the eastern empire from the puppet-emperor form of government, which had now become established in the west; with this exception, the main interest of the period attaches to ecclesiastical events.

Orthodoxy was now the rage in Byzantium, and all surviving remnants of paganism were rooted out; even local names were being constantly changed for those of the Saviour or the saints. The Christian population in Armenia, whose literature was then in its most flourishing period, were granted protection against the Persians: on the other hand, Attila, who had made a terrible visitation upon the Northern Balkan provinces, was bought off with titles and money. The prefecture of Illyricum was transferred at that time from Sirmium to Thessalonica. Theodosius II. had the constitutions of the earlier emperors codified; the codification was accepted in the west, and also made its way to the Romans in the German states. After the death of Theodosius II., "the little," Pulcheria gave her hand and the throne to the Illyrian Marcianus, who had won a good reputation as a commander. In the same year (450), Placidia died in Ravenna: her sarcophagus is still to be seen in the mausoleum, where her husband Constantius and her brother Honorius also rest.

Murder and Rapine in Rome

Placidia's son, Valentinian III., finally quarrelled with Aëtius; urged on by the jealousy of the eunuch Heraclius, he attacked and slew him with his own hands in the palace in 454; a year later, two friends of Aëtius murdered Valentinian in a villa near Rome in March, 455. One of the conspirators was the Roman senator Petronius Maximus, whose wife Valentinian had dishonoured. Petronius tried to secure the power for himself by marrying Eudoxia, Valentinian's widow, while his son received a daughter of Valentinian as his wife. The story goes that Eudoxia then called in the Vandal king Geiserich, who appeared with a fleet at the mouth of the Tiber and took Rome. The senators fled, Petronius Maximus was killed, and the imperial palace sacked. After Geiserich had ravaged the coast of Campania, he returned in triumph to Carthage, taking Eudoxia and her daughter with him. Thus the dynasty of Theodosius came to an end in the western empire; but the hostility between Italy and the Vandals continued for decades.

A man capable of dealing with the situation now came forward in the person of Ricimer, the leader of the Italian federal troops, who defeated the Vandals at sea near Corsica. Ricimer was of Germanic origin and an Arian; for these reasons, the prejudices of the time forbade his becoming emperor; but after he had held the consulship in the year 459, he ruled, under the titles of *patricius* and *magister utriusque militiæ*, as Stilicho and Aëtius had done before him, setting up and deposing emperors at pleasure.

Strong Man and Puppet Emperors

In 456 he obliged Avitus to abdicate. Avitus was a Gallo-Roman and a comrade in arms of Aëtius, and had been made ruler by the western Goths dwelling in the Arelate region (the modern Arles). His successor, Majorianus, was executed by Ricimer, because an extensive campaign which he had undertaken against Geiserich proved a failure in 461. After him Libius Severus was nominal emperor for some years (461-465). After an interval, Anthemius, a son-in-law of Marcian, succeeded in 467. In his time, a general but unsuccessful attack upon the Vandals was made by the eastern and western empires. Anthemius resided in Rome, and Ricimer in Mediolanum (Milan); Anthemius ventured to thwart the wishes of the emperor-maker, who besieged and overthrew him in 472. Shortly afterwards Ricimer died of the plague, and six months later the same fate overtook Olybrius, whom he had set up, and who

had married the emperor's daughter, Placidia.

During this period Dalmatia and that part of Gaul which had remained under Roman rule were governed by their own native rulers, whether civil or ecclesiastical. In Dalmatia, Marcellinus, a friend of Aëtius, held the power. He attacked the Vandals on his own initiative, and as an imperial ally; he was finally killed in Sicily. In Gaul, the brave Ægidius made a name for himself among the Frankish barbarians, as also did his son Syagrius, who preserved his independence until 486. Among the Arverni, the family of the emperor Avitus was predominant; as the west Goths had extended their power over that district, Sidonius Apollinaris, who was a son-in-law of Avitus, and afterwards bishop of the town of the Arverni, shows the transition from open resistance to submission to the rule of the "barbarians," who prided themselves on the title of "barbarian," as opposed to that of "Roman." "Barbarus" was then an honourable designation; it is the origin of our "bravo."

From the year 472, Italy was in a state of anarchy. The Burgundian Gundobad, a nephew of Ricimer, was called to the regal power in his native Gaul, and therefore considered the position of patricius as no longer to his advantage. From Gaul, he afterwards made an attempt to conquer Italy. Glycerius had been made emperor at Ravenna by Gundobad; he retired to the bishopric of Salonæ, when Julius Nepos, a Dalmatian, who was supported by Byzantium and was a nephew of Marcellinus, made his way into Rome and gained recognition there.

Orestes, who had been Attila's secretary, rose in opposition to Nepos. Nepos fled to his native land, where he retained the title of emperor until his death, in 480, and Orestes appointed his little son Romulus to be Augustus in 475. However, the Germanic troops rose against Orestes. Since the dissolution of Attila's kingdom they had been quartered in Ravenna to support the court; they demanded that their position in Italy should be in no way inferior to that of the Germanic races in the western provinces; they desired land for permanent settlement, and declined to remain permanently under arms. When Orestes made objections, Odoacer, of the race of the Turcilingi, who had already become of importance under Ricimer, was elected king; Orestes was defeated in Ticinum, his brother Paulus at Ravenna, and both were slain. Odoacer took pity on the pretty Augustulus (Romulus), to whom he granted a pension



THE DEATH OF ATTILA, THE GREAT LEADER OF THE HUNS

There were two legends of the death of the mighty Attila. He is said to have died from an effluxion of blood on his marriage night; but another story states that he was murdered on the eve of his nuptials with a royal bride by a woman he had previously married. This is the legend which St. George Hare has chosen for the above picture in the Royal Academy of 1908.

and the Lucullanum at Naples as a residence.

There was no further occupant of the imperial throne, and Odoacer ruled as Stilicho, Aëtius, Ricimer, and Orestes had done, but resting on his own title; after a few years his position was formerly recognised by the emperor of the eastern empire (479). As regards these events, we gain a considerable amount of information from the municipal chronicles of Ravenna, which become more comprehensive about this time; but many conclusions are based upon the evidence of coins and titles.

The Throne for Him that Seized it

The progress of affairs in the east was widely different from that which we find in the west. In Byzantium there was an uninterrupted succession of native emperors — that is to say, emperors coming from Thrace and Illyria and Asia Minor; these stood in close connection with their predecessors by marriage, and were formally crowned by the Patriarch. The list of rulers runs as follows: Marcian, an Illyrian, 450–459; Leo, a Thracian, to 474; Zeno, an Isaurian, to 491; Anastasius, an Illyrian, to 518; Justinus, a Thracian, to 527, followed by his nephew Justinianus, to 565. The eastern emperors were generally able to visit upon their disobedient generals and ministers the fate of Stilicho.

In the west, on the contrary, the tendency was entirely in the opposite direction. At the bidding of Odoacer, the senate of old Rome declared that it no longer required an emperor and that a governor for the western empire, whose position was sanctioned by the eastern court, would be sufficient. Under these conditions, Odoacer governed Italy and the neighbouring territory for thirteen years, coming to an agreement with the aged Geiserich on the question of Sicily. After the death of Julius Nepos, Odoacer occupied Dalmatia in 481, and advanced into Noricum against the Rugi in 487: this was the beginning of entanglements with Byzantium and with the Goths settled into Mœsia, who were in alliance with the Rugi. Theoderic, the Gothic king and patricius, was authorised by the emperor Zeno to march against Italy, overthrow Odoacer's rule, and set up himself in his place. Theoderic defeated Odoacer on the Isonzo and at Verona,

Theoderic the Goth Destroys Odoacer's Power

took Milan, and established his headquarters at the important strategical point of Ticinum. He again defeated Odoacer and his allies on the Adda; after a three years' siege he got possession of the capital of Ravenna in 943, and destroyed Odoacer and his troops, in spite of the capitulation that had been agreed upon.

Thus Theoderic gained the power; he stepped into Odoacer's position, in the first place as king of the Goths and Rugi, and secondly as appointee of the eastern emperor to the administration of the realm. The senate of old Rome, which still retained its ancient prestige, carried on negotiations with Byzantium concerning Theoderic's appointment. Theoderic reigned thirty-three years, a period of peace and prosperity for Italy. The Goths were distributed over the country, as the barbarian troops had been after Stilicho's time, while in other respects the Roman official organisation and the municipal arrangements remained intact. Italy and the neighbouring territory were now thrown upon their own economic resources, and the national prosperity greatly increased in consequence; the Pomptine marshes were drained, and agriculture was again introduced into Italy. Sicily, which again became prominent as the granary of Rome, was spared the infliction of Gothic settlers. From Dalmatia, sheep, cattle, and corn were introduced into Italy.

Peace and Prosperity Under the Goths

On the other hand, all those places which had flourished under the empire were now desolate heaps of ruins. Rome had been taken five times during the Gothic wars, had been lost and reconquered. Hadrian's villa had been destroyed; the imperial statues in the mausoleum at Rome had been thrown down by the raging Goths during the siege. The Goths had ruined the splendid aqueducts, so that the water ran to waste and helped to convert the Campagna into marsh land. All the well-known country seats of the emperor and the senators in the Roman "Campagna," in the Sabine country, at Tusculum and Southern Etruria, on the gulfs of Naples and Misenum were in ruins. On the other hand, these extensive wastes served the neighbouring population as places of refuge; new settlements were founded, as was Frascata (the modern Frascati) on the site of the imperial villa near



THE GOTHS APPROACHING ROME

Specially drawn for this work by W. Edward Wigfull.

Tusculum. In Rome itself the ornamental buildings of imperial times were employed as fortresses, as the town walls built by Aurelian were so extensive as to demand an enormous army for their defence. Thus, Hadrian's mausoleum became the citadel of Rome during the Middle Ages, while the great families established themselves in the Colosseum and elsewhere. The once prosperous district of Etruria had become as desolate as the Roman "Campagna," even from the outset of the fifth century, when Rutilius Namatianus passed along the coast after the capture of Rome by Alaric. This desolation was largely brought by the system of latifundia, which continued even in Gothic times. Theodahat, the Gothic king, was originally a Tuscan landed proprietor, and his attempts to buy up the estates of his neighbours or to expel them from their land had made him very unpopular.

Hadrian's Tomb as the Citadel

It is noteworthy that many ancient towns, such as Volsci and Tarquinii, became more and more deserted, while others began to be densely populated. Places that had once been of importance deteriorated, while others, such as Castrum Viterbum (the modern Viterbo) now rose into prominence. Sometimes, moreover, the most ancient places of settlement in a district again became famous, because of their natural strength; thus the inhabitants of Falerii, who had descended into the plains and settled there during the peaceful period of Roman supremacy, now reoccupied the old fortress; hence the name Castellum (the modern Civita Castellana). Inhabitants of the Roman town of Volsinii, which was rendered insalubrious by the marshy exhalations of its lake, reoccupied in force the old Etruscan town of Urbiventum (the modern Orvieto), because its lofty situation and natural strength promised security against attack.

Coming Struggle Between Goths and Byzantines

Upon an island in the lake of Volsinii (the modern Lago di Bolsena) the Goths had founded a strong fortress, where a portion of the royal treasure was kept. It was here that Amalasuntha, the daughter of the great Theoderic was imprisoned and put to death by her cousin and co-regent, Theodahat.

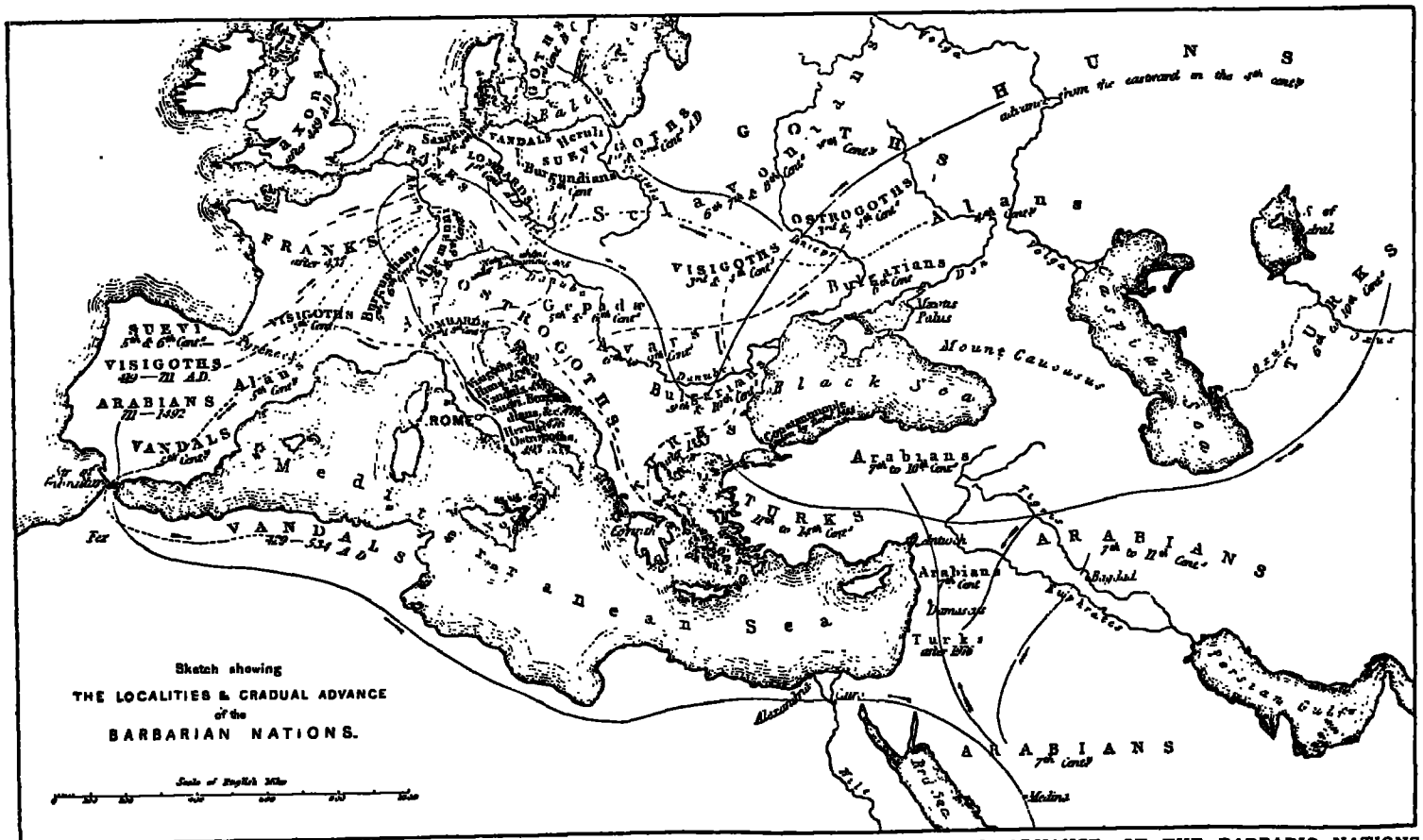
Other districts in Central Italy continued to enjoy prosperity until the period of the struggle between the Goths and the Byzantines. The harm wrought by the invasions of Alaric, Radagais and Attila had been only temporary, with the exception of the destruction of Aquileia; and the struggle between Odoacer and Theoderic had been confined to Northern Italy.

On reading the episcopal registers of Italy for this period we are astonished to see how many places that have now disappeared were in existence about the year 500 A.D., as for instance, in Umbria. Plestia, where Hannibal, in the year 217 B.C.—that is, 700 years before this time—had effected the passage from Umbria to Picenum, now had its bishop; so had such places as Tadina, Ostra, Vettona, Forum Flamini, etc. Generally speaking, the "urban" portion of the Apennine peninsula was no less blessed with bishoprics than the province of Africa. Not only all towns, but also many of the latifundia, such as the fundus Carminianus (the modern Carmignano) in Southern Italy, had their bishops. This organisation had become perfected since the second half of the fourth century.

Near Rome there were bishops, not only at Ostia, but also at Portus, the harbour on the right-hand mouth of the Tiber, which had been founded by Claudius and further extended by Trajan. The same was the case with Lorium, where a town had grown up round the villa of Antoninus Pius, which was also known as Silva Candida, and with Gabii, Albanum, Labicum and Nomentum. From this we learn that these places in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome were important cities; their bishops were under the immediate control of the Roman bishop or pope, just as the Patriarch of Antioch controlled the bishops of the provincial diocese of Syria Prima. In general, the episcopal organisation was analogous in detail to the imperial; the highest dignitaries of the empire often exchanged their temporal for a corresponding position in the Church. On such circumstances was based the theory of Augustine, the learned bishop of Hippo, who declared that the Roman state was but transitory, while the Church was permanent, as its development was uninterrupted and vigorous.

The Episcopal System

In annonaric Italy—those provinces, that is, that paid tribute to Rome in the form of products of the soil—the bishops



SKETCH MAP ILLUSTRATING THE LOCALITIES OF ORIGIN OR OCCUPATION, AND GRADUAL ADVANCE, OF THE BARBARIC NATIONS

of Milan and Aquileia acted as metropolitans; the bishop of Ravenna also performed that function when his residence became the capital. The bishop of Rome was regarded as the first prelate of Italy, of the West, and of the whole Church, though his authority was occasionally disputed in individual districts. This was the case in the east, the west, and even in Italy. The bishops of Ravenna turned their connection with the emperors and regents to good account. Occasionally a general congress of the Italian bishops was held at Rome; this happened repeatedly during the years 499–502, when the merits of two rival candidates for the Papacy were under discussion. On such points we gain much information from the biographies of the popes in the "Liber Pontificialis," which took the place of the biographies of the emperors as an historical record. Similar records were possessed by the churches of Ravenna, Milan, and other towns.

Ascendancy of the Bishops of Rome

The age is especially notable for ecclesiastical controversies. The struggle between the Arians and the Athanasians continued for three hundred years, and important Church councils were repeatedly summoned to settle the matter, at Milan in 355, at Ariminum in 359, and at Aquileia in 381. Christian dogma, however, was developed exclusively by the churches of the eastern half of the empire, especially those of Alexandria; next in importance were the imperial capitals, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Byzantium.

A great event was the alliance between old and new Rome at the council of Chalcedon in 451, which broke down the supremacy of the "Pope" of Alexandria. From this time on, new Rome went its way in close connection with the Church policy of the government, whereas old Rome, after Italy had fallen under Arian rulers, such as Ricimer, Odoacer and Theoderic, did not fall in with every decision emanating from the east upon points of dogma. Ecclesiastical events exercised a considerable influence upon the general policy of the empire; Justinian found an opportunity for interfering in the affairs of the west, in the closing of the schism between the Churches of old and new Rome, which had continued for nearly forty years (484–519). Sometimes even separate parts of Italy itself might be divided upon ecclesiastical questions. Thus about the middle of the sixth century (553) Northern Italy broke away from the Church of Rome, because its opposition to the emperor's opportunist policy on dogmatic questions had not been sufficiently marked. Years passed before the Church of Aquileia could unite with the subordinate bishoprics of Venetia, Noricum, Rhætia Secunda, and Istria.

Relationship of Church and State

Side by side with dissension among Christians there grew the opposition to Jewish communities, which gave rise to uproar and tumult, not only in great cities, like Rome, Milan, Ravenna, and Naples, but also in many of the smaller towns, as in Venusia or those on the Etruscan coast. The Gothic government was reputed to have kept stricter order in this respect than the Byzantine rulers, and to have exercised a strict supervision over incapable local authorities. The Jews derived many advantages from the economic decay of Italy, but this made them objects of hatred; and we find Rutilius Namatianus deploring the fact that the destruction of Jerusalem should have brought Jews to every corner of the earth.

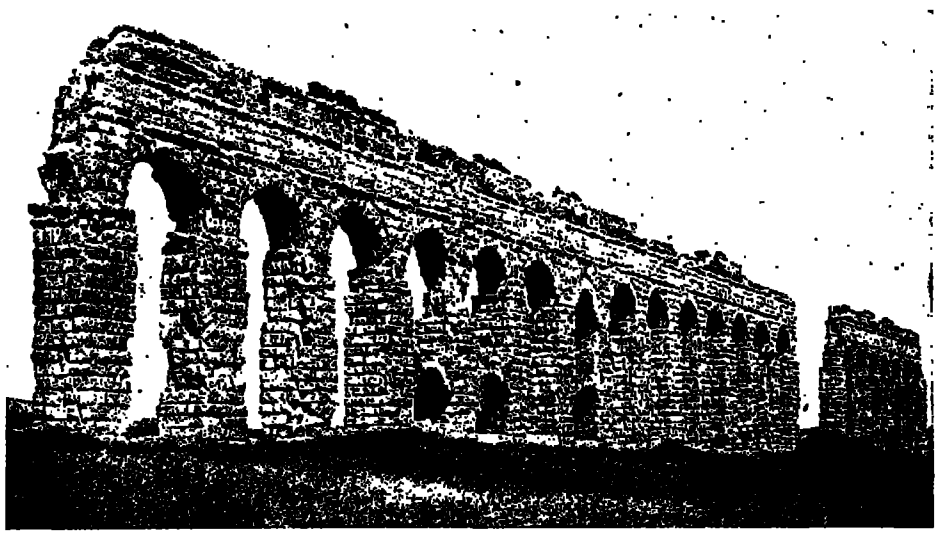
Church Grows in Riches

A point of more than mere economic importance in the development of the country was the number of gifts and bequests to the clergy, which gradually increased until the landed property of the Church became of great value. Thus the Roman Church had possessions in the province of the Alpes Cottiæ; it had an extensive forest at the source of the Tiber, large districts in Tuscany, Sabina, Campania (the "campagna"), Southern Italy, and Sicily. Similarly, the churches of Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna acquired great possessions, partly in the neighbourhood of their capital towns, but also at a distance. All these lands were carefully surveyed and registered; they were either worked by bond-slaves ("coloni") or let out to farmers.

In the sixth century began the foundation of monasteries, modelled on the cloisters of the east; and, as in the east, their heads sought to increase their interests by skilfully adapting themselves to the spirit of the times. As the "world" deteriorated, the finer spirits sought solitude where they might realise the ideal of living out their lives in the city of God. Time began to be reckoned from the birth of Christ—a chronology which was first

employed by the monk Dionysius Exiguus, who drew up a table for the determining of the recurrence of Easter, at Rome, in 525. Benedict, a man of good family, from Nursia in the Sabine country, was the first superior of a monastery at Sublaqueum (Subiaco) at the sources of the Anio, where Nero formerly had a villa. He soon founded a similar institution on the rocky summit which overhung the town of Casinum, on which the old Oscan town of that name had once stood, and in later years a shrine to Apollo; this was the monastery of Monte Casino (529 A.D.). Casinum was subsequently renamed San Germano after its patron saint. Benedict's example was followed by Cassiodorus, who had previously been private secretary to Theoderic and præfectus prætorio to his successor; his birthplace was Squillacium (the modern Squillace) in Bruttium. Cassiodorus wrote a history to extol the Gothic government, extracts from which have come down to us in the Gothic history of Jordanes; when the Gothic empire fell, Cassiodorus withdrew to the monastery of Vivarium, which he founded in his own home upon his own land.

Benedict had expressly enjoined the pursuit of literature upon the monks who followed his rule; Cassiodorus composed or had written handbooks, which served as a guide for the scientific efforts of the following centuries. By this means the inheritance of "classical" antiquity was preserved, even after the senatorial families in Rome who had collected old manuscripts under Odoacer and Theoderic had succumbed in the storms of that period. The philosopher Boethius and his father-in-law Symmachus had been suspected of treason by Theoderic towards the end of his rule, and put to death by him. Twenty years later, when Badvila (Totila) reconquered Rome, their relatives were reduced to beggary. Cicero was honoured by Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine as a pioneer of the Church, and, in consequence, his works were preserved in their entirety to future generations. Christian interpretations were put upon many poems, as, for instance, upon the works of Virgil.



HOW THE GOTHS AND VANDALS RUINED ROME: DESTRUCTION OF THE AQUEDUCTS

The immense aqueducts which carried water to Rome across the Campagna from distant hill sources were the weakness of the imperial city, and the attacking barbarians naturally cut off the water supply by destroying the aqueducts. It was thus that the Campagna became a marsh. The ruins of the aqueducts are still a magnificent sight.

As few barbarian languages had been reduced to writing, the literary influence of the Latins continued, and their language remained the medium of international communication. In every civilised district of the empire the barbarians, after establishing their supremacy, adopted the language of the conquered race, as did the Langobards in Italy and the western Goths in Spain. Only in districts where Roman civilisation had not fully penetrated and where the ties between the invaders and their German Fatherland remained strong, was the Romance population absorbed by the Teutons.

JULIUS JUNG

GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF ROME TO 500 A.D.

B.C.	
753	Founding of the city of Rome by Romulus (traditional): the "Year One" of the Roman chronology
650	Rome at the head of the Latin League
510	Expulsion of the kings
508	Ascendancy of the Etruscans [tribunes
494	First secession of the plebs; institution of
489	Series of wars with Volsci and Æqui begins
486	Agrarian law of Spurius Cassius [Syracuse
474	Power of Etruscans checked by Hiero of
451	Decemvirs; the XII tables form the basis of written law at Rome
449	Second secession of the plebs
445	Military tribunes commonly take the place of
443	Institution of censors [consuls till 377
431	Overthrow of Volsci and Æqui
396	Conquest of Veii by Camillus
390	Gauls capture Rome, but retire
385	Latin League closed to new members
377	The Licinian Rogations proposed
367	The Licinian Rogations passed, the plebs now acquiring full political rights; the senatorial oligarchy of official families takes the place of the patrician aristocracy as ruling power
366	First plebeian consul (L. Sextius)
356	First plebeian dictator (C. Marcius Rutilus)
348	First treaty with Carthage
343	Beginning of Samnite wars
339	Leges Publiæ
338	Dissolution of Latin League
327	Renewed Samnite war
323	[Death of Alexander the Great]
312	Appius Claudius censor
304	Peace with Samnites till 298
290	Peace and league with Samnites [macy of plebs
287	Lex Hortensia establishes legislative supre-
281	Declaration of war with Tarentum
280	Invasion of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, as ally of Tarentum; Samnites and others join the alliance [Sicily
278	Alliance of Rome and Carthage; Pyrrhus in
275	Defeat of Pyrrhus by M'. Curius Dentatus
273	First Roman treaty with Egypt
272	General submission of Italians
266	Completion of conquest of S. Italy
264	First Punic War (till 241)
263	Alliance of Rome with Hiero of Syracuse
262	Agrigentum taken from Carthage
260	First Roman naval victory, at Mylæ
255	Regulus routed and captured in Africa
250	Roman victory of Panormus
247	Hamilcar Barca in Sicily; birth of Hannibal
241	End of First Punic War
229	Illyrian War
228	Romans admitted to the Isthmian games
222	Overthrow of the Boii (Gauls)
218	Second Punic War: Hannibal crosses the Alps
217	Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene
216	Roman defeat at Cannæ
214	First Macedonian War
211	P. Scipio (Africanus) in Spain
207	Defeat and death of Hasdrubal at the Metaurus
202	Carthage crushed by Scipio at Zama; end of
200	Second Macedonian War [Second Punic War
197	Decisive Roman victory at Cynoscephalæ
190	Overthrow of Antiochus of Syria at Magnesia
171	Third Macedonian War
168	Victory of L. Æmilius Paulus at Pydna
149	Third Punic War, to 146
148	Macedonia becomes a Roman province
146	Carthage destroyed; Roman province of Africa constituted
133	Tribunate of Tib. Gracchus, who is murdered
123	Tribunate of C. Gracchus
121	Death of C. Gracchus; Gallia Narbonensis first Roman province in Transalpine Gaul
112	Jugurthan War
102	Marius totally defeats the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ and the Cimbri at the Raudine Plain
91	Social war
89	All Italians enfranchised
88	Sulla puts the Marians to flight, but departs to take command in the Mithradatic War
87	Cinna's popular revolution; Marian proscrip-
84	End of Mithradatic War [tion
82	Sulla dictator
81	Reactionary Sullan constitution
79	Sertorius in Spain; party war continues
74	Second war with Mithradates
72	Pompey ends the war in Spain
71	Coalition of Pompey and Crassus; end of Sullan constitution [the east by Pompey
63	Catiline's conspiracy at Rome; settlement of
60	Triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus and Cæsar
58	Cæsar in Gaul (till 49)
55	Cæsar's expedition to Britain
49	Cæsar leads his army across the Rubicon
48	Battle of Pharsalus; death of Pompey
45	Cæsar's supremacy secured at Munda
44	Murder of Julius Cæsar
43	Triumvirate of Antony, Octavian and Lepidus
42	Overthrow of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi
31	Octavian overthrows Antony at Actium
27	Octavian, with title Augustus, becomes emperor (princeps, imperator, etc); organisation of the empire into senatorial and imperial provinces
12	Death of Agrippa
8	Tiberius on the German frontier
A.D.	
6	Tiberius in Pannonia
9	The German Arminius overthrows Varus
14	Death of Augustus; accession of Tiberius
37	Gaius Cæsar (Caligula) emperor
41	Claudius emperor; conquest of Britain
54	Nero emperor
68	Galba emperor [Vespasian emperor
69	Accession and death of Otho and of Vitellius;
79	Titus emperor
81	Domitian emperor (last of the "Twelve Cæsars")
96	Nerva (first of the "Five Good Emperors")
98	Trajan emperor
117	Hadrian emperor; reorganisation
138	Antonnus Pius emperor
161	Marcus Aurelius emperor
180	Commodus emperor
193	Pertinax emperor; first of the series of "Prætorian emperors," lasting 90 years; he is followed by Septimius Severus (to 211)
211	Caracalla emperor
222	Alexander Severus emperor (to 235)
244	Philip the Arabian emperor to 249; claimed as a Christian
249	State persecution of Christians under Decius
263	Advance of Goths checked under Claudius
270	Goths and Alamanni checked by Aurelian
274	Fall of Palmyra (Queen Zenobia)
277	Franks and Burgundians checked by Probus
284	Diocletian becomes emperor; reorganisation
303	Last persecution of Christians begins
312	Constantine secures supremacy at battle of Milesian Bridge; Christianity recognised
323	Constantine sole emperor
325	Council of Nicæa
360	"Pagan" reaction under Julian
364	Division of empire into Eastern and Western
392	Empire reunited under Theodosius
395	Final partition of empire
403	Successes of Stilicho against "barbarians"
410	Alaric the Goth sacks Rome; Britain evacuated
415	Goths occupy Spain
420	St. Augustine *floruit*
429	Vandal kingdom in Africa
455	Sack of Rome by Geiserich the Vandal
476	End of West Roman emperors (Romulus, Augustulus); Odoacer the Herulian King
481	Clovis king of the Franks [of Italy
493	Theoderic the Ostrogoth becomes master of
495	Cerdic founds the house of Wessex [Italy



WHY ROME FELL

A POSTSCRIPT TO A WONDERFUL STORY

By Dr. C. W. Saleeby

THERE is a paragraph in Mr. A. J. Balfour's lecture on "Decadence" (Cambridge University Press, 1908) to which all modern thinkers will assent:

> It is in vain that historians enumerate the public calamities which preceded, and no doubt contributed to, the final catastrophe. Civil dissensions, military disasters, pestilences, famines, tyrants, tax-gatherers, growing burdens, and waning wealth—the gloomy catalogue is unrolled before our eyes, yet somehow it does not in all cases wholly satisfy us; we feel that some of these diseases are of a kind which a vigorous body-politic should easily be able to survive, that others are secondary symptoms of some obscurer malady, and that in neither case do they supply us with the full explanations of which we are in search. Consider, for instance, the long agony and final destruction of Roman Imperialism in the West, the most momentous catastrophe of which we have historic record. It has deeply stirred the imagination of mankind, it has been the theme of great historians, it has been much explained by political philosophers, yet who feels that either historians or philosophers have laid bare the inner workings of the drama? Rome fell, and great was the fall of it. But why it fell, by what secret mines its defences were breached, and what made its garrison so faint-hearted and ineffectual—that is not so clear.

These words, we may fairly say, represent the attitude of the modern mind towards the common type of explanation; the catalogue of contributory causes is clearly incomplete. The biologist has a natural conviction that we must turn to his science, departing from the fields explored by the ordinary historian to find the most fundamental causes of all. We cannot but believe that Rome fell because the Roman breed degenerated, and it is the causes of that degeneration that really concern us. Having found them, may we also find that they are at work in another empire to-day?

Is there a Modern Parallel?

Mr. Balfour's own conclusion is that decadence is due to decadence, by which he means the equivalent of old age. And here we recognise at once, as the very latest explanation of the fall of Rome, offered us by a writer who has been compelled to abandon the accepted doctrines, none other than the most ancient, as also the most wildly fallacious, of all the doctrines which have ever been advanced in the name of philosophy to explain the mortality of nations. This is the misinterpretation of the doctrine of Plato and Aristotle, that just as nations may be compared to individuals in other respects, so also their life, growth, and decay present similar phenomena to those of the individual. This is transformed into the doctrine that each race, like each individual, is doomed to inevitable extinction.

Mortality of Nations

By the modern student of life this explanation is wholly rejected as constituting a denial of the first and most conspicuous of biological truths—the truth that individuals are necessarily mortal and races are not. As Tennyson puts it: "The individual withers, the race is more and more." Space does not avail for a discussion of the science of the matter here. It is sufficient to say that no doctrine can appear more ludicrously absurd than this doctrine to the biologist, who can point to countless animal and vegetable species compared with which the whole race of mankind is but a mushroom of yesterday, for it consists in a denial of the most salient and universal truth which the study of life offers us. The utmost that can be said of this popular doctrine of the fall of empires is that in directing us to the quality of the imperial people as the factor of which we are in search it points to a side of the question which the ordinary historian omits to investigate; but the

cause of this racial failure—a failure which we are undoubtedly entitled to postulate—must not be sought in a denial of the fundamental antithesis between all living individuals and all living races. The decay of a race is preventible; the decay of the individual is not. Can the biologist, then, assign causes for the degeneration of the Roman people which, so far from denying the obvious truths of biology, are in accord with it?

Malaria the Neglected Factor

The most recently alleged of these causes is probably very far from being the whole of the truth, but the doctrine is a novel one. It comes before us on extremely high authority, and since it can be briefly dealt with, a few words may first be devoted to it.

In the year 1907 a small book was issued from the University of Cambridge under the title "Malaria—a Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome." The main body of the book is written by a distinguished historical student, Mr. W. H. S. Jones. There is an introduction by the greatest living authority on malaria, Professor Major Ronald Ross, F.R.S., and a concluding chapter by Dr. Ellett. Malaria, we may here note, even at the present day causes more illness—though tuberculosis causes more deaths—than any other disease to which mankind is subject. And we are warranted in saying that "it seizes all, fit and unfit alike, gradually lessening the general vitality until, in some cases, it has exterminated the people among whom it has become endemic."

It may be added that malaria is of an utterly different character from epidemic diseases, such as plague and cholera, which sweep through a population for a time, and then leave it. It is to be ranked among those diseases which, when once introduced into a population, oppress it for ever, and it has the particular character that it attacks the children, killing many of them, and rendering a large percentage of the remainder sickly for years. As Professor Ross says—and his words are momentous for Great Britain at this moment—"A people of whom a large proportion have passed through a sickly childhood cannot but be at a disadvantage compared with more healthy nations; and it is quite possible that the sudden introduction of an endemic disease among a people hitherto dominant in the world may end in its rapid downfall as regards science, arts, commerce and war."

How Disease May Destroy a Civilisation

The argument which issues, then, from the modern scientific study of the historical evidence is that a factor in the fall both of Greece and of Rome may have been the introduction of this terrible disease, malaria, which proceeded to cause the degeneration of the race in a fashion which is absolutely paralleled under our own observation to-day by the action of newly imported diseases upon various aboriginal races in many parts of the world. It is not necessary for us to go here into the historical evidence. It suffices to have directed the reader to an instance of the modern tendency in explaining the facts of history, and we may leave this matter by a brief quotation from Professor Ross—who speaks, be it remembered, as one of the greatest discoverers and original thinkers now alive. He says:

History from the Standpoint of Biology

The student of biology is often struck with the feeling that historians, when dealing with the rise and fall of nations, do not generally view the phenomena from a sufficiently high biological standpoint. To me, at least, they seem to attach too much importance to individual rulers and soldiers, and to particular wars, policies, religions, and customs; while at the same time they make little attempt to extract the fundamental causes of national success or failure.

Let us turn now to a wholly different aspect of our question—an aspect emphasised by the study of motherhood as it is to be observed in Great Britain to-day. The dethronement of motherhood on all hands sometimes by fashion, sometimes by economics—as in married women's labour—and its absolute degradation in many instances in all classes of society by means of the racial poison we call alcohol—these are factors which seem to be so palpably making history that it is natural to dwell upon the evidence as to the similar state of motherhood during the decline of Rome.

In all higher animal species, and pre-eminently in the case of man, motherhood is the dominant fact of the racial life, as the mere name mammalia should be sufficient to indicate. Absolutely necessary and cardinal though it be, so that without motherhood or foster-motherhood no human being could ever have survived its birth for twenty-four hours, this is

not one of the factors of history which excite the interest of the orthodox historian; it is enough for him to see in the degradation of the sense of motherhood one of the standing symptoms of a decadent society. Carlyle, "the greatest historian since Tacitus," as Ruskin called him. has a passage in "The French Revolution" which, without mentioning motherhood. yet hints at the kind of error into which all historians are so prone to fall. He points out that the oak grows silently in the forest for a thousand years, and no one utters a word. Only when the woodman fells it and "with far sounding crash it falls" are we interested. And he continues in a fine passage:

It is thus everywhere that foolish Rumour babbles not of what was done, but of what was misdone or undone; and foolish History (ever, more or less, the written epitomised synopsis of Rumour) knows so little that were not as well unknown. Attila Invasions, Walter-the-Penniless Crusades, Sicilian Vespers, Thirty-Years Wars: mere sin and misery; not work, but hindrance of work! For the Earth, all this while, was yearly green and yellow with her kind harvests; the hand of the craftsman, the mind of the thinker rested not: and so, after all, and in spite of all, we have this so glorious high-domed blossoming World; concerning which, poor History may well ask, with wonder, Whence *it* came? She knows so little of it, knows so much of what obstructed it, what would have rendered it impossible. Such, nevertheless, by necessity or foolish choice, is her rule and practice; whereby that paradox, "Happy the people whose annals are vacant," is not without its true side.

An old Fault of History

Murder, not motherhood, is indeed the theme in which the historian too commonly delights—the taking of life, not the making of it. But the factors which make life make history, as well as the factors which destroy it; and it is indeed very greatly to the discredit of historians that they usually pass by, as mere commonplaces which demand no emphasising, the home truths which will continue pre-eminently to determine human history so long as three times in every century the only wealth of nations is reduced to dust, and begins again in helpless infancy.

Sometimes, however, the historians preserve for us a story on account of an epigram or what not, and one such story is familiar to all of us.

Cornelia, "the mother of the Gracchi," was undoubtedly one of the greatest women in Roman history. She was left a widow, the mother of twelve children, and devoted herself to them; and the story goes that when a Campanian lady asked to see her jewels, she presented her children to the inquirer, with the words, "These are my jewels." Cornelia represented the spirit of Roman motherhood in Rome's great days. A very different spirit marks the decline. Let us illustrate the change that took place by a quotation from the work of a pleasant scribbler named Aulus Gellius, who wrote a volume called the "Attic Nights," about 150 A.D.—a date which makes his evidence of the utmost value. Our rendering is borrowed from Mr. Quintin Waddington.

Importance of True Motherhood

Aulus Gellius tells us that one day, when he was with the philosopher Favorinus, word was brought to him that the wife of one of his disciples had just given birth to a son, so they went to inquire after the mother and to congratulate the father:

"Of course," said he, "she will suckle the child herself." And when the girl's mother said that her daughter must be spared, and nurses obtained in order that the heavy strain of nursing the child should not be added to what she had already gone through, "I beg of you, dear lady," said he, "to allow her to be a whole mother to her child. Is it not against Nature, and being only half a mother, to give birth to a child, and then at once send him away? To have nourished with her own blood and in her own body a something that she had never seen, and then to refuse it her own milk, now that she sees it living, a human being, demanding a mother's care? Or are you one of those who think that Nature gave a woman breasts, not that she might feed her children, but as pretty little hillocks to give her bust a pleasing contour? Many, indeed, of our present-day ladies—whom you are far from resembling—do try to dry up and repress the sacred fount of the body, the nourisher of the human race, even at the risk they run from turning back and corrupting their milk, lest it should take off from the charm of their beauty. . . . Is it a reasonable thing to corrupt the fine qualities of the new-born man, well-endowed as to both body and mind as far as parentage is concerned, with the unsuitable nourishment of degenerate and foreign milk? Especially is this the case if she whom you get to supply the milk is a slave or of servile estate, and—as is very often the case—of a foreign and barbarous race, if she is dishonest, ugly, unchaste, or *addicted to drink*. . . . And besides these considerations, who can afford to ignore or belittle the fact that those who desert their offspring and send them away from themselves, and make them over to others to nurse, cut, or at least loosen and weaken, that chain and connection of mind and affection by which Nature attaches

Roman Appeal for Motherhood

children to their parents. For when the child, sent elsewhere, is away from sight the vigour of maternal solicitude little by little dies away, and the call of motherly instinct grows silent, and forgetfulness of a child sent away to nurse is not much less complete than that of one lost by death.

"A child's thoughts, and the love he is ever ready to give, are occupied, moreover, with her alone from whom he derives his food, and soon he has neither feeling nor affection for the mother who bore him. The foundations of the filial feelings with which we are born being thus sapped and undermined, whatever affection children thus brought up may seem to have for father and mother for the most part is not natural love, but the result of social convention."

Roman Mothers and English

Perhaps the most astonishing thing about this quotation is its modernity. Here are the very things which speakers at our Infant Mortality Conferences are saying about the mothers of England to-day. It is sufficiently evident from the remarks made by Favorinus that at this most critical period in Roman history the very same tendencies were at work which we deplore in England to-day. And these tendencies are not merely symptoms of moral degeneration: they are actual causes of decadence both moral and physical.

Further, we must turn to yet another inquiry. The most recent thinkers are coming more and more to lend their support to the memorable words of Darwin in "The Descent of Man," published in 1871. He there said that, if there are no means by which to "prevent the reckless, the vicious, and otherwise inferior members of society from increasing at a quicker rate than the better class of men, the nation will retrograde, as has too often occurred in the history of a world." More recently, Dr. Francis Galton, referring to "the rates with which the various classes of society—classified according to civic usefulness—have contributed to the population at various times, in ancient and modern nations," said, "There is strong reason for believing that national rise and decline is closely connected with this influence." And only four years ago, Professor Karl Pearson said, "The inexplicable decline and fall of nations, following from no apparent external cause, receives instant light from the relative fertility of the fitter and unfitter elements combined with what we now know of the laws of inheritance."

A Problem for Modern England

This problem is facing us in England to-day; that it is a matter of primary importance for thinkers to find some solution of it becomes the more evident when we recognise its importance in the degeneration of the Roman people.

Keeping in mind these various expressions of one great idea, let us reconsider one of those phenomena of history which no historian can be accused of neglecting; that phenomenon is war. This has ever been the historian's delight. But while war is one of the most important factors in history, a dominant reason of its importance has hitherto escaped all historians. Their interest is in generals and armies and battles; in treaties of peace and terms of conquest; in short, in its political results. The new history will inquire into all the racial consequences of war. If the historian learns that the flower of a nation's youth has been destroyed in a victorious campaign, he may think the fact worth reckoning with, as well as the circumstance that the indemnity demanded amounted to so many pounds. Perhaps it is always of some interest to the philosopher to observe the individual—or the nation—who exchanges life for gold, and his certain fate. Consider now the case of Imperial Rome. The immediate instrument of empire was, of course, military force. There was always some "little war" proceeding on the confines of the empire. There was a persistent selection from decade to decade and century to century of the most competent and physically capable men for military purposes.

Military Rome Exhausted the Best Stock

A distinguished American thinker, Professor Jordan, has lately suggested that we have here a biological key to the problem of the fall of Rome. The best were chosen for soldiers, one may say, and those that were not good enough to be soldiers were left to be fathers. The best stocks were gradually exhausted; of which, perhaps, the strongest proof is the fact that the "Roman" legions ceased to be recruited from the Roman people. When the process of the survival and perpetuation of the worst had continued long enough, the race had degenerated into that Roman mob which demanded "bread and games," upon whose heads their empire came crashing down, as all empires will, upon their living foundations when those foundations decay.



THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

AND THE DOOM OF THE GREAT NATIONS

By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SLAVERY

IT is no longer possible to consider the history of mankind as a thing apart from the history of the great forces, conscious and unconscious, personal and impersonal, organic and inorganic, which have brought the visible world to the stage at which we find it. For human society falls within the realm of Nature, and its institutions are likewise an expression of natural law. The condition of all living things to-day is the result of a struggle carried on during many ages by an interminable line of progenitors. Whenever we watch closely enough the behaviour of a set of living forces we discover that the principle of their activity is a principle of opposition as well as of combination. Although co-operation may take place within different groups, it is a co-operation directed against other groups which are hostile. And the struggle between human wills is only another form, more intense and more articulate, of the struggle which goes on among all organic and inorganic things—among stars for their places in the sky; among plants for their places in the earth; and among animals for their places in the species into which they are born.

The Eternal Conflict

In their effort to maintain their equilibrium the stars, for example, spend an amount of energy which is measured in terms of the law of gravitation; in the effort to obtain nourishment from the soil every tree is an enemy to every other tree; and in the animal world every beast is really a beast of prey. Likewise every civilisation, however refined, hides beneath its polished surface a mass of implacable forces. Its fabric was never raised without the sacrifice of millions of human beings, and that fabric is not maintained without immeasurable labour. During many centuries history was a bloody panorama. The precincts of battle, to use a phrase of Hobbes, are as extensive as the ranges of created things, and in this formidable war man has taken an ample share. The chaos of his history, the consolidation and the catastrophe of his empires, the struggle between nations and within them, the cry of the slave against the free in ancient, and of the poor against the rich in modern, times mark nothing exceptional in the apparently merciless economy of Nature. For Nature expresses and transforms her energy with equal indifference in the birth of a star or in its extinction, in a tidal wave or in an earthquake, in a social revolution and the ruin of states, or in the disappearance of a race of men.

The Merciless Economy of Nature

If, therefore, we desire to obtain any genuine insight into the fortunes of mankind we must link them to the history of all other struggling organisms. There is nothing fundamentally different in the conditions of human existence, except that they are far more elaborate and poignant. The gift of full self-consciousness has in its case been accompanied by a more acute sense of pain and fear which mankind have betrayed in their religions, their laws, their literature and their arts.

If, then, we accept the view that human society is only another exhibition of a

natural process, we shall not rest content, like Rousseau, to arraign the human will as the sole cause of the disorder of history. There have been in operation numerous and intricate causes over which the human will had no control. According to Rousseau, the unequal distribution of well-being is the result of man's interference with the course of Nature. Closer study of Nature's methods, however, convinces us that human society in its slow evolution has only obeyed instinctively those laws of struggle and survival which regulate the destiny of all living things. The truth is—and it is a truth which ought to be dear to idealists—that it is only in human society that any conscious effort has been made to mitigate the conflict. No doubt that effort came late. Justice has long overslept herself. The human will has been a powerful factor in retardation. But, after all, history is partly the record of the intellectual and the moral education of humanity, and the record is progressive.

Justice Awakens Late

To the members of every one of her species Nature presents harsh conditions as the means of success. For they are all compelled to fight not only the members of rival species but of their own. And in this war of each against all perhaps the most startling fact is that the struggle is severest between members of the *same* species. It is this latter struggle which has been called the struggle for existence. One variety of bee destroys another variety, one type of rat drives out another type, one kind of ape is the enemy of another kind, and so on up the scale until we find the same fact expressed among human beings by racial and national hate.

In the struggle for territory and for subsistence not only does one race of men enter the field against another, but members of the same race are found to have been perpetually at war. Every species, in fact, is involved in a great family quarrel, and it is to this formidable education within its own ranks that its ultimate predominance is due. In that gladiatorial show, which is Nature, only the "fittest," who are generally the strongest combatants, preserve their place in the arena. A species disappears by reason of deterioration from within, or by reason of destruction by a more powerful foe. If one beast moves more slowly than another, it will be caught and destroyed by its fleeter-footed rival. Clumsier instincts, less accurate methods of attack and defence, defective eyesight or sense of smell, teeth, horns and claws that are weaker and blunter, absence of rapid decision or of prolonged endurance, are all serious handicaps in the conflict for the means of subsistence. Those animals which suffer from all such defects will thus fail whenever they are attacked by enemies better equipped.

In the Arena of Nature

Now if we keep in view the fact that this law of antagonism has operated likewise within the human species throughout all its branches, savage or civilised, we shall perhaps be less surprised by the confusion of human history. War is really the fundamental fact, for the primary wants of men are not different from those of all other living creatures—space to live in and food to eat. Wolves, indeed, hunt in packs, but when the prey has been hunted down a struggle for a share of it begins between all the members of the pack. And although men early organised themselves into tribes and nations for the purpose of attacking other tribes and nations, there immediately took place between the individuals of every community a struggle for a share of whatever their corporate activity had achieved. The motive, therefore, of this struggle which goes on between individuals is not really different from the motive which brings organised masses of men into conflict. For war is only a duel multiplied indefinitely.

Wars are the Duels of Nations

The earliest forms of social consolidation were the work not of the most humane but of the most inhuman tribes. In their ruthless aggressions on the territory of their neighbours they were, however, obeying unconsciously the law of successful evolution, according to which all living things must, in order to prolong their life, absorb other living things. Societies are composite parasites. In their primitive stage they moved over the earth's surface like locusts, devouring what they could find. By the conflicts which raged between one community and another the military basis of human society was gradually prepared, and each tribe became an armed camp.

The factors of social progress have been both positive and negative—the survival and predominance of the fittest

and strongest, and the disappearance of the weakest types. So far as the fortunes of the human individual are concerned, the issue of his struggles depended upon the superiority or the inferiority of his natural equipment. There was no question of rights. Even Rousseau, in the essay in which he attempts to discover the origin of the inequality among men, admits that the primal causes of that inequality are to be discovered not in human institutions but in Nature. "I observe," he says, "that there are two kinds of inequality among human beings; one which I call natural or physical, because it is established by Nature, and consists in difference of age, of health, and of the powers of body and mind. The other is a conventional or political inequality which is the result of human arrangements. This latter inequality consists in the various privileges which some men enjoy at the expense of others—such as, for instance greater wealth, honour, power, and authority."

Weakest go to the Wall

Rousseau, however, in his survey of human society argues as if the first and deeper causes, of which he is perfectly aware, were not responsible for those differences of human well-being which every community displays. But it is impossible to believe that they were not at work very early, and that it is not owing to their operation that the entire subsequent structure of social institutions, ancient and modern, is due. In fact, apart from them there would have been no human race at all. We cannot admit that, if in every other known species a superior type has been produced at the expense of an inferior, this principle ceased to have any importance precisely in the species which is highest of all. On the contrary, we observe that in spite of man's interference it is still active within his own ranks. Owing to superior physical, moral, and intellectual endowment some individuals rise where others fall, and one nation gains a hegemony over another.

According to Rousseau, man in the primitive state is a mild and harmless being (rien n'est si doux que l'homme dans son état primitif). Savage practices belong, he thinks, not to the earlier but to the later stage of tribal development. Now, it is not to be denied that certain tribes, which owe nothing to civilisation, as we understand it, exhibit virtues which we often look for in vain among men who enjoy a higher stage of culture.

Virtues of Primitive Peoples

Travellers tell us that certain hill tribes in India are remarkable for their veracity, and that, indeed, they begin to lose that quality only after contact with the white race. The Todas and the Khonds have a reputation for commercial honesty. Among the Lepchas, too, robbery is rare, and they are described as a kind and cheerful people, possessed of a religious sense of duty. As Herbert Spencer pointed out, communities which share a relatively high material well-being are often less civilised in their methods of life and conduct than peoples at a far lower level of civilisation.

There is certainly no reason to deny that moral ideas, conceptions of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood, and of justice, may grow among men whose social system is only rudimentary. For all such ideas are the result of corporate life, and they must make a beginning somewhere. But, on the other hand, there are innumerable data which prove that existing social organisms, whether savage or civilised, are the issue of a struggle in which the predatory instincts played an overwhelming part. Societies, like the individuals of which they are composed, originally lived and thrived by the destruction of their enemies. A conquering tribe either exterminated its rival or enslaved it.

If we examine the reports of ethnological research we shall find it difficult, or rather impossible, to accept Rousseau's picture of a state of Nature which was a scene of unbroken social harmony. The elements of discord were present and active from the beginning. Social hierarchies of primeval origin appear, although in a humble and grotesque scale, among those uncivilised tribes which still exist. A traveller from Central South Africa wrote in 1881 that the Barotse employ as herdsmen young slaves and the poor. Among the Kaffirs poor men subject themselves to the rich, and, according to Fritsch, the rich tyrannise over the poor who voluntarily submit to this state of dependence. Among the Ovaherero, he who has no cattle is despised, and becomes a slave. The sheikh of a Shilluk tribe keeps as slaves those who possess no flocks. The Kalmucks compel the poor to serve

Riches Breed Inhumanity

the rich as herdsmen. In North Somaliland, among the Wer-Singellis, we find an aristocracy, a commercial caste, and a labouring class. The Massai, a warrior tribe of East Africa, keep in subjection as agricultural helots the tribe of the Warombutta. Likewise the Beni Amer, another East African people, employ slaves as ministers of luxury.

Wild Tribes Corrupted by the Whites

Thus, communities whose social organisation has been evolved and elaborated apart from the influence of civilisation reproduce that division of labour and that scheme of privileges for which Rousseau held civilisation to be responsible. It is true that in some cases wild tribes began to introduce slavery only after they had come into relation with civilised peoples. Thus in North America the Indians purchased negroes from the whites.

On the other hand, in Tahiti, New Zealand, and Brazil slavery had existed before the arrival of the foreigners. If, as in the case of the Eskimos or the aborigines of Australia, slavery is absent, the reasons are not moral but economic. In his valuable work on "Slavery as an Industrial System" Nieboer has shown that certain tribes, owing to their mode of life, are unable to keep slaves. For instance, hunting and fishing tribes seldom employ them. The reason is that where food is difficult to procure unskilled labour is useless, and does not pay its expenses. Moreover, escape would be easy, since a slave employed as a hunter is quite capable of maintaining himself by his own prowess.

The economic condition of slave-keeping tribes differs fundamentally from that of tribes like the Fuegians, the Andaman islanders, and the African pygmies, who do not keep slaves. Scarcity of food compels some savages to live in small groups, and thus there is no motive to burden the tribe with superfluous members. Each man finds his own food, or his wives find it for him. Where, on the contrary, food is abundant, and especially where agriculture, in however rude a form, is practised, we generally find that slavery becomes an integral part of the social system of primitive peoples. We are actually met by the paradox that in certain communities slavery is sometimes a sign of social and moral progress. Thus it was because women were held in rather high esteem among the tribes of the Pacific coast that slaves were employed to relieve them of the most irksome labour and drudgery. And the reason for the absence of slaves among Australian natives is that the women are the toilers. In this case, the introduction of slavery would have implied a higher status for the female population.

Slavery as a Sign of Progress

Such facts taken at random seem sufficient to prove that social institutions are the result of causes which Rousseau ignored. Nevertheless, he was correct in his view that it is only as social organisation becomes more stable and rigid that the cleavage between its classes becomes more and more marked. If, for example, we contrast primitive pastoral with primitive agricultural communities, we shall find that among the former there exists a more numerous body of freemen, for pastoral tribes are more mobile, and if an entire society is nomadic, it is necessary that all its members must be free, otherwise the movements of the tribe would be hampered. A herdsman must be at least as free as the cattle he tends. Besides, in such cases there is no great demand for labour. The owner and his family herd their flock, and slaves would be a useless expense.

Labour and the Soil

But the case is different when we turn to those tribes which enjoy a more settled existence and possess an extensive and perhaps ever-widening agricultural area. A labourer at work on the soil can be attached to it, and he is easily controlled. His labour is productive. If, owing to a successful war, the tribe's territory has been increased, there will be no danger in increasing the number of slaves. More labourers are urgently required, and they will be found among the captives. We find, therefore, that just as man tamed certain beasts to work for him, he began to tame his fellow-men for the same purpose.

It has been calculated that among 219 agricultural tribes scattered over Polynesia, America, and Africa, as many as 133 kept slaves. In cases where a wealthy tribe reaps a harvest in excess of its own needs commercial exchange with neighbouring peoples begins to develop. Nieboer gives instances in which slaves are employed for tillage and for transport. The increase of the servile class is an indication of growing revenue. A traveller among the Ewe people of West Africa

found sometimes three and even four hundred slaves owned by a single master, who employed them in carrying oil from the interior to the seaboard. Another traveller, Köler, states that on the coast of Guinea slaves were employed as oarsmen in the canoes in which palm oil was transported. In other cases the wealth and influence of a savage chief are indicated by the number of his servile attendants.

In 1867, among the natives of Brazil, Martius noticed that social distinction was measured in this manner, and that the chief who possessed most slaves was able to cultivate the largest amount of land. In Equatorial Africa, in 1875, a French explorer, Compiègne, was asked by a native for an advance of wages wherewith to purchase a slave, "because," said the man, "he will work for me, and I shall become a person of rank." On the Gold Coast in 1864 Finsch found slaves employed as domestic servants. They carried parasols and fans for their masters, who, when appearing in public, were attended by a numerous retinue like the grandees of ancient Rome. Thus we see that class distinctions are not merely the creation of civilised society. In the surviving practices of savage tribes we rediscover in a vivid form that struggle which Nature has imposed upon every species. But the predatory period never passes away. Although disguised and mitigated among civilised beings, yet, if we look deeply enough, we shall find traces of it in modern war, and even in commerce and finance. Long before the dawn of civilisation, however, man had made man his prey.

Man the Prey of Man

How many hundreds of thousands of years passed before the semi-erect progenitors of man became gradually erect, and out of what strange chaos were evolved the creatures whose posterity would become the human race, are matters which can arouse only our wonder and conjecture. Stone implements shaped by hands already human were in use at least 150,000 years ago. But an immeasurable length of time had elapsed between the date of the men who made such implements and the date of those half-human beings who had been slowly struggling upwards out of still lower species during the midnight of ages. Type after type, and generation after generation of warring creatures had disappeared before the comparatively high level of savage existence was attained. "It is not impossible," says Sir E. Ray Lankester, "that it was in the remote period known as the Lower Miocene—remote even as compared with the gravels in which neoliths occur—that natural selection began to favour that increase in the size of the brain of a large and not very powerful semi-erect ape which eventuated, after some hundreds of thousands of years, in the breeding out of a being with a relatively enormous brain-case, a skilful hand, and an inveterate tendency to throw stones, flourish sticks, protect himself in caves, and, in general, to defeat aggression and satisfy his natural appetites by the use of his wits rather than by strength alone—in which, however, he was not deficient. Probably this creature had nearly the full size of brain and every other physical character of modern man, although he had not as yet stumbled upon the art of making fire by friction, nor converted his conventional grunts and groans, his screams, laughter, and interjections into a language corresponding to (and thenceforth expressing) his thought."

Greatest of the Apes

Now this intellectual superiority of primitive man received its most significant expression in his perception of the need of co-operation between beings similarly endowed. Ever afterwards man was to fight his way not by brute force alone, but by the cunning of his brain, and, within restricted limits, by union with his fellows. Co-operation, indeed, for various ends takes place among the members of other species, such as bees, ants, wasps, wolves, and apes. The original secret of the success of the human species above all others, however, undoubtedly lies in the greater depth and extent of its powers of organisation. Those powers are not even yet realised, and the future of mankind depends upon their full development. To operate not in isolation but in masses was the great discovery of the human species. Even in the most rudimentary stage of society that factor of progress was already present. Whereas it is the tendency of most animals to lead isolated lives, it is the tendency of man not only to herd together, as animals do, but to combine for the conscious achievement of a common purpose. This movement towards cohesion, therefore, is the first great fact in social history. Among birds

Mankind's Greatest Discovery

and beasts family life is of brief duration. The offspring rapidly reach maturity, and then go their own ways in order to form fresh sexual unions, which result in the same broken cycles.

Man's Respect for Ties of Blood

But among human beings the cycle tends to remain unbroken. The different branches of a given family remain in contact and become the nuclei of clans and tribes. The blood tie remains strong and binding. Help is afforded by parent birds, by the she-lion, and by the she-wolf to their respective progeny only as long as the latter remain helpless. Later, the relations of consanguinity are forgotten, and the parents become the enemies of their own offspring. But among human beings aid is prolonged and mutually rendered far beyond maturity towards old age. And this fact, in spite of some exceptions, marks, and marks impressively, man's first interference with Nature's more ruthless methods in the struggle for existence. As a result of man's action the human family reaches a stability unknown among the families of the lower animals.

The next important advance consists in that amalgamation of human families which marriage makes possible. Hence the clan. Instead of scattered individuals, groups begin to present a common front to a common enemy. A thick veil hides from us those dim, early advances towards incorporation and cohesion between human groups which occupied the same area; but to all such instincts the foundation of subsequent social and political institutions is due. The same climate and the same hardships, intermarriage, and the need of union in the face of the foe, gradually modified the egoistic impulse of each ferocious individual in such a way that isolation was seen to mean danger, and combination was seen to mean safety. But, as we have already noticed, great differences in individual power and character become apparent as soon as human beings gather together. A levelling process begins, and for various reasons, and in various forms, some members of the community become servants of the other members. Among savage tribes the distinction between the sexes in itself early suggested a division of labour. Certain kinds of work fell naturally to women or to the weaker males. On the other hand, men who were incapable of sharing danger would be despised. They would be a source of weakness to the tribe. Women's work would be allotted to them, and they would gradually fall into a state of subjection which would tend to become hereditary. In such a way the foundations of a system of caste were laid. At first this compulsion of the weaker by the stronger was probably limited to domestic service. As the number of captives increased, however, slavery became a social institution, and discipline within the conquering tribe became more severe.

Beginnings of the Caste System

War has invariably been a great factor of cohesion. It has been pointed out that when we pass from those tribes which are without chieftains to those which are not only better organised but organised especially upon a military basis, we immediately find classes of masters and slaves. Slavery, in fact, was an attempt to create social stability. Instead of wandering hordes and loose aggregations of men dependent upon the precarious produce of the chase, there were gradually built up communities fixed upon the soil. It has been supposed that the genesis of slavery is to be found in cannibalism. At first, in savage warfare, captives were killed and eaten. "But," says Herbert Spencer, "the keeping of captives too numerous to be immediately eaten, with the view of eating them subsequently, leading, as it would to the employment of them in the meantime, caused the discovery that their services might be of more value than their flesh, and so initiated the habit of preserving them as slaves."

How Slavery Began

Such conclusions are strengthened by the fact that those uncivilised tribes which are also unwarlike are generally without slaves. But whenever the community is militant, slavery sooner or later appears. There is thus a sense in which, after all, Rousseau's theory is not wholly false. The aggregation of human beings involved a change in the status of some of those who originally enjoyed full rights. In the tyranny already visible in the earliest societies we stumble once again upon the traces of that destroying instinct by means of which some of the members of a species are sacrificed for the sake of others. In substituting slavery for death, man discovered a new, extraordinary, and dangerous weapon, wherewith he armed himself against his fellow-men.

SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE ANCIENT WORLD—II



WILLIAM ROMAINE PATERSON

SLAVERY IN THE ANCIENT EMPIRES

THE WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS OF FORCED LABOUR

WE have made brief reference to certain aspects of savage life because, even in its rudest form, the tribe was the nucleus of the great states of antiquity. They all arose out of the forced or voluntary amalgamation of tribes. Behind the great civilisations of the east and the west there lay ages of experience, during which mankind submitted to the rough discipline of a rudimentary social and political education. In even the most lowly and most imperfectly organised society we discover the beginnings of that hierarchy of powers and privileges which all the great states exhibit. Every community in which corporate life had really begun to manifest itself possessed (1) a military class, into whose hands the functions of government gravitated; (2) a class of primitive traders, who were the forerunners of the great distributing agents of modern times; and (3) an industrial class, upon whose shoulders the greatest weight of the social structure rested. It is to this subject class—the slaves—that we shall pay most attention, because they formed the underpin of the social fabric of antiquity. Governments came and went; dynasty ousted dynasty; kingships became democracies, and democracies lapsed back into kingships. In a word, the political permutations and combinations of antiquity were innumerable; but no matter what form the state assumed, its basis was the same, and that basis was slavery. Wars were undertaken for the express purpose of increasing this great stagnant population of both sexes, to whose lot it fell to work out the problems of ancient industry.

The Basis of Ancient Society

A system of labour, the origin of which is to be found among savage tribes, was consolidated, elaborated, and prolonged throughout the history of all the great empires and republics of the ancient world, and it became the source of their wealth. By studying those societies, therefore, from beneath rather than from above we shall be able to seize their common features, and to catch something of their spirit. Whereas their governments were changing and diverse, the fundamental principle of their social and economic systems was changeless. Every state fought for liberty against every other state, but within each state there existed a class to whom liberty was denied. It mattered nothing by what name the state was known. The slavery which formed the main basis of the wealth of Babylonian, Egyptian, and Persian kings formed likewise the main source of the wealth of the Athenian and the Roman republics. The struggle for political rights was carried on without any reference to the slaves. The freemen of Babylon, of Egypt, and of Persia, like the freemen of Greece and of Rome, were, in their respective countries at least united in their denial of liberty to the servile class. In Roman law we find a vivid expression of the principle which governed the policy of slave holders in antiquity. "Summa itaque divisio de jure personarum haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi."

Slave System Universal

This dogmatic pronouncement (from the Institutes of Justinian) that human beings are either free or slaves had long been accepted both in Asia and in Europe as the fundamental fact in the government of men. And although the Roman lawyers admitted that it was "contrary to Nature" to enslave a fellow creature, they stated in unmistakable terms the right of the strongest. "In potestate itaque dominorum sunt servi. Quae quidem potestas juris gentium est; nam apud omnes peraeque gentes animadvertere possumus dominis in servos vitæ necisque potestatem esse, et quodcum que per servum adquiritur id domino adquiritur" ("Slaves are thus in the power of their masters. And this is in accordance with the law of nations, for wherever we turn we see that masters have the power of life and death over their

The Power of Life and Death

slaves, and whatever the slave earns he earns for his master"). This statement gathers up the theory and practice of slavery not only as regards Rome but as regards all the great civilised states of antiquity.

At the Auction of Men

The Code of Law of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, and the Babylonian contracts for the sale of slaves, the laws of Manu in Hindustan, and the legal practice of Egypt and of Greece, all imply an elaborate servile system and a vast slave trade. That trade was international. In the Delphic inscriptions there occur names of slaves from many other lands besides Syria—Phœnicia, Egypt, Arabia, Lydia, Phrygia, Cyprus, Thessaly, Eubœa, Thrace, Macedonia, and Rome. Every city had its market for this merchandise in men. Capital found in slavery its best investment, and speculators followed the armies in order to be present, after the battle, at the auction of the prisoners of war.

In the middle of the nineteenth century there were 4,000,000 slaves in the slave states of America, and it has been calculated that the annual value of the domestic trade—that is to say, of the exchange of slaves between the states—reached the sum of £3,290,000 sterling. This was the result of a tyranny which had lasted only about two hundred years. Now, when we remember that the duration of the slave trade of antiquity is measured by thousands of years, we shall, perhaps, gain some dim conception of its vast ramifications, of its crowded and overcrowded markets, of the fortunes which were lost and won in it, and of the accumulation of human suffering which it involved.

Difference of Ancient and Modern Slavery

But we should carry away an utterly misleading impression if we supposed that the colonial slavery of modern times reproduced the servile system of states like ancient Egypt, Babylon, and Rome. Whereas in the ancient world men of every race and rank were, owing to the fortunes of war, liable to fall into servitude, the modern planters of America and the West Indies laid violent hands on a single race, the African negroes. Moreover, the labour which, under the lash, they compelled the negroes to perform was restricted to such products as rice, sugar, indigo, cotton and tobacco. In the slave states there was no attempt to teach those men any handicraft.

On the contrary, the education of negroes was expressly forbidden. Here, for instance, are some passages from the code of Virginia in 1849: "Every assemblage of negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing shall be an unlawful assembly. Any justice may issue his warrant to any officer or other person requiring him to enter any place where such assemblage may be, and seize any negro therein; and he or any other justice may order such negro to be punished with stripes." Again, "If a white person assemble with negroes for the purpose of instructing them to read or write, he shall be confined to jail not exceeding six months, and fined not exceeding one hundred dollars."

Here is another paragraph from an Act passed in South Carolina in 1834: "If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid in assisting any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall for every such offence against this act be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than six months; or if a person of colour, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding fifty dollars. And if a slave, shall be whipped, not exceeding fifty lashes." Similar acts were passed in Georgia and Alabama.

The Shame of Christian Slavery

Those Christian legislators thus doomed the entire servile population to perpetual ignorance and degradation. Their aim was to exclude their slaves from all human and humanising influences. Contrast this policy, however, with the policy of antiquity. No doubt thousands and thousands of slaves worked and perished in chains on the harvest fields of Egypt, Babylonia, and Sicily, and in Asiatic and European copper, tin and silver mines. Their forced labour upon the raw materials of ancient industry was as severe as the labour which Christian states imposed upon the negroes of Africa in the nineteenth century. But the slave products of antiquity were not confined to agricultural and mineral wealth. There was no department of art or of industry in which servile labour was unrepresented.

Although chained gangs worked in the fields, the vineyards, and the mines, and suffered under the crushing weight of an impersonal despotism, a large class of slaves worked under domestic supervision and came into personal and more human relationship with their masters. In Babylon, for instance, apprenticeship was fully developed, and slaves were taught many trades. The term of apprenticeship for weaving was five years, for stone-cutting four years, and for baking a year and a quarter. The law made sure, moreover, that the apprentice was to be well taught. Technical skill, therefore, and interest in work for its own sake were acquired by the slaves of Babylon, whereas the slaves of America were the victims of the most monotonous and degrading drudgery.

And what is true of Babylon is true of all the great ancient civilisations. The slave merchant prospered most when he passed educated slaves through his hands. Both in Greece and in Rome slaves became teachers, secretaries, and physicians. Men like Aristotle, Cicero, and Atticus and the Plinys required cultured servants, and spent time and money in the education of them. In a letter to Atticus Cicero laments the fact that Cæsar's prisoners from Britain would only prove themselves to be barbarians, incapable of becoming the servants of cultivated people. In fact, in Egypt and in Babylon, in Rome and in Greece, slaves formed among themselves a reproduction of society with its upper, middle, and lower classes.

Culture Among Slaves

Some of them were compelled to remain at the lowest level all their lives, but others rose to high positions in domestic service, and in the pursuit of industry, commerce and the arts. They copied manuscripts, wrote books, played music, studied and practised architecture, painting, and sculpture, designed pottery, worked in the precious metals, built ships, and laid out gardens, became philosophers (Epictetus was a slave), were sometimes the companions of men of the world, and some of them rose even to be ministers of state.

Such a fact no doubt casts a startling light on the character of ancient civilisation. It implies that the real work of the world was being performed, not by the class which enjoyed hereditary privileges and the best fruits of education, but by the class which, in theory and in practice, was, during many ages, excluded even from elementary human rights. As we shall see when we come to consider the influence of the system on national progress, one of the most serious economic effects of slavery was the destruction, or at least the impoverishment, of free labour. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the character of ancient slavery and the fact that in some cases careers were actually open to slaves somewhat relieves the system of the dreadful gloom and horror which attended the institution in its modern form. So far as I am aware, no ancient state ever passed a law which made it a crime to educate a slave.

The Modern Worse than the Ancient

In all the great states and cities of antiquity there existed a domestic as well as a foreign traffic in slaves. It was not merely that owing to poverty, debt or crime freemen might fall into servitude, but that slavery was hereditary. Thus the owner of a slave was also the owner of the slave's family. The breeding of slaves was often a profitable business, and the markets were fed by a constant influx of thralls born within the boundaries of the cities. But fresh batches were always arriving from abroad, since war and the slave traffic were the two great agents which augmented the servile population. The average duration of the life of a slave in the mines of Laurium has been calculated at about two years. In other cases eight years are allowed. There was thus a constant drain, and a constant demand for new labourers.

Slavery was, indeed, a cause and a consequence of war. A powerful state was tempted to increase not only its territory, but its industrial population. It imposed its yoke either by bringing away the conquered people or by compelling them to till their land and reap its harvest, or exploit its mineral products for the benefit of the conquerors. Serfdom and slavery thus existed side by side both in Asiatic and European states. Strange as it may sound, this enslavement of captives was, as we have already noticed, a sign of progress. Formerly they had been killed, and, at a lower stage of society, they had been eaten. The practice of slavery was thus better than cannibalism. Yet the savage method of the treatment

Better than Cannibalism

of prisoners of war was of long continuance, and it broke out again even in civilised communities. It depended upon the causes of the conflict, upon the resistance or non-resistance of the enemy, and upon the degree of heat of the vengeance of the victors, whether in a given case the prisoners were killed or enslaved. This is made clear by some of the accounts of Assyrian battles which have come down to us. Thus, in one of the inscriptions of Ashur-banipal, king of Assyria (667–635 B.C.), we read these words: "After a bloody struggle I occupied the city of Tiela. I killed three thousand warriors. I led away the captives, the spoil, the oxen and the sheep. I burned much booty. With my own hand I took many prisoners. I cut off the hands and the feet of some, the nose and the ears of others, and put out their eyes." In the account of another successful siege the same monarch states: "I burned alive one thousand captives. Of set purpose I spared not one among them." And in still another case he informs us that he covered the walls of Nineveh with the skins of his enemies.

Barbarism of Assyrian Civilisation

But sometimes it was seen to be more profitable to enslave men *en masse*. Thus Tiglath Pileser I. (1116 B.C.) announces that from one campaign he brought back 6,000 men, whom he presented as slaves to his own people. Those brief extracts will help us to understand how ancient battlefields formed an inexhaustible source of supply for the slave-dealers. Cæsar, for instance, counted by thousands his captives from Gaul, and unless ransomed, every captive, irrespective of rank, was sold into servitude. Alexander the Great on one occasion sold as slaves 30,000 inhabitants of the Greek city of Thebes, and he received about three guineas per head. And a Roman general, Paulus Æmilius, put up to auction on a battlefield 150,000 men. One by one each captive found himself at last awaiting his turn for inspection in some great European, Asiatic, or African market, where he awaited a purchaser. He was examined as tame cattle were examined, and his qualities and defects were duly declared.

150,000 Men for Sale!

The codes of law both of Babylon and Rome indicate how carefully the buyer was protected in case of fraud. For it was as common to attempt to dispose of an unreliable and vicious slave as of a vicious horse. Sellers were compelled by the law of Rome to declare the incapacities as well as the capacities of slaves in order that intending purchasers might not be deceived. And if within a specified date undeclared defects manifested themselves, the purchaser was authorised to return the slave and be reimbursed.

In Babylon, for instance, this happened if a certain disease, called *benuu*, which was common among slaves and was probably a form of paralysis, broke out within one month after the slave had been bought. In Assyria the contract could be cancelled for the same cause within one hundred days after the purchase. These, and many other facts which we are about to adduce, will help us to see—what, indeed, the law of Babylon implies and the law of Rome expressly declares—that the slave was a chattel, and was the absolute property of his owner.

So far as the essential features of the social basis of antiquity are concerned, the main facts of any one great civilisation might be chosen as typical. For, in spite of the differences of race, it was the tendency of slavery to create universally the same social and economic results. A man in chains in Egypt resembled a man in chains in Babylon or Phœnicia, in Athens or in Rome. Among Semitic peoples only the Israelites appear to have passed legislation on behalf of their slaves. Everywhere a free and privileged class annexed as their property a whole population, whose labour was involuntary and wageless. In the pyramids of Egypt, which were built by slaves, we might see an image of ancient civilisation. The servile class formed the broad and immobile base. All society, indeed, is pyramidal, and as we reach the summit, we find that there is room only for a few. In antiquity the disproportion between those who enjoyed rights and those to whom rights were denied was immense.

Israelites Considerate of Slaves

The fact which surprises us is not the absence of justice in those societies. An elaborate system of justice, and even of equity, prevailed in the administration of empires like Babylon and Egypt, Athens and Rome. But justice was dispensed only among freemen, and was the privilege of a minority. It stopped short at the boundary which divided the free from the servile class. Private slaves formed private property, and they

remained outside the jurisdiction of the state. Only the slave's master was the slave's judge. In the case of Rome it was not until late in the imperial era that any restriction was placed upon the domestic tribunal. Slaves were not recognised as "persons," and during many ages the basis of European was not different from the basis of Asiatic society. The condition of the 120,000 slaves who perished in digging the canal which the Egyptian King Nekos began but did not finish was as hopeless as the condition of the slaves who built the Colosseum, made the roads of Rome and her viaducts, and worked in the Athenian silver mines.

Yet in Egypt, as well as in Rome and in Athens, there existed a powerful central government which redressed wrongs among freemen. Ancient, like modern, states suffered from industrial crises. There was a middle-class problem, and the bourgeois and small proprietor were often impoverished by excessive taxation. But the grievances of Egyptian and Roman farmers cannot be compared with the grievances of Egyptian and Roman slaves. Historians have recounted the

Miseries of the Egyptian Peasantry

miseries of the Egyptian peasantry from whom taxes were extorted by flogging. The power of the king and his barons rested upon the soldiers and the priests, beneath whom there lived and laboured the commonalty and the peasantry.

According to Maspero, these latter formed "an inert mass," subjected to forced labour and taxation at the will of their masters. And yet some degree of justice was vouchsafed. Although the taxes were severe, they were sometimes remitted. The peasantry paid a tax of one-tenth on the gross produce of their holdings. The amount of the produce depended upon the rise of the Nile. If in any year the rise was insufficient, or if the water overflowed and ruined the crops, the tax was lessened accordingly, and occasionally it was waived. Moreover, even in a land like Egypt, in which the population was characterised by the most profound submission, the king in person supervised the administration of justice, and heard appeals made by the humblest of his subjects.

In one of the papyri at present in Berlin there is an account of a workman who, on a charge of fraud, was brought before the king, Nab-ka-ra, pharaoh of the eleventh dynasty. The man, who was employed in the extraction of carbonate of soda, had delivered a quantity below the declared amount. He endeavoured to escape, but was seized. In cross-examination the case broke down. The king remarked: "He does not answer

Providing for a Prisoner's Family

the questions put to him. When desired to speak, he remains silent." Conviction and punishment followed. Then an interesting pronouncement was made. By law the wife and children of a fugitive became the property of the king. In the case in question the king, instead of wreaking vengeance on the man's family, ordered that while the husband was in prison the wife was to be provided for, and was to receive three loaves every day. The papyrus is damaged, and we are not informed of the final result. The last sentence, however, states that the accused supplicated for the fourth time.

This is an instance of a minute judicial inquiry, but we are not to suppose that similar investigations took place on behalf of the great mass of public and private slaves who toiled in Egypt. Diodorus Siculus presents a vivid picture of the conditions under which the public slaves worked in the mines. He tells us that "at the extremity of Egypt," on the borders of Arabia and Ethiopia, there were gold-mines, and that the gold was extracted "at great expense and by great labour." The army of workmen was composed of criminals, prisoners of war, and of men arrested under false pretences; "in short, various classes of miserable human beings, whom the kings of Egypt are accustomed to send, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by their entire families, to work in the mines either for the purpose of expiating crimes or merely increasing the royal revenues." They were all chained, and were compelled to

An Awful Picture of Servitude

work day and night. Escape was impossible. Since the overseers were foreigners, and spoke languages different from the language of Egypt, the slaves were unable either by words or by any other means to corrupt their task-masters or move their compassion.

Diodorus gives us an idea of the industrial method used in the exploitation of the mines. The hardest portions of the soil containing the gold were

exposed to fire, and were then broken up by the slaves, who numbered thousands. Iron implements were employed. The strongest slaves split the rock, and hewed their way by pickaxes through the underground passages which followed the natural windings of the metal. Diodorus adds a graphic touch when he tells us that in order to light up the darkness of the mines the slaves carried lamps fixed to their foreheads. The lash of the overseers who superintended the different gangs was the sole incentive to the continuation of the work.

Under the Lash

Child labour was also employed, for some of the passages and holes were too narrow to admit grown men. Children were also engaged in carrying the debris to the mouth of the mine, where mortars and stone pestles were used to reduce the ore. Women and old men worked the hand mills which ground the ore to powder. According to Diodorus, the condition of the slaves was entirely hopeless. Neither sex nor age nor weakness was allowed to exempt them from sufferings, from which they were rescued only by death.

There can be no doubt that similar conditions prevailed in the construction of the vast works which still remain as memorials of the megalomania of Egyptian kings. Since a successful razzia brought an inexhaustible supply of new slaves to fill the places of those who perished in the public works there was a reckless expenditure of human lives. If, as some historical documents indicate, the discomfort of workmen engaged, not in the public but in the private workshops in Egypt was excessive, we can believe that the picture which Diodorus presents is not overdrawn. The state which employed servile labour and exploited it to the uttermost, was by its own policy debarred from interfering with domestic control. There is extant a papyrus which conveys to us the emotions of Egyptian slaves engaged in private industry. It has the satirical and realistic tone of "Piers the Plowman." "I have never seen a blacksmith on an embassy," says the writer, "nor a smelter sent on a mission, but I have seen the metal drudge at his task, at the mouth of the furnace, his fingers as rough as the crocodile and stinking like fish. The labourer of every sort that handles the chisel, he is not always on the move like the man who plies the hoe in the fields, but for him his work is amidst timber or metals, and at night, when the other is free, he is compelled to go on working at home. The stone-cutter, who hews his living out of the rock, stops when at last he has earned something and his arms are exhausted. But if he is found idle at sunrise, he is punished by having his legs tied to his back." This is a reference, we are told, to one of the forms of punishment in use in Egypt, by means of which idle or obstreperous slaves were tied in a bundle with their legs bent along the back and fastened to the arms. In this posture they remained during their master's pleasure.

Worse than the Beasts of the Field

Then from the same document we have the picture of a man half naked and exposed to all kinds of weather, labouring and starving, "for there is always a block to be dragged for this or that building." Again, the weaver, shut up in the workshop, must weave all day, and if he stops his work "he is bound fast as the lotus of the lake." The dyer and the shoemaker are next declared to be specially unfortunate, while the slave baker plying an unhealthy trade, his head in the oven and his son holding him by the legs, runs the risk of perishing in the flames. In such passages we seem to hear the cry of the submerged democracy of antiquity.

The Agony of the Ancient Labourer

If, now, we turn to the greatest of the Semitic states which rose in Asia, a state which at one time made even Egypt her vassal, we shall find a servile population likewise engaged in the creation of wealth which it did not share. Babylon was the Rome of the East, and like Rome she built her social structure upon slavery as a foundation. Scholars place the date of the rise of Babylon as the great political centre of Western Asia at about 3800 B.C.

Long before that date, however, other cities had flourished in Chaldæa. The plain, which is watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates as far as the shores of the Persian Gulf had been the scene of interminable struggles between rival races. Prior to the building of any city nomadic hordes had pastured their cattle on the soil which the rivers made rich by their alluvial deposits. Berossus tells us that the district had always been characterised by the density of its population. That



THE SLAVERY OF WOMAN IN THE ANCIENT WORLD: THE BABYLONIAN MARRIAGE MARKET

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fact is explained by the fertility of Babylonia, for, although the desert reaches almost towards the banks of the Euphrates, the overflow of that river and of the Tigris converted what might otherwise have been a barren tract into a land which, according to Herodotus, was unsurpassed for the abundance of its harvests. Moreover, the rude engineering of early Sumerian marsh dwellers and the vast and scientific system of intercanalisation, carried out by Babylonian kings, made the entire region during many centuries the garden of Asia.

Hence the struggle for its possession. Sumerians and Semites, Kassites and Elamites, Medes and Persians, Parthians and Greeks, all in turn were drawn as by a magnet towards Babylonia. Its inter-racial and international character is well indicated by the fact that among Babylonian archives we find instances of marriages which took place between Persians and Egyptians, while the witnesses to the contracts bear Chaldæan, Aramean, and Egyptian names. As Mr. Johns points out, Medes rent Babylonian houses, and Persian fathers give their children Babylonian names. And at one period the language of the Babylonian court was the diplomatic language of the Orient, for we find Egyptian kings using it in their letters to their overlord, who was king of Babylon

The Part Played by Babylon

The long struggles which lay behind this amalgamation of forces, once hostile, are partly concealed but also partly revealed. Babylonia was a battle-ground ages before the name of Babylon was known. One city after another gained the hegemony of different parts of the area which lies between the twin rivers. The oldest monuments, such as the famous vulture stele discovered by Sarzec and Heuzey at Tello, convince us that from the earliest times the chief instruments of aggression had been slavery and war. The ultimate dominion rested with a Semitic people whose political and military achievements gave Babylon her name in the world.

But the springs of her civilisation as of her religion are to be found further south on humbler sites. A people called the Sumerians settled in the marsh lands and on the Persian Gulf, and there they dedicated cities to their gods and laid the foundations of trade. A sea-port like Eridu and cities like Ur and Nippur formed great centres of religious life and commerce ages before a brick of Babylon had been laid. It is not improbable, for instance, that Nippur, of which, according to some authorities, Abraham's birthplace Ur, was a colony, flourished as early as 6500 B.C. Recent discoveries prove that there existed in Chaldæa a series of minor monarchies, whose rivalries gradually prepared the way for the one great centralising force which at last appeared in the person of Sargon I., the political founder of Babylon. One city became another city's vassal, one king another's vice-king. Such rearrangements took place, for instance, after the advent of Sargon I., for neighbouring kings, who had hitherto been independent, acknowledged him as their over-king.

Babylon as a Slave Power

As Rome drew all the minor powers of Italy within her orbit until even her language obliterated the languages of her rivals, so Babylon became the political centre of Western Asia. It forms no part of our task, however, to repeat facts which have been already narrated in the course of this work. We shall attempt only to select some of those historical data which promise to illuminate the social basis of certain great states of antiquity. Dynastic and political changes do not, therefore, concern us here. Fortunately there exists sufficient evidence to show that Babylon, like Egypt, was a slave power of the first magnitude.

We speak of Babylon as a city, but it was really an enclosed district which comprised harvest fields. The outer walls, which were pierced by a hundred gates, measured a length of fifty-six miles. The area which they surrounded formed a square of which the Euphrates is supposed to have been the diagonal. Canals connected that river with the Tigris, and there was a constant traffic in trade boats. According to Quintus Curtius, handsome quays lined both banks. From writers like Herodotus, Strabo, and Didorus Siculus we gather hints of the city's splendour and magnitude, and their statements seem to be corroborated by the vast extent of the ruins. Discoveries of greater moment have no doubt been made on the sites of neighbouring and less important cities, but one of the reasons is that Babylon suffered more seriously from the ravages

A Picture of Old Babylon

of successive invaders. For instance, the great city of Seleucia, on the Tigris, was built out of the ruins. As it is, her remains cover many miles.

It was not until comparatively late in her history, however, that she reached the zenith of her splendour. For it was Nebuchadnezzar (604–562 B.C.) who, by his passion for building, elaborated the works of his predecessors, and planned and carried out works of his own. The circumference of the walls of the royal palace on the Euphrates, for example, measured about seven miles. Nebuchadnezzar completed the palace until its seven stages rose to 600 feet, which was about the height of the great temple of Bel. That temple was used as an observatory, and it dominated not merely the metropolis, but the plain for many miles. Babylon contained not only numerous temples, streets, and houses, but vast garden areas. She was, indeed, a garden city, and we are not surprised when Strabo tells us that Alexander preferred Babylon to any city he had seen.

Mammoth Buildings of Babylon

The character and costliness of her public works may be inferred from the fact that the walls were 32 feet thick. The roadway upon the top allowed four-horse chariots to pass each other with ease, so that the wall was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. The hanging garden, with its vast hydraulic works, by means of which water was pumped from the Euphrates, its vaulted terraces rising one upon the other, and resting upon cube-shaped pillars, its flights of stairs, and its wealth of trees and flowers, likewise stirred the admiration of ancient writers, one of whom tells us that at a distance it looked like a high hill.

We can only dimly imagine the amount of human labour which had been spent in creating and maintaining these great edifices. So vast was the mass of material employed in the building of the temple of Bel that, after its destruction by the Persians, Alexander the Great found it necessary to employ 10,000 men for the purpose of clearing away the débris. The river was spanned by a bridge 1,000 yards long, and 30 feet broad; and under the river a tunnel was bored for the purpose of connecting the two great wings of the royal palace, which thus extended itself upon both banks. There was a tradition that a queen of Babylon temporarily turned the Euphrates from its course in order that this tunnel might be completed in safety, and it was said that its construction occupied only seven days. A special reservoir was built to contain the water of the river while the work was in progress. These are perhaps myths, but they are valuable because they allow us to see what was expected from servile labour in antiquity. In any case, the actual material structure of Babylon was the work of slaves.

Babylon Built by Slaves

We have no means of discovering the number of inhabitants. Some writers reckon it in millions, and there can be no doubt that the population, both servile and free, increased with the increase of Babylon's power. Every foreign war introduced thousands of slaves, who became the living implements of trade and industry. According to Delitzsch, the postal service was elaborately organised, and that fact pre-supposes a high development of trade. The trade roads, in fact, ran east and west as far as India on one side, and the Mediterranean on the other, and Babylonian wares were found in all the markets of the civilised world, for the commercial centre of Western Asia naturally attracted the wealthiest merchants, who reached the metropolis by means of her great caravan routes. When Herodotus describes, all too briefly, the manners of her people we feel that we are suddenly in the midst of a cosmopolitan city, bright with fashion if dark with vice. And we can only dimly guess what vast social problems, moral and economic, made themselves felt in her teeming streets.

Three Orders of Society

There is the clearest evidence that her society took the form of those three great divisions into which every society naturally falls. From her code of laws, and from the legal documents which have been preserved graven in clay, we discover that there was an upper class, or nobility, every member of which was known as "Amêlu"; a great middle class, composed of freemen of varying fortunes, to whom the name "Muskênu" was given; and lastly there came the slave or "Ardu," whose social designation consisted only in this—that he was his master's property. Owing to the fact that emancipation was possible; owing also to the fact that the children of a freeman by a slave woman, and the children

of a slave by a free woman were free, the ranks of the Muskênu were continually recruited from the ranks of the Ardu.

On the other hand, since for various reasons, and among others insolvency, a freeman might become a slave, there was a gradual leakage from the free classes. In other words, in Babylon, as in every other great community, there took place a continuous upward and downward movement in the population. Some individuals ascended while others descended in the social scale. But the bulk of the labouring class remained throughout the long history of Babylon a great stagnant mass, and we may treat them as a unit. Dynastic and political changes were only ripples on the surface of her civilisation. The enslavement of great bodies of men for industrial purposes was a traditional policy, and without this social understructure there would have been no Babylon at all. The status of the slave is made clear in the "Code of Hammurabi," and in the legal contracts which have been translated. Both the code and the contracts reveal the fact that an elaborate legal system had existed in Babylon in a prehistoric age. Indeed, scholars have deciphered fragments of a code of Sumerian laws which were enacted ages before a Semite had appeared in Chaldæa.

The Status of the Slave

The code which was drawn up by Hammurabi, who probably reigned in Babylon about 2250 B.C., was a modern recension and reorganisation of existing laws. By its means the entire social system of the city is made articulate for us. In spite of its brevity it does for us as regards Babylon what the codes of Justinian and Theodosius do for us as regards the Roman empire. We must not expect, however, to find in the law of Babylon those philosophic pronouncements concerning the servile condition which in the later law of Rome indicate that the question of the justice or injustice of slavery had already begun to stir some of the best minds of antiquity. It probably did not occur to a Babylonian jurist that slavery was "contrary to Nature." As we have already seen, it is not contrary to Nature at all, and it is only man's superior social sense, slowly developed, which has caused, him to interfere with a ferocious instinct. The collective force of a state like Babylon never hesitated to betray itself in the number of the captives brought within the walls, and doomed to labour for behoof of the captors. Hence in the code, which gathers up the experience of ages, the slave figures not as a person, but as a chattel. It is implied that there was nothing abnormal in the fact that generations of human beings excluded from human rights had perished in the service of Babylon. In the earlier contracts of sale the technical term for slave is *sag*—"*caput*." In other words, slaves, like cattle, were numbered by the head.

The Slave a Chattel not a Person

It is true that some scholars doubt whether *sag* should be translated by "head," with the meaning which we attach to it when applied to beasts. But in Greek slave markets there was an analogous usage, for slaves were referred to as *σώμαία*, or bodies. Likewise, in Rome, the legal term for slaves—*mancipia*—signified creatures devoid of personality. It was for that reason that both in Rome and in Babylon they were never named after the father. In cases where the father is named, and especially when the name is Assyrian or Babylonian, we are probably dealing with freemen, who had become enslaved owing to poverty or to other reasons. That the authority of the master over the slave was absolute is proved by the last paragraph of the code: "If a slave has said to his master 'you are not my master,' he shall be brought to account as his slave, and his master shall cut off his ear."

Master's Absolute Power

The fact that in such a case the code prescribes the punishment seems to imply that already the state had begun to regulate the relations between master and slave. If so, only the interests of the former were considered, and at least in the earlier period the master had the veto of life or death. How sternly the right of property in a slave was vindicated may be seen from the following paragraphs in the code: "If a man has induced either a male or female slave from the house of a patrician or plebeian to leave the city, he shall be put to death." "If a man has harboured in his house a male or female slave from a patrician's or plebeian's house, and has not caused the fugitive to leave on the demand of the officer over the slaves condemned to public-forced labour, that householder shall be put to death." Again, "If the captor has secreted a slave in his house, and afterwards that slave has



"BY THE WATERS OF BABYLON": THE JEWS IN BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY

"How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" Psalm cxxxvii.

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been caught in his possession, he shall be put to death." These extracts form paragraphs 15, 16, and 19 of Mr. Johns' translation of the Code of Hammurabi, and we may infer from the severity of the punishments which they decree that slaves had frequently attempted to escape. That fact again implies the harshness of their treatment. "If," we read in paragraph 17, "a man has caught either a male or female runaway slave in the open field, and has brought the slave back to his owner, the owner shall give him two shekels of silver." And we may be sure that in the Babylonian, as in the Greek and Roman, slave markets those slaves who were suspected of the vices of the fugitive fetched the lowest price.

Elaborate precautions were taken to protect the interests of the buyer. A sale, for instance, was rendered void if the slave who had been sold happened to be claimed by the state or by the seller's creditor; or if the bennu disease, which, as we have already seen, was common among Babylonian slaves, appeared within one month after the purchase. That a slave might be placed in pawn like any other chattel is proved by paragraph 118, which enacts that "if a debtor has handed over a male or female slave to work off a debt, and the creditor proceeds to sell the same, no one can complain." Creditors often demanded slaves as hostages for the payment of a debt, and the following enactment brings vividly before us the reckless expenditure of human life: "If the hostage has died of blows or of want in the house of the creditor, the owner of the hostage shall prosecute his creditor, and if the deceased were free born, the creditor's son shall be put to death: if a slave, the creditor shall pay one-third of a mina of silver." The last clause expresses a principle of valuation which appears frequently in the code.

Slaves in Pawn

The lessee of a slave was compelled to indemnify the owner for any injuries which the slave might have received during employment, for men hired out slaves as they hired out horses and oxen. In every case the damages are to be paid to the master, and, of course, the value of a slave's life is stated at a lower figure than the value of a freeman's. Thus the law declared that if an ox caused the death of a freeman the owner was required to pay half a mina of silver, but if a slave had been killed, only one-third was payable. In like manner, whereas a doctor's fees for professional services to a patrician are fixed at ten shekels, and to a plebeian at five, the owner of a slave is required to pay only two. And again, the injury to a slave is punished far less severely than the same injury to a patrician or a member of the middle class. Thus, "If a man has knocked out the eye of a patrician, his eye shall be knocked out" (196). "If he has knocked out the eye of a plebeian, he shall pay one mina of silver" (198). But "if he has knocked out the eye of a patrician's slave, or broken the limb of a patrician's slave, he shall pay half his value" (199).

Branded Like Cattle

There is one other passage which indicates even more strikingly the social status of a slave at Babylon: "If a brander has cut out a mark on a slave without the consent of his owner, that brander shall have his hands cut off" (226). In other words, slaves were branded like cattle. We have one case, in which the name of the owner—Ina-Esagil-cilbur—was stamped upon the slave's right hand, and there is another in which the owner's name—Meskitu—was stamped upon the left hand. These marks were incised, and thus remained upon the slave during life. There could be no clearer evidence of the fact that he was the absolute property of his master. Like dogs also, slaves wore clay tablets engraved with the name and probably the address of their owner. If we turn to the contracts of sale we shall find that slaves were exchanged like any other chattels.

The following deed of sale, which is taken from Meissner's "De Servitute Babylonico-Assyriaca," may be regarded as a typical example of such transactions: "Sini-Istar has purchased a slave named Ea-tappi from Ni-Ni-ellati and his son Ahia. The full price, ten shekels, has been paid. Ni-Ni-ellati and his son, Ahia, can make no further claim." Then follow the signatures of three witnesses, together with the date. Another deed declares that Sin-bilam presented to his sister, Saddasu, a female slave named Muti-Casti, and that all children subsequently born to Muti-Casti were to become the property of Saddasu and her heirs. Slavery was thus hereditary, and although sometimes emancipation took place, yet in thousands of families the servile line was never broken.

Babylonian Servitude Hereditary

The occupations of slaves were as numerous as the needs of a luxurious community. Private slaves were not merely engaged in domestic duties, but also in trade and industry. There were also serfs, or "glebae adscripti," who cultivated the soil and were sold with it as in Europe during the Middle Ages. And the temples of Babylon, like the Christian monasteries, owned serfs, who tilled lands dedicated to a god. It seems that it was upon rural slaves that the corvée, or forced public labour, chiefly fell. The king could command the levy at specified times, and often it took the form of industrial work, especially weaving. Women as well as men were enrolled, and children were not exempt. Slaves were also pressed into military service, and they worked on the boats which plied not only on the Euphrates but on the numerous canals which intersected Babylonia.

Slaves of the Temples

As we have already seen, the code ordains the death penalty for anyone who connived at the attempt of a slave to escape the forced labour commanded by the state. Mr. Johns points out that the king could exact contributions of corn and wheat, straw, waggons, and cattle, as well as men. And we can imagine that the overwhelming weight of the entire imperial system was felt most severely by the servile class. In a letter addresed to one of his officers Hammurabi sends the news that the canal that had its terminus at the city of Erech was blocked. Slaves were to be employed to clear it out *in three days*. The king orders certain slaves to be "yoked together" and brought by ship, and a "strong man" is to accompany them as overseer.

That the lot of such slaves was harder than that of men engaged in domestic service is indisputable. Some slaves occupied even enviable positions. Many represented their masters in commerce. In other words, they played the part of agents, and transacted business by power of attorney. Such men had bought their liberty by their own savings. Even if technically and legally in the servile condition, they nevertheless enjoyed considerable liberty. Their business would often carry them far beyond the walls of Babylon. After emancipation these ex-slaves, however, paid to their former owners a percentage of their earnings.

Clever Slaves Liberated

Thus it was often in the master's interest to liberate a clever slave. It is not necessary, indeed, to suppose that the motive for manumission was *never* humane, yet more often it was probably merely economic. Moreover, if the ex-slave possessed other slaves, these latter also belonged to their master's master. The liberation of slaves, therefore, was often a form of speculation, and the master mortgaged his rights in expectation of a return from the slave's business talent. If, on the other hand, the master remained dissatisfied with the results of his slave's independence he could, as a punishment, reimpose the yoke. Out of the great mass who were sunk in servitude, only a fraction displayed those intellectual and artistic faculties which would make their liberator a profitable investment.

The men who toiled in the public works, or in the fields, or who handled the raw materials of industry were, like the negroes on the American plantations, shut out for ever from any hope of freedom. We may thus be able to form some conception of the destiny of the great inarticulate multitude whose labour lay at the basis of the imperial wealth and prestige of Babylon. And yet there is some dim evidence that the slaves were not wholly inarticulate as regards their own rights. There was a word, "sihu," which scholars tell us meant civil war. Or, according to others, it meant the mob who attempted to deliver a slave from his master. It was during a civil rebellion that Sennacherib lost his life. And we have evidence that mutiny took place on board the ships.

When Slaves Rebelled

But the organisation of the slaves for mutual defence, if it existed at all, must have been weak in presence of the military power of the state. The rights of property extended not only over inanimate things but over those animate implements who, as agents for the production of wealth, were the most valuable of all. And the code allows us to see how sternly any violation of those rights was suppressed.

It covers all the ground of possible litigation between freemen; but while their wrongs are redressed, and their rights are vindicated, there is no legislation on behalf of the slaves. The entire fabric of justice was thus raised on a basis of injustice, and this is the fundamental fact in all the social systems of antiquity.



WILLIAM ROMAINE PATERSON

SLAVERY AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

THE LIFE OF THE BONDMEN AND THE FREEDMEN

WE have chosen Babylon as typical state of the Orient. When, however, we now turn to ancient civilisation in the West we are met by facts which prove that it, too, rested upon a servile basis. Peiser even maintains that slavery in the civilised states of ancient Europe was more destructive of life and happiness than slavery in the East. But it would be impossible to strike a balance between the amounts of moral and economic disaster contributed by two systems fundamentally the same. Asiatic and European civilisation were already entangled long before the era of recorded history. The contact is visible both in religion and in art, and it became closer as the slave traffic between the two continents increased. Both in the East and the West the instruments of production were the living instruments bought and sold in the slave markets. Asiatics enslaved Europeans, and Europeans enslaved Asiatics. In the East white slaves were highly prized, and in Greece and Rome Orientals were employed in the industries and the arts. No one can prove that work in the Athenian silver-mines or in those Spanish mines which the Romans inherited from the Carthaginians was less or more arduous than in the mines of Egypt or of Sinai.

The fact which surprises us is that, although European communities early displayed an instinct for free institutions, they nevertheless adopted the policy of slave states. Apart altogether from a contact with Asiatic powers, they would have passed through the same cycle of evolution. War in Europe, as in Asia, meant the enslavement of the vanquished. Moreover, in communities such as the early tribes of Greece, in which all the members of the tribe originally shared the same liberty as they shared the same blood, there took place that levelling process which resulted in a gradual loss of privileges in the case of some families and individuals, and a gradual gain in the case of others. In the poems of Homer a monarchy and an aristocracy are already fully developed, and there is an assembly composed of the body of the people. Before such a political and social organisation could have been formed the amalgamation of different families and tribes must have taken place, and that amalgamation was not always voluntary. Individual power brought individual leadership. The king divided the land among the families of the tribe. It appears that the head of the family had no power of alienating the estate, since it belonged to the whole kin. But maladministration might create debt, and the kin might be held responsible. In this way land tended to exchange hands, and certain families became proprietors of larger and larger areas. Greater wealth meant greater political importance, and hence an aristocracy was gradually evolved. And as villages became towns the differentiation between the classes became more pronounced. Poor men fell into that state of subjection which was likewise reserved for conquered enemies

Asia Leads Europe

Mortgaging Person

Although in Greece monarchies were succeeded by oligarchies and oligarchies by democracies, the lot of this submerged mass of the people remained stationary. Aristotle, in "The Athenian Constitution," points out that about the middle of the seventh century B.C. the government was oligarchial, and that the poorer classes —men, women, and children—were in absolute slavery to the rich. This is not merely a figure of speech. The whole land, he tells us, was in the hands of a minority, and if the tenants failed to pay their rents they and their families became the slaves of their creditors.

This custom of mortgaging the debtor's person was common in all Indo-European communities, and it was a cause of social

unrest in early Rome, as well as in early Greece. It formed one of the chief sources of slavery within the state's own domain. As soon as the debt was paid the debtor recovered his freedom, but it was in the interest of the creditor often to postpone payment, since he thereby retained services which were often more valuable than the property he had lost. If Herodotus is correct, there were no slaves in early Attica, but only a kind of serfs, who were allowed to retain one-sixth of the produce. According to another interpretation they were required to *pay* only one-sixth. In any case, these serfs were probably survivors of the original inhabitants of the country. Like the helots of Sparta, they were compelled to till the ground for the conquerors. Serfs of alien and slaves of Greek origin thus existed side by side, while social and political privileges became the apanage of a few ruling families.

Serfs and Slaves Side by Side

It was not until the archonship of Solon in 594 B.C. that any remedial legislation was undertaken. In Solon's poems we have a few vivid glimpses of the state of affairs of the Attica of his day. He found the whole land in the power of usurers, whose claims he cancelled by means of a revolutionary measure called Seisactheia, or "the shaking off of burdens." With the political and economic aspects of that measure we are not concerned. We are more interested in the fact that Solon attempted to deal with the problem of servitude. He tells us that he delivered the slaves.

"And many a man whom fraud or law had sold,
Far from his god-built land, an outcast slave,
I brought again to Athens."

Again,

"And those that were in vilest slavery
Crouched 'neath a master's frown, I set them free."

These passages, together with many others in Homer, are sufficient to enable us to see that slavery formed part and parcel of early European society. The slaves whom Solon set free were, however, men who had been, and in spite of their servitude continued to be, citizens. He did not interfere in the case of slaves who had been purchased or captured. Likewise, although Aristotle in his account of those early struggles complains that freemen were being sold into slavery, we are not to suppose that he had any objections to slavery as a social system. On the contrary, in his "Politics" he offers an elaborate defence of it, and he gathers up the whole philosophy of the matter as it presented itself to the Greek mind.

Solon Sets Slaves Free

Aristotle died in the year 322 B.C., and he thus wrote upon slavery after the Greeks had had a long experience of it as an industrial system. He is satisfied as to its necessity, and he cannot conceive a state existing without it. He attempts to find its justification in Nature. And although the reasons which he alleges are curiously unconvincing, his perception that slavery originated in the natural inequalities of men is unfortunately nearer the truth than the more humane philosophy of the Roman jurists. In Aristotle's opinion "he who has the capacity of belonging to someone else is by nature a slave." In his attempt to discover in what this capacity consists, Aristotle points out that Nature created a difference between the bodies of slaves and of freemen. The former are merely muscular, and are evidently fitted for labour, whereas freemen are well-bred and graceful, and their minds may be expected to correspond with their bodies. The reasoning, of course, is false, and Greeks often chose their slaves on account of personal accomplishments.

Aristotle's Defence of Slavery

On the other hand, some freemen proved themselves to be gross and degraded. But although Aristotle is aware of the contradiction, he nevertheless concludes that Nature intended the superior type to be served by the inferior. He expresses concern only for those freemen who have been made slaves by the fortune, or rather the misfortune, of war. He compares the ordinary slave to the unruly body ruled by the soul, and does not stop to inquire whether slaves have souls. Again, he compares them to the animals which man has tamed to co-operate with him, and once more he finds an analogy and justification for the relationship between master and slave in the superiority of the male over the female.

Lastly, in the Nicomachean Ethics, he gives his famous definition of slaves as "living implements." This was the theory which lay behind the practice of all the Greek states, every one of which possessed a servile population. We usually think of Athens as a purely intellectual and artistic community. But Athens was really an industrial state, and she employed

thousands of slaves in her workshops. One of those facts—too often neglected in schools and colleges—which help to bring Athenian life near to us is that the father of the orator Demosthenes was a maker of iron bedsteads, and had slaves as workmen. Nicias, the general, owned a thousand slaves, who formed part of his great wealth, for he hired them out as miners. Aristotle owned thirteen, and at his death he emancipated some, and made presents of others to his friends. Both in public and in private, slaves formed an integral part of the social mechanism, and, indeed, without them the mechanism would have ceased to operate.

In Greece, and especially in Athens, democratic institutions reached a full development. Never has the doctrine of social and political equality been so logically carried out as in the age of Pericles. Political and judicial offices were thrown open to the whole body of the citizens, and those citizens considered themselves to be equal in worth, so that appointments were made by lot. We have to wait till the French Revolution in order to find political doctrine of the same levelling tendency. And yet in Athens the democracy rested on a basis of slavery. A people who, in fashion characteristically European, fought for their own liberty, and gained it, denied liberty to the class upon whose industry they subsisted.

Paradox of Greek Freedom and Slavery

So far as the status of the slaves was concerned, Athens might have been an Oriental despotism rather than a republic. The great doctrine of human liberty which animated the Greeks in their struggle with the Persians was preached only to men who were already free. And perhaps the strangest paradox of the whole situation consists in the fact that in that struggle slaves had borne a very important part, for they had fought at Marathon, Platæa, and Salamis. Moreover, it was servile labour in the Athenian silver-mines which created the victorious Athenian fleet. It was a proposal of Themistocles that the surplus revenue from the mines should be devoted to the building of the ships which won the battle of Salamis.

The mines belonged to the state, and were worked by gangs of chained men. The Athenian coinage was manufactured out of the silver which came in abundance from Laurium, and that a vast body of workmen were concentrated in the district is proved by the fact, mentioned by Thucydides, that on one occasion during the Peloponnesian War as many as 20,000 slaves escaped. The explorations conducted by M. Ardaillon support the testimony of Plutarch and other ancient writers as to the unfortunate condition of the miners. The discipline was as crushing as in the mines of Egypt, and the loss of life must have been as great. And here I may be permitted to reproduce what I have written elsewhere: "Many of the actual tools with which the Athenian slaves worked have been discovered in the mines—iron hammers, chisels with bent edges, where the blows have been struck, shovels, pickaxes, and spades. With these paltry implements the slave was compelled to fight his way through the hard rock, slowly creating galleries as he went. Many of these galleries begin at a depth of 150 feet, and are often only large enough to admit the human body.

The Terrible Slavery of the Silver Mines

"The fact that labour was necessarily slow, and that nevertheless the annual return of silver was large, implies that great numbers of slaves must have been employed. Some writers have been content with an estimate of 10,000 workmen. But those who have visited the mines believe that that number should be at least doubled. A single capitalist, one Sosias of Thrace, employed 1,000 slaves, who had been leased to him by another capitalist, Nicias. Moreover, the yearly wastage among the slaves was so great that many thousands must have passed through the hands of the overseers.

"The fact that more than 2,000 shafts have been discovered indicates the wide extent of the operations. Some of those shafts reach a depth of 400 feet, and in the perpendicular walls there have been noticed niches where the ladders once rested. Ancient writers mention that the air below was very foul, and yet a rude system of ventilation had been devised, because mention is made of air shafts. It is difficult to believe, however, that the hygienic and sanitary conditions were even tolerable. Plutarch makes Nicias responsible for the sufferings and death of many of the miners employed in Laurium. The lessee who hired Nicias's 1,000 slaves was compelled to keep the number at not less than 1,000. Owing to wastage in the ranks, the gaps were

The Awful Waste of Life

continually being refilled. Some interesting calculations have been made for the purpose of discovering the duration of the day's labour. Many of the clay lamps used by the miners have been found, and, according to certain experiments, those lamps, when filled with oil, will burn for ten hours. It was thus, perhaps, not more than a ten-hour shift. This view has been confirmed by the fact mentioned by Pliny, that in the Spanish mines the same method was adopted. For the mines, of course, were utterly dark. Some of the actual chains which shackled the miners as they chiselled their way through the passages have been discovered. We can imagine the frequent anxious glances which the slave cast on the little flame which had been given him, as a clock to measure the hours of his slavery. Modern visitors to these interminable galleries have noticed, cut in the walls, numerous niches where the lamp was placed as the workman hewed his way along.

Chained Labourers in Noisome Mines

"The ore was brought to the surface either in bags strapped to the backs of slaves employed for that purpose, or in baskets attached to ropes and drawn up by pulleys. In the workshops the analysis took place, and special slaves were engaged in bruising the ore, others in washing, and others in smelting it. Iron pestles, stone mortars, and sieves were used in the process, and in various shapes the metal was taken to Athens to be stamped, for the state remained sole proprietor of the mines, even after mining rights had been assigned to private individuals. The state's share, payable in bullion or in cash, was augmented by a percentage on the profits. The workshops were private property, and could be sold by one lessee to another; but, contrary to the views of earlier writers, it appears that the mining rights were not transferable, and that concessions could be obtained only from the state." A state which exploited servile labour for revenue purposes was naturally debarred from interfering with the authority of the slave master in his private workshop. In Athens, as in Babylon, the slave was simply an item in the inventory of his owner's property. He was a mere automaton, to be utilised at the master's discretion. That he was devoid of personality and of rights is proved by the fact that the state refused to admit his evidence in a court of law except under torture. It was not expected that an irresponsible being could speak the truth.

Torture of the Slaves

Nevertheless, Demosthenes in one of his speeches declared that the testimony extracted from a slave under torture was sometimes more valuable than the voluntary evidence of a freeman. Hence in civil as well as in criminal cases slaves were invariably examined while physical pain was being inflicted upon them. They were surrendered to the official experts in torture (Basanistae), either on the offer of the owner or on the demand of the other contending party. If a master refused to expose his slave, the presumption was that the slave's evidence would be found to be too damaging to the master's cause. If, on the other hand, the slave had been surrendered and had received injury, or had died under the torturer's hands, the law allowed compensation to the master.

There could be no more striking proof of the fact that, judged by its social basis, European society in the most brilliant period of Hellenic culture had made no advance on the Asiatic civilisations which had already bloomed and perished. In some cases there was even a retrogression. For whereas, for instance, in Babylon the children of a freeman and a slave woman were free, in Greece they were slaves. No doubt emancipation frequently took place. But it is significant that in Athens there existed no legal means of carrying it out, and that fact is another indication of the indifference of the state towards the servile population.

Athens no Advance on Babylon

The only way in which a bondsman could be emancipated was by dedicating him to a god, and, as Foucart has shown, the price of freedom was generally paid by the slave. When we remember that although the actual material glory of Athens was the work of slaves, that although they had quarried the marble blocks of which temples like the Parthenon were built and from which statues of the gods were made by great artists like Phidias, had raised and fortified the great walls which connected Athens with the Piræus and the sea, had built and manned Athenian ships, had wrought the weapons which brought victory to Athenian armies, and had worked the mines and tilled the soil of Attica, when

we remember that all this labour went unrequited—nay, that generations of labourers were not merely shut out from the most rudimentary human rights, but suffered innumerable wrongs, we cannot help thinking that the punishment was just which at last made Greece herself the slave of Rome.

And now, when we turn to the case of Rome, it will be necessary to weary the reader by a repetition of the same monotonous facts. In any attempt to discover the common social basis of ancient civilisation it would be impossible to neglect Rome, since she employed servile labour on the most gigantic scale the world had known. In the space which remains to us, however, we can mention only a few of the most significant truths. Both in her political and social evolution Rome described the cycle which had already been described by the smaller communities of Greece. From being an agricultural free state, bounded by narrow frontiers, she became an industrial state, whose industry, however, was based upon a vast organisation of slave labour not merely in Italy, but in her provinces throughout the world. The disproportion in well-being, however, was visible among her members long before the era of conquest. That disproportion originated in the divisions of the clan lands between families united by blood, religion and common interests.

Beginning of Roman Slavery

Since some clans and some families contained more members than other clans and other families, the division was naturally unequal, and the inequalities became hereditary. As usual, poor men became subservient to the rich, and, as we have already seen, the law of debt involved the slavery of the debtor. In the pages of Livy we are presented with a vivid picture of the social confusion which resulted. The state which was divided within itself was only temporarily united against its enemies; or, as sometimes happened, relief was actually sought by aggression, and a territory which had become too limited for the number of people subsisting upon it was augmented by successful war. But war brought captives, and captives were slaves, and thus the industrial and economic foundations of the state were laid. In the early period of the republic, however, the slaves were outnumbered by the freemen. Landed properties were as yet of small dimensions, and the farmer and his sons ploughed their own fields. Or if slaves were employed they were few, and they lived with the family. Moreover, the industrial guilds of carpenters, potters, shoemakers and smiths were composed of freemen, among whom a handicraft descended from father to son. It was only as Rome expanded beyond her early boundaries, and by a process of continual suction absorbed people after people and territory after territory within Italy and far beyond it, that free labour was displaced by the labour of slaves. She thus inherited the industrial wealth and the means of production of the countries which she conquered, and every one of those countries was a slave market.

Slavery Displaces free Labour

Then took place that divorce between productive and governing classes which contains the secret of the economic as well as of the ultimate social and political sterility of ancient civilisation. The fall of the monarchy and the rise of the republic, the fall of the republic and the rise of the empire, made no change in the industrial organisation of the state. The slaves, whose numbers were being continually increased, formed the working classes, and at last free labour was driven from the market. It has always been the tendency of slavery to bring labour into contempt. Wherever it is adopted a freeman working for wages is considered to be no higher than a slave, and since he is more expensive his services are rejected. In Rome the state deliberately discouraged the free artisan, since in the vast public works which it undertook it employed only gangs of slaves.

Already, in 367 B.C., the condition of the free agricultural labourers was so desperate that a law was passed which compelled landowners to employ a certain proportion of freemen. But such measures had little effect. The victories of the republic introduced an inexhaustible supply of slaves, and capitalists continued to speculate in this cheap and abundant labour. And it was precisely in the overstocked condition of the slave market that the slave's chief peril lay. For as long as prices remained low it mattered little how soon the slaves were worked to death. On the contrary, it was good economy to exploit the slave

Inexhaustible Supply of Slaves

to the uttermost since his place could be so easily and so cheaply refilled. When, however, the supply fell below the demand and prices rose the slave had a chance of more humane treatment, since his death would involve a serious loss.

How vast the traffic in human lives became may be measured by the fact that in the Ægean island of Delos, a market much frequented by Roman slave merchants, as many as 10,000 slaves are said to have been sold in a single day. As wealth increased landed properties became larger, and, whereas in Italy areas which had formerly been cultivated by peasant proprietors were now transformed by slave labour into vast private pleasure gardens ornamented by fish ponds and fountains, in Sicily and the other provinces capitalist slave-owners carried out the plantation system and by the help of chained gangs raised crops of corn and wheat for purposes of speculation. Cattle were reared, the vine was cultivated, and fruits were grown by the same means, and slave herdsmen, slave gardeners and slave vine dressers were busy on the soil of Italy. But this was the system which, according to the elder Pliny, ruined not only Italy but the provinces. It has been said that slavery is not possible without a reign of terror. And it was on this artificial basis that the great fabric of the Roman empire was raised.

10,000 Slaves Sold in One Day

A Roman writer on agriculture, Columella, complained that while during the empire there were to be found at Rome masters who taught rhetoric, geometry and music, there was not one to teach agriculture. When a rich man bought an estate he sent his most corrupted valet to manage it, as if agriculture had become an ignominious and criminal occupation. In the old days the most eminent men, Quintus Cincinnatus, Fabricius, and Curius Dentatus, lived in the country, and tilled their own ground, which seldom extended beyond four and a half acres. But during the empire the rich men left the city with regret even although, as Columella tells us, their domains in the country were so extensive that they could not ride round them in one day.

Agriculture Becomes Contemptible

It is not surprising, however, that owing to the agricultural methods described in the pages of Columella, Varro and Cato, the country became less and less attractive. Even in Cato's day it was not uncommon to see bands of shackled labourers, *compediti*, at work in the fields or the vineyards. Rural districts had the appearance of penal settlements. There was no joy in harvesting because it was superintended by slave overseers who wielded the slave whip. Men were reduced to the condition of cattle, but even cattle had more liberty. The writings of Cato, Varro and Columella prove that the rustic labourers were subjected to the sternest discipline. It is significant that by order of the senate an agricultural treatise by a Carthaginian writer, Mago, was translated into Latin. It became a handbook for agriculturists, and, needless to say, the servile system formed the basis of the scheme of husbandry which it advocated.

The Romans were thus able to supplement their own agricultural experience with the methods of the cruel Carthaginian slave-hunters. "The slave and the ox," says Mommsen, "were fed properly so long as they could work, because it would not have been good economy to let them starve; and they were sold like a worn-out ploughshare when they became unable to work, because in like manner it would not have been good economy to retain them longer." Every *familia rustica*, or body of slaves, working on a farm was under the command of a steward, *vilicus*, who was likewise a slave and was responsible to the owner for the management of the property.

The Slave an Agricultural Implement

His wife superintended the work indoors, while out of doors the ploughing, sowing, reaping, the tending of cattle, and of the olive and the vine, and all the other labour connected with farming fell to the serfs and the slaves. In Columella we read that their dormitory, *ergastulum*, was underground, and served also as a workshop and a prison. He specially recommends that in the vineyards the work should be done by chained gangs each consisting of ten men in order that supervision might be made easy. And in Varro the social position of the servile labourer is vividly brought before us when we are told that the slave was only one among a variety of agricultural implements and that all that distinguished

him was the fact that he was articulate. When the wealth of Rome increased and her own native agriculture declined, capital became diverted towards commerce and manufactures. But in every branch of industry the artisans were still slaves. The tunics, blankets, boots and ox collars, which Cato advises farmers to buy at Rome, were the products of servile labour. The *familia urbana*, or body of city slaves, comprised those who worked in private shops and factories, and those who were engaged in domestic service. There were also *familiæ publicæ* or slaves employed in all the departments of public works. It is supposed that in the age of Aurelian the servile employes at the mint numbered as many as 10,000. In the navy, in the imperial postal service, in the baths, the temples and the public gardens, a vast retinue were kept in continual labour, and since the state catered for the amusement of the public, slaves were exhibited as actors and gladiators and as victims in the shows of the wild beasts.

Slaves of the City

Slavery, in fact, touched Roman life at every point. Capitalists like Crassus, who owned 500 builders and carpenters, owed their fortunes to the work of wageless men. The banker, the accountant, and the architect, the master weaver, the master miner, and the master of a ship, were dependent for their profits upon the talent and industry of men of all nationalities who had been kidnapped by the Roman slave-hunters and by the pirates who swarmed in the Mediterranean, and had then been sold in the slave market. According as income from capital thus invested grew greater, the style of living became more extravagant. A man who could not afford to keep slaves was considered to be a beggar (cui neque servus est neque arca). Every respectable householder owned at least ten, and the word *familia* was generally understood to mean at least fifteen slaves. All forms of domestic necessity and domestic luxury were supplied by men whose ultimate freedom, if it ever came at all, depended on the caprice of their masters. Tutors and physicians, nurses, bathmen, pages and serving men, keepers of the wardrobe, letter carriers and torch-bearers, as well as cooks, coachmen and musicians, were numbered as chattels and formed part of a man's wealth. And when we remember that the same conditions prevailed throughout the provinces we shall not be surprised to learn that the servile population in the Roman empire was reckoned in millions. In Italy alone at the beginning of the empire there existed at least 1,500,000 slaves, and as the empire grew older that number was increased. Throughout the entire imperial area, when Rome reached the maximum of her territorial development in Europe, Africa, and Asia, her slaves probably numbered 60,000,000.

Social Standing Based on Slave Ownership

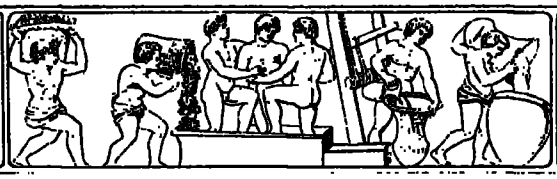
The great jurist Ulpian likened slavery to death. But in Rome, as elsewhere, the treatment of slaves varied according to the nature of their work and the character of their masters. As we have already seen, the higher domestic slaves profited by the affluence of their owners, and often enjoyed early emancipation. On the other hand, men doomed to work in the mines, those capable of nothing but manual labour and the coarsest forms of drudgery, found their deliverance only in death.

Slavery Worse Than Death

"It is very possible," says Mommsen, "that, compared with the sufferings of the Roman slaves, the sum of all negro sufferings is but a drop." Amelioration did, indeed, come by law, but it came late, and we do not know how far it penetrated. The rights of property in living beings were sternly protected until the fall of the empire. "Caput enim servile," says Paulus, "nullus jus habet, caret nomine, censu, tribu." In other words, the slave was a pariah. He had no appeal against his master's violence, and we know from the pages of Seneca how often violence was used. It is true, as Gaius tells us, that during the reign of the Antonines a master who murdered his slave "without cause" was held to be as guilty as if he had murdered the slave of another citizen.

The fact that great slave risings occurred in Sicily and in Italy, and that the fear of insurrection was never absent from the minds of Roman statesmen, may help us to imagine the amount of misery which must have accumulated before beings, isolated and shackled and devoid of any organisation within their own ranks, were yet able to combine for their own defence and to prolong their resistance.

SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE ANCIENT WORLD—IV



WILLIAM ROMAINE PATERSON

THE EFFECTS OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM

"MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN" ITS OWN RETRIBUTION

IN the preceding chapters we have attempted within narrow limits and only in rough outline to portray some of the main features of the foundations of ancient society. The data of slavery both in the east and the west are so voluminous that any adequate account of them could be furnished only in a special treatise. But perhaps we have been able to show that, apart from the study of those data, it is impossible to gain any real insight into the social conditions of antiquity. As the architect's first concern is about the foundation of his building, so the student of political and social institutions must first understand their basis.

It is upon the organisation of human labour that every one of those institutions rests. In antiquity that social, or rather, unsocial, basis was so uniform, and its moral and economic effects were so universally similar, that a patient study of it enables us to grasp ancient civilisation as a unity.

The Unity of Ancient Civilisation

The chaos of facts begins to assume a more regular order when we remember that beneath the welter of dynastic and political change there lay a dead sea of slavery. No matter where we go in ancient history, we discover the working of one perpetual formula, according to which one portion of humanity was by law the slave of another portion. The methods of social cohesion and construction were everywhere alike. Differences of race, of geographical and climatic conditions, of natural products and industrial resources, and differences of national religion and national character, did not prevent each nation from adopting the same methods for the production of national wealth.

To the instances which we have chosen as typical there might be added, besides many other vanished empires, Persia and Parthia, Phœnicia and Carthage, and the Aryan communities in Hindustan. The slave market formed not only the main factor in the internal development of those states, but it was a controlling factor in their external relations. For one of the motives of ancient war was the capture of slaves so that an aggressive policy involving new territorial arrangements was actually the outcome of industrial needs. In other words, wars were undertaken for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening the artificial basis of ancient society. Yet, as we have seen, there is a sense in which that basis was not wholly artificial. In any case, it was not the invention of civilised communities, because it existed ages before they were civilised. Its prehistoric presence in savage life causes us to regard it rather as a new expression within the borders of man's own world of that principle of the struggle for existence which dominates the evolution of human as well as of all other things. The most powerful tribes captured and enslaved the least powerful. The great states, thanks to their military organisation, kidnapped hordes of men as the indispensable agents for the production of wealth. And as the state's structure became more elaborately developed, and when power was measured in terms of money, wealthy individuals were able to take advantage of the constant traffic in slaves, and they purchased those human beings best fitted to minister to wants and to luxuries.

The Chief Motive of Ancient War

How deeply-rooted the institutions became, and how universal was the appeal which it made to certain human instincts, is seen in the fact that the same methods of using and abusing men and women remained constant during thousands of years, and were adopted by peoples geographically and racially remote. We saw that in Babylon some two or three thousand years before Christ it was customary to brand the slave's body with his owner's name, or to stamp the name upon a tablet which the slave was compelled to wear. In like manner we find that in Rome, long after the Christian

The Mark of the Slave

era, slaves, like dogs, wore collars, and the following may be taken as an example of the inscriptions engraved on the metal: "Prevent me from escaping, and take me back to my master, Pascasius, at his colour-shop in the Forum of Trajan."

Christian Slavery in Last Century

Nay, the perspective of history is still more strikingly foreshortened, and a strange light is cast on the permanence of some of the darker elements in human nature, when we find that Christian slave states in the nineteenth century passed laws which are identical in spirit and almost in letter with the slave laws of Babylon. We saw that in Babylon death was the penalty for anyone who assisted a slave to escape. The Code declared that "if a man has induced either a male or female slave from the house of a patrician or plebeian to leave the city, he shall be put to death." We may compare this enactment with a paragraph from the Black Code of South Carolina, which, still valid in 1863, declared death as the penalty for him who dared "to aid any slave in running away or departing from his master's or employer's service."

Now, the recurrence throughout widely separated tracts of history of this predatory instinct of man against man may be admitted as another proof that the law of struggle between the members of a species remains active within human society. But, according to that law, the strongest, or at least the most cunning individual, and the most militant society should survive. In other words, the great slave states never should have perished. Their power was chiefly exhibited in their success in bringing both individuals and weaker states into subjection.

Ruin of the Slave States

How, then, are we to explain the fact that one after another the slave states were blotted out? Perhaps we shall be able to answer that question if we remember that man has imposed his own institutions upon Nature, and has therewith surrounded himself by what, from one point of view, are unnatural conditions. Owing to the interference with some of Nature's processes certain changes take place in the operation of some of her laws. If man had remained at a level only slightly higher than the level of the brutes, if he had captured and consumed his prey, not collectively but individually, the units of the human species would have possessed as little cohesion as those of any other species. But men grouped themselves together, settled on the soil, and gradually created new conditions of subsistence. The enslavement of fellow men played the chief part in making those conditions more and more unnatural, or perhaps we should say non-natural, and in causing their permanence. The human community became divided into warriors and workers.

As power became consolidated and wealth increased, the division of labour became more and more minute. A gulf separated the governing from the governed class. The number of voluntary workers grew less, and the number of involuntary or enslaved workers grew greater. The fruits of the labour of a great servile population were consumed by an unproductive minority. The slave became his master's proxy in work and, what was still worse, in war. In Babylon, in Athens, and at last even in Rome, slaves were compelled to fight. That fact alone implied that an insidious process of deterioration had been taking place during many centuries in the ruling classes. In short, we believe that it was due to a clumsy combination of the forces of freedom and slavery that ancient society at last arrived at deadlock and dissolution.

Ancient Society at a Deadlock

That misgiving appears to have troubled some of the best minds of antiquity. Fortunately, however, some modern experiments in slavery enable us to see clearly how it may have been a main cause in the moral and economic collapse of ancient states. De Tocqueville contrasted the flourishing condition of the free states with the impoverishment of the slave states of America. "The traveller," he says, "who floats down the current of the Ohio may be said to sail between liberty and servitude. Upon the left bank of the stream the population is sparse: from time to time one descries a troop of slaves loitering in the half-desert fields: the primeval forest recurs at every turn: society seems to be asleep, man to be idle, and Nature alone offers a scene of activity and of life.

"From the right bank, on the contrary, a confused hum is heard which proclaims the presence of industry; the fields are covered with abundant harvests, the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and

activity of the labourer; and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which is the reward of labour. Upon the left bank of the Ohio labour is confounded with the idea of slavery, upon the right bank it is identified with that of prosperity and improvement; on the one side it is degraded, and on the other it is honoured. On the former territory no white labourers can be found, for they would be afraid of assimilating themselves to the negroes: on the latter no one is idle, for the white population extends its activity and its intelligence to every kind of employment. Thus the men whose task it is to cultivate the rich soil of Kentucky are ignorant and lukewarm; while those who are enlightened either do nothing, or pass over into the State of Ohio, where they may work without dishonour."

These observations were true of other modern slave plantations in the West Indies and in Brazil. Every one of them became a scene of economic stagnation and failure. The American planters were called "land killers." As Cairnes points out in his great work on "The Slave Power," the employment of negroes in America and the West Indies resulted in the steady deterioration of the soil. The characteristic of slave labour was its want of versatility. Slaves were doomed to work on a single product all their lives. Again and again the soil was compelled to yield the same crops until it became sterile. Then the planter moved with his gangs of slaves into new soil, and herein we may detect the aggressive tendency of slave societies.

Slavery Deteriorates the Soil

An American slave-holder made the following admission: "I can show you with sorrow in the older portions of Alabama, and in my native county of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our small planters, after taking the cream off their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going further west and south in search of other virgin lands, which they may, and will, despoil and impoverish in like manner. Our wealthier planters, with greater means and no more skill, are buying out their poorer neighbours, extending their plantations, and adding to their slave force. The wealthy few, who are able to live on smaller profits, and to give their blasted fields some rest, are thus pushing off the many who are merely independent. . . . In traversing that country one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent farmers, now occupied by slaves or tenantless, deserted, and dilapidated. He will observe fields once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers—foxtail and broomsedge: he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find 'one only master grasps the whole domain,' that once furnished happy homes for a dozen families. Indeed, a country in its infancy, where, fifty years ago, scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas; the freshness of its agricultural glory is gone, the vigour of its youth is extinct, and the spirit of desolation seems brooding over it."

American Slavery Bred Decay

Now, if these causes produced these results in modern, they must have produced the same results in ancient times. We can now understand why the harvest fields of Italy became blasted, and why Rome became dependent on foreign supplies. It was only because she could command the produce of unlimited areas that she was able to fill her granaries at all. Where difficult soil required skilful agriculture, or where the system of the rotation of crops was not in use, the soil remained barren, and the industry upon which all others depend was destroyed.

It is true that in antiquity slavery was infinitely more versatile than in its modern form. But since industry was a badge of degradation, free labour was discouraged, and at last killed. And slavery itself did not pay its expenses. Although all the great states were omnivorous of human life they were perpetually threatened by a deficit in the labour market. If to these economic causes we add the moral results of the system on the character of the slave lords, we shall see to what an extent slavery was responsible for the dilapidation of the social fabric of antiquity. The captive reacted upon his captor, and slavery, once a sign of the superior strength of the slave masters, became the main factor in their fall.

Ruin of the Social Fabric of Antiquity

WILLIAM ROMAINE PATERSON